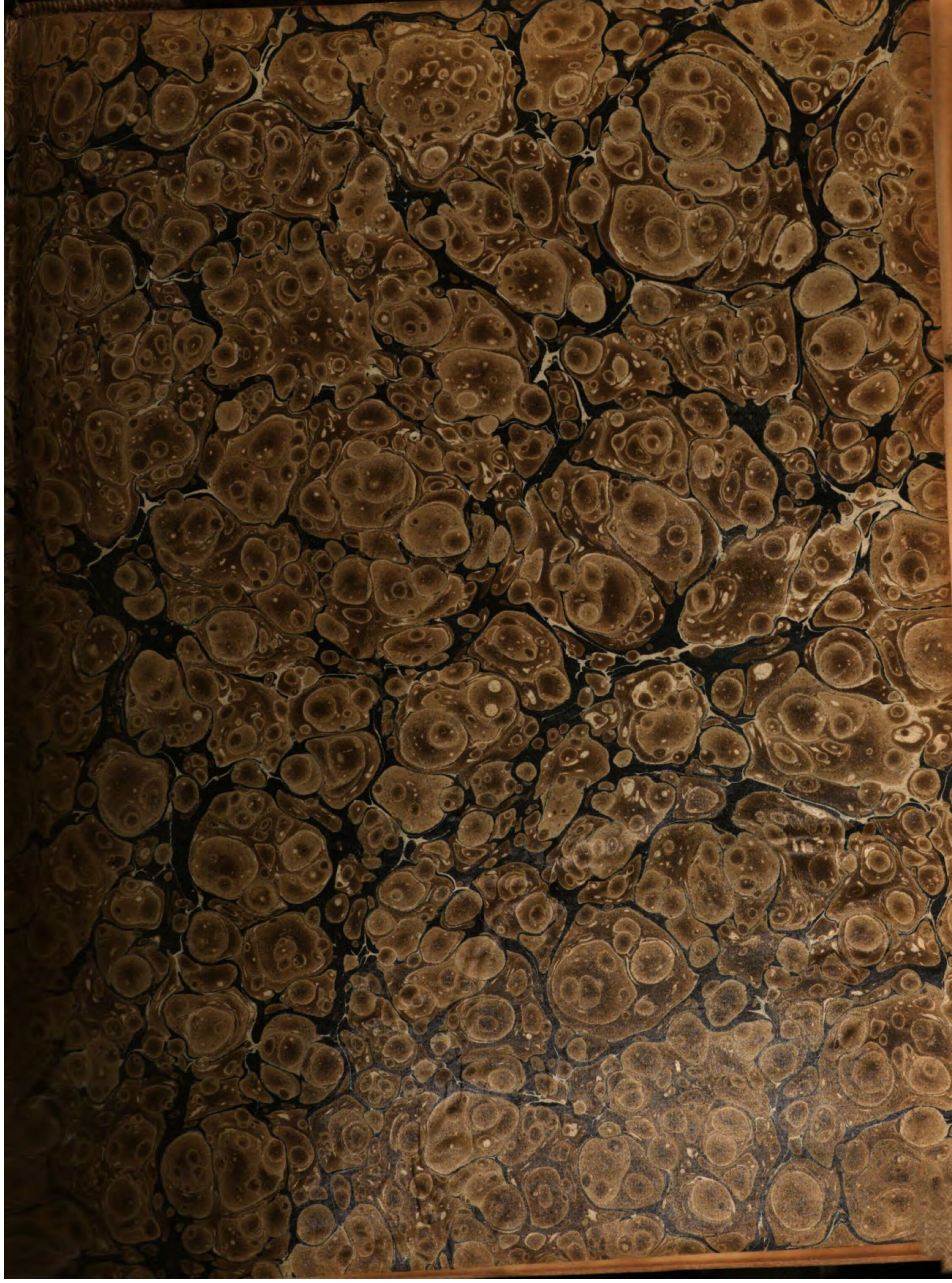




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THE
L I F E
OF
Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY,
SOMETIME
BISHOP of LONDON:
SHEWING THE
PLAN AND PROGRESS
OF THE
REFORMATION.

In which he was a principal Instrument, and suffered MARTYRDOM
for it in the Reign of Queen MARY.

By the Rev. GLOCESTER RIDLEY, LL.B.

Hæc pala illa quæ et nunc Dominicam aream purgat, ecclesiam scilicet, confusum
acervum fidelium eventilans, frumentum Martyrum, et paleas Negatorum.

TERTULL. de fugâ in persecut.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WHISTON and B. WHITE, in FLEET-STREET ; and
R. and J. DODSLEY, in PALL-MALL.

MDCCLXIII.

THE
LIFE
OF
DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY,
BISHOP OF LONDON:
SHOWING THE
PLAN AND PROGRESS
OF THE
REFORMATION.
IN WHICH HE WAS A PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENT, AND SUFFERED MARTYRDOM
FOR IT IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

By R. GLOUCESTER, LL.B.
LONDON:
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T H E
P R E F A C E.

TH E encouragement which this undertaking has met with makes it unnecessary to apologize for attempting the Life of this Good Prelate ; for while the Compiler acknowledges with gratitude many favors meant personally to himself, it would be vanity in him not to see that the much greater part was intended a respect to the memory of the Martyr.

And indeed it is surprising that among all the Lives of particular *Reformers*, which have been written, that of Bishop RIDLEY should not have yet appeared : of whom I may truly say with respect to *Them*, what St. PAUL said of Himself with respect to the *Apostles*, that he was *not a whit behind the very chieftest*.

PARKER, GRINDALL, WHITGIFT, AYLMER and JEWELL have been deservedly honored with their respective lives, written to perpetuate the memory of their noble

renunciation of all worldly emoluments by a voluntary exile, and of their important services in the re-establishment of the *Protestant Church* under Queen ELIZABETH : yet these were sensible that they were only *second* to those, who, having boldly rescued Truth from the captivity in which it had been long held, bravely shed their blood in the support and maintenance of it. So GRINDALL writes to RIDLEY in the words of CYPRIAN, *Primus est victoriæ titulus, gentiliū manibus apprehensum, Dominum confiteri : secundus ad gloriam gradus est, cautâ secessione subtractum Domino reservari* * : and TERTULLIAN observes, that a soldier slain in battle is a nobler object than one who by flight preserves himself for future service, *Pulchrior miles in prælio amissus, quam in fugâ salvus* †.

Some indeed of the *martyred Prelates* have had this justice done to their memories, as CRANMER and LATIMER ; while RIDLEY, their Fellow-Labourer, and Fellow-Sufferer, has not yet been admitted to his share with them in this posthumous reward : yet, with regard to his comparative merit, CRANMER acknowledges, that his own labors in the Reformation, in taking away *Pardons, Pilgrimages*, and such like superstitions, had been only like lopping away some branches and

leaves.

* De Lapsis.

† De Fugâ in Persecutione.

THE PREFACE.

leaves that would in time shoot again : but that RIDLEY had been more usefully employed in digging up the root, by removing the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. Both these Fathers were indebted to Him, for their knowledge of the truth in this most concerning point ; in maintenance of which all three voluntarily offered up their Lives.

To place in a true light the difficulties, merit, and importance of his actions, it was necessary to weave, with His, the history of the Times in which he lived ; a repetition which I hope will not be judged impertinent, or be found useless. Frequent Commemorations of national blessings are due in gratitude ; and frequent Reviews of a national Constitution are necessary in prudence. For these purposes, the deliverance of the Jews from Ægyptian bondage, and the plan of the Mosaical Institutions were commanded to be read over to the people every seventh year, in the year of release, that *they might hear, and learn to fear the Lord their God as long as they lived, whither they went over Jordan to possess it*^a. And it would certainly be dangerous in US to lose sight of the errors and slavery from which we have been delivered, or the truths and liberty to which we have been restored. The human mind is so framed, that it cannot long

^a Deut. xxxix. 9.—13.

long support itself without something of religion to rest upon ; and if no publick care is taken to instruct it in a reasonable one, it will lay hold on any delusion that the first Impostor shall recommend. Our licentiousness has already driven multitudes into *Enthusiasm* ; and a conscience plunged in guilt may as readily catch at *Popery* itself. We seem indeed but little apprehensive of danger from that quarter at present ; yet the Converts from our Church to *Popery*, as well as to *Methodism*, are notoriously encreasing. The Mine, not attended to, is more dangerous than the unmasked battery, which, while it threatens, puts us on our guard ; and experience convinces us, that nominal Professors, when unprincipled, may fly for shelter into the very jaws of that superstition, which we have thrice happily escaped, from a Religion to whose power and beauty they were entirely strangers.

If the noble example here proposed shall prove a mean to instruct us in the true principles of the Religion which we profess, equally abhorrent from the superstitious slavery of Rome, and the unsocial enthusiasms of Germany ; such knowledge, I am persuaded, would influence many to the production of an undissembled piety to God, and a conscientious love of our neighbour, which at present seem to lie almost extinguished under
an

an *indifference* and *licentiousness*, dishonorable to God, and destructive to Society.

In compiling this work I have not only made use of all the general and particular Histories of the Times and Persons mentioned in it, the Statutes, Publick Records, Letters, Tracts and Treatises that I could find already published : but also have examined the several Registers of Canterbury, London, Rochester, and Norwich, Pembroke Hall, and University College ; MSS. in the Libraries of Lambeth, Bennet College, the Paper Office, and the Musæum ; beside several Original Letters of Bucer, Martyr, John à Lasco, Cranmer, and Hoper, which once belonged to Bishop Morley, but are now in my possession. And here I beg leave to return my thanks to all those Gentlemen, through whose civility and obliging readiness I have had such easy access to the several Repositories which I had occasion to visit.

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E R R A T A.

Among these, the Reader may be inclined to reckon many words purposely spelt differently from the more usual manner, to preserve a more uniform orthography. 1. Words *immediately* derived from Latin ones in *or*. As much the greater part of these are terminated in *or* in English, I see no good reason why all words so derived should not have the same termination; if we write *horror* and *terror*, why not *honor* and *favor*? In words purely English, or Saxon, or French, or *remotely* derived from Latin through the French, I have retained the *u* where I found it, as in *behaviour*, *neighbour*, *endeavour*, *Saviour*. 2. Where the radical Latin vowel is retained in some English words, and unnecessarily changed into a diphthong in others of the same family, as *explanation* *explain*, *precede* *proceed*, I have preserved the etymology uniformly. But in some of these instances habit has been too strong for the attention of the Compositor or the Corrector. Some other mistakes have escaped the press, which the Reader is desired to correct with his pen; especially those which affect the sense.

Page 4. line 19. insert *as* before *clerk*.

- 13. line 5. from the bottom, dele *the*.
- 32. line 25. in *sciting* dele *f*.
- 64. line 9. in the margent, for 1537 r. 1527.
- 123. line 4. read *Marchioness*.
- 167. line penult. for *They* read *The*.
- 199. line 2. for *Duke* read *Marquis*.
- 213. line 7. for *charges* read *changes*.
- 232. line 19. after *we* add *might*.
- 238. line ult. for *Renandot* read *Renaudot*.
- 241. line 22. after *had* add *not*.
- 243. line 15. for *cantelæ* read *cautelæ*.
- 270. line 22. for *power* read *honor*.
- 319. line ult. for *vili* read *veli*.
- 320. line penult. for *cognita* read *cognitu*.

P. 347. line 6. of the notes, for *aliquid* r. *aliquis*.

- 348. line 11. in *guilty*, dele *y*.
- 363. line 5 from the bottom, for *Earl* read *Marquis*.
- 374. line 7. read *learned*.
- 405. line 7 from the bottom, for *some* r. *come*.
- 416. line 6. for *wish* read *with*.
- 453. line ult. for *placce* read *place*.
- 477. line 4. read *Maccabees*.
- 494. §. 1. should be §. 2.
- 496. line 5 from the bottom, dele *that*.
- 507. line 7. for *io* read *to*.
- 547. line 1. after *mean* add *time*.
- 580. line 25. for *John* II. read *I John* II.

THE
L I F E
OF
Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

BOOK I. From 1500 to 1521.

The State of RELIGION and LEARNING during
his Minority.

The Kingdom of Heaven is like to a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and sowed in his field, Which indeed is the smallest of all seeds : MATTH. xiii. 31, 32.

§. 1. His Birth
and Family.

WE often grow insensible of our blessings, merely from the long and uninterrupted possession of them. And this insensibility usually makes us careless of preserving them, till we are again taught to judge of their value, by their loss. Something of this kind, it is to be feared, is our own case at present with regard to the Reformation ; we have *possessed* that blessing so long, that we have forgot to *enjoy* it.

it. Ignorant of the servitude under which our Fathers groaned, we know not how to relish our own deliverance : the deformities of a Superstition two hundred years ago are so far out of sight, as to make us less attentive to the beauties of a Reasonable Service. By these means, we not only reap less pleasure than we might, and produce less fruit than we ought ; but we grow less apprehensive of the Tyranny that watches to enslave us, and less zealous to maintain that Liberty which our Ancestors sacrificed their lives to purchase for us.

To awaken us to a due sense both of our present happiness, and threatened danger, I have attempted to draw the Life of that venerable Prelate Dr. Nicholas Ridley. A review of his studies, labors and sufferings will give us a clear idea of the corruptions of the Romish Church, and a plan of that perfection which was aimed at by the Reformers : teaching us to abhor Popery, not from a dislike of any religious restraint, but with a zeal that is according to knowledge ; and at the same time, to esteem and defend the Protestant Religion, by living up to the spirit of it.

Such an effect would be the best gratitude, and highest honor we can pay to this good man's memory ; and to aim at producing it will, I hope, warrant this attempt to write the History of his Life. To mean no more by it than the amusement of an idle hour, would be an unworthy trifling with his character : he lived and died for nobler purposes.

Dr. Nicholas Ridley was born in the beginning of the xvith Century in Tynedale, not far from the Scotch borders in Northumberland, as he himself informs us ^a ; and, by the report of his Countryman, and Fellow-Collegian Dr. Turner, at Wilmontswick. His Father was the third Son of a very antient Family, which had been seated there through a long descent of Knights for many generations ; the second Son was John, Father to Dr. Lancelot Ridley.

^a Ridley's Farewell.

Ridley, Preacher in the Church of Canterbury ; and a fourth Son was Dr. Robert Ridley, a celebrated Divine and Canonist in the reign of King Henry viii.

Descended from this antient stock he degenerated not from the virtues of any of his Ancestors ; but gave a much greater lustre to the Family, than he derived from it. His school education he received at Newcastle upon Tyne, from whence he was removed to Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, at the charges of his Uncle Dr. Robert Ridley, Fellow of Queen's College, about the Year 1518, when Luther was preaching against Indulgences in Germany.

As I find nothing particular recorded of him before he became Batchelor of Arts, only in general of his application to his studies, and great proficiency in them, I shall endeavour to fill up this chasm, from the beginning of the Century to the Year 1521, with a view of the age in which he was born, that from the modes of Religion and Learning which then prevailed we may the better form our judgment of him ; for having dedicated himself to both, he must have received his first color and tincture from them. And indeed without a knowledge of the times in which he lived, it will be impossible to estimate the difficulties, the dangers, and the importance of his actions. Such a survey will be necessary, as a kind of map of the country through which we are to travel.

The great spring, which put the whole kingdom into motion, was the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. This gave that Prelate an effectual Empire here, and perpetually supplied his Exchequer. A point of so much importance to the Popedom, that Pius ivth, who understood it well, would have submitted even to authorise the Reformation, on this single condition, that Queen Elizabeth would acknowledge his Supremacy^b. Give him this footing, and he could

B 2

^b Twissden's Historical Vindication, p. 175—178

could soon frame engines to toss the world about at his pleasure, as England had unhappily experienced through a course of about four hundred years.

The foundation of the Pope's Dominion here was laid in the exemption of Ecclesiasticks from the jurisdiction of the Civil Magistrate, and making them amenable to him only*. Prelates, Cardinals, Abbots, Priors, Monks, Friars, with the inferior Orders of Subdeacons, Sacrists, Exorcists, Sextons, and Porters, raised a prodigious Army, all engaged to defend and extend that Power, by which they were protected from the Civil Sword. And this immunity was claimed not only for Ecclesiastical *Persons*; the same was challenged for Ecclesiastical *Edifices* also, which were Sanctuaries to robbers and cut-throats, who fled thither for protection. Such numbers were by several means privileged, that Henry viii. complained, that he was 'King of only Half his Subjects.'

Nor was the Pope's Empire in England confined within these limits; it extended itself even over all the Laity, by means of the Legate's court, to which, for heresy, or the suspicion of it, and all other spiritual causes, Laymen, as well Clerks, were subject. And the dread of vexatious prosecutions there, costs, fines, tortures, and burning to death were such effectual arts to keep the people in awe, that few had courage to struggle against the tyranny.

The inconveniences however were so severely felt, that they occasioned an Act of Parliament in the ivth year of Henry viii. that all persons hereafter committing murder or felony in any church, or

* This clame owed its rise to a Law of the Emperour Valentinian about 368, empowering the Bishop of Rome to examine and judge other Bishops, that religious and ecclesiastical disputes might not be decided by profane or secular Judges, but by a Pontiff of the same Religion, and his Collegues. Cod. Theod. ap. p. 80. Some think this power was provincial only, within the limits of the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, the Suburbicarian Provinces. Blondel Prim, p. 165. Others, only temporary; and that it extended no further than to those Bishops alone, who were concerned in that schism, as the Law was enacted to settle the Church shaken by that contention betwixt Damasus and Ursinus. Bowyer's Lives of the Popes.

or chapel, or in the King's high-way, or those who should rob or murder any person in his house, should not be admitted to the Benefit of the Clergy. Yet this act presumed not to meddle with those who were within the Holy Orders of Bishop, Priest, or Deacon; nor durst venture further than for a year, by way of trial. The Clergy were exasperated, and publickly maintained, that all who had assented to that Act had by so doing incurred the censures of the Church. This provoked the Lords and Commons, who requested the King to suppress the growing insolence of the Clergy. The Point was argued before him. The Clergy proceeded to summon the pleaders for the Act before the Convocation, and even threatned the King himself with the censures of the Church, if he should do any thing contrary to his Coronation Oath, by which he had engaged to defend the Liberties of Holy Church: the Commons on the other hand address him to maintain his Temporal jurisdiction, by virtue of the same Oath. The King was in great perplexity, unwilling to part with his temporal jurisdiction, yet apprehensive of ill effects from the resentment of the Clergy, who would not dismiss Dr. Standish, the chief pleader against them, unless the cause was referred to the Pope. At length the cruelty of the Clergy brought this affair to an accommodation; one Hun, a Merchant Taylor in London, had provoked them by declaiming against their avarice and oppression, and giving them trouble in recovering some dues they claimed: their revenge was to imprison him on suspicion of heresy: but distrusting the sufficiency of proof, the Chancellor Dr. Horsey, and the Bishop's Sumner murdered him in prison, and then hung him up that he might be thought to have been his own executioner; as appeared on the Coroner's Inquest by the confession of one of the parties. After several attempts to stop proceedings against the Chancellor, Wolsey brought the King and Clergy to this Agreement, that Dr. Horsey should be dismissed out of the King's Bench, and Dr. Standish out of the Court of Convocation. Thus ended both these affairs together;

together ; which as they shewed the tyranny of the Popish Clergy to the People in a strong light, so this tyranny alienated their minds from them, and disposed the Kingdom to shake off the yoke, whenever it should lie in their power to do it.

But how imperious soever the Clergy were over the Laity, they were in an absolute dependance upon the Pope. The Two Archbishops could not call Councils, make Chrism^d, dedicate Churches, ordain Clerks, or consecrate Bishops, till they had received the consecrated Pall from Rome : for which they paid above twelve hundred pounds, each, even at that time of day^e, moderated to this sum since the year 1250, when Walter Grey, Archbishop of York, paid ten thousand pounds for that ornament. It was accompanied with the Oath of Canonical Obedience to the See of Rome, to defend the Regalia of St. Peter. The other Bishops were not only Suffragans to the Archbishops in their respective Provinces, and so virtually subject to the Pope ; but They with the Abbots also took the same Oath, with the obligation to visit Rome in person. And the parochial Clergy and Friars being sworn to the obedience of their Ordinaries and Principals, all the Clergy were in an entire subjection to his Holiness.

And lest any Act of Power exerted by the Archbishop of Canterbury should appear to be done by virtue of his Office, or derivatively of the Crown, the Pope artfully constituted him his ordinary Vicegerent, under the title of *Legatus natus* ; and very often promoted to that chair such men as he could best trust with this power : but as sometimes the King had interest or resolution

^d An ointment consecrated by the Bishop every year, on Maundy Thursday, which every Parish Priest was to send for once a year, to put into the water in the Baptismal Font. See Peckham's Constitutions.

^e Money was effectively quadruple to what it is in this age, says Lord Herbert, 1650 : there was a Law in the 24 H. viii. to fix the price of meats ; beef at a halfpenny a pound, and mutton and veal at three farthings. Must we not then rate it at six times the present value ? At which valuation, the consecrated Pall cost at that time betwixt seven and eight thousand pounds.

enough to appoint an Archbishop of his own, if he did not become quite pliant and devoted to Rome, the Pope superseded his authority by a particular commission to a Legate *à latere*^f, during which commission, the Archbishop's Legateship was suspended.

By these arts, invasions, and usurpations the Pope's power had taken such deep root in England, that it was not in human foresight to perceive any possibility of plucking it up.

There were no hopes from *the King*; He had been taught, by the contention that had been between King Henry ii. and Thomas Becket, how dangerous it was to set his face against these usurpations. The Kings of England generally chose a more politick part; which was to make the Pope their friend, who by dispensations contrary to God's Laws, mediating betwixt Princes at variance, and sometimes taxing the people on purpose to oblige the King, with the whole, or part of it, made it in some measure the King's Interest to support the Pope's Supremacy: but at the same time gave occasion to the people to complain, in a Proverb usual in those days, that *the King and the Pope were the Lion and the Wolf*. And for this reason the Kings did support the Pope by several Acts of Parliament.

These Acts of Parliament cut off all hopes that *Private Persons* could, or would dare to oppose this tyranny. For by the 2 Hen. iv. a Law passed greatly encreasing the power of the Ordinary, allowing him 'to imprison, fine, determine all causes of heresy according to the Canonical Decrees within three months.' Now, by virtue of those Decrees, we find, that the Bishops did so behave themselves,

^f In 379, Gratian, in favor of Theodosius, added Dacia and Greece (formerly part of the Western Empire) to the Eastern. Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, unwilling to lose East Illyricum, though now dismembered from the Western Empire, appointed a Vicar there. His Successors improved upon him, and appointed Vicars in *other* Provinces and Kingdoms; generally annexed to certain Sees, but sometimes conferred on particular persons. The Institution of Vicars was by succeeding Popes, improved into that of Legates; who, as Pope Leo expresses it, were admitted to a far greater share of his care, though not to the plenitude of his power. Leon. Ep. 48.

themselves, “ that the most learned man of the realm, diligently
 “ lying in wait upon himself, could not eschew and avoid the said
 “ Act and Canonical Sanctions, if he should be examined upon
 “ such captious Interrogatories, as is, and has been accustomed to
 “ be ministred by the Ordinaries of this realm, in cases where
 “ they will suspect of heresy ^z.” Upon which Act, says Coke ^h,
 ‘ If any did refuse obedience to his Diocesan in ought, there would
 ‘ be means found to bring him within the suspicion of heresy.’
 What treatment then must any private person expect, whether
 Clerk or Layman, who should be bold enough publicly to oppose
 the Pope’s Supremacy, when by this Act the Ordinary could de-
 termine it to be heresy, and Hereticks by the Common Law of
 England at that time were to be burned? Especially as by the
 2 Henry v. it was enacted by a Parliament at Leicester, that the
 Chancellor, Treasurer, Justices of the Peace, and Sheriffs should
 take an Oath for destroying all manner of heresies, commonly
 called Lollardies, to be assistant to the Ordinary therein: Persons
 convict of heresy were to lose their Fee-simple land: and Justices
 of the King’s Bench, Justices of Assize, and Justices of the Peace
 were to enquire of all holding any error or heresies, or Lollardies,
 with their Maintainers, Receivers, and Fautors.

These were to *enquire*, that none might escape; but the suspect-
 ed person was not left to their judgment, they were to deliver him
 up within ten days to the Spiritual Judge. Both these Acts of Par-
 liament were in force during the term of years of which I am now
 speaking. Nay, to awe even the most secret whisperer, by the
 Constitutions of Archbishop Chichely, in a Convocation held at
 London 1416, all Suffragans and Archdeacons in the Province of
 Canterbury, with their Officials and Commissaries in their sever-
 al jurisdictions, were enjoined diligently to enquire twice every
 year

^z Stat. 25 H. viii. cap. 14.

^h Instit. 3. cap. 6. p. 42.

year after persons suspected of heresy : that where any reputed Hereticks were reported to dwell, Three or more of that parish should be obliged to take an Oath that they would certify in writing to the Suffragans, Archdeacons, or their Commissaries, what persons were Hereticks ; or who kept private Conventicles ; or differed in life or manners from the common conversation of the Faithful ; or asserted heresies or errors ; or had any suspected books in the vulgar English tongue ; or received, favored, or were conversant with any persons suspected of error or heresy.

How active they were at this very time to detect and punish all suspected persons, agreeably to these Constitutions, may be guessed at from the Register of John Longland Bishop of Lincoln, in the last year of this Term 1521 ; in whose single diocese, in that one year, above five hundred persons were accused and detected.

As little relief was to be expected from a *General Council*, which was held by the Pope himself, and formed of Bishops and Abbots, who were sworn to the defence of the *Regalia Sancti Petri*, the Supremacy and Privileges of the Roman See.

So firmly riveted was the Roman Yoke, so hopeless any delivery from it, at this time particularly, when the Pope's Legate *à latere*, and the King's prime Favorite and Minister centered in one and the same person, Cardinal Wolsey.

§. 3. *The Pope's Revenue in England.* The Primacy was not only a mean of procuring a *Dominion* to the Pope over the English, but of filling his *Exchequer*, and impoverishing the kingdom, which he effected by various arts and impositions, some of which I shall mention.

Peter-pence ; a stated tribute paid annually to his Holiness, at the rate of a penny for every chimney : which Fuller computes at more than seven thousand pounds per annum.

Investitures ; The king used formerly to give Bishops possession by delivery of the pastoral staff and ring : but afterwards the Pope

prevailed so far as to have them chosen by their Chapters. Then, upon any dispute, introduced himself; till at length, he would often, without expecting the King's recommendation, or the Chapter's election, himself fill up the vacancy: but by whomsoever the Prelate was appointed, the Pope's instruments were necessary; for which they were to pay no inconsiderable Sum. In the 24th year of this reign a calculation was made, by which it appeared, that in the forty years preceding, there had been paid to Rome for Investitures of Bishops only, not less than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds; which is four thousand pounds a year during the whole term of this intervalⁱ.

First-fruits; Persons promoted by the Pope used to pay a gratuity for it; which introduced the payment of *First-fruits* demanded now of a long time for all the benefices in England. Infomuch that the Commons complained, even so far back as 1376, that the Pope's Collector sent annually to Rome from the Clergy, for Procuration of Abbies and Priories, and for First-fruits twenty thousand marks, betwixt three and four thousand pounds^k.

Appeals to Rome, and Revocation of Causes there; for the Pope reserved to himself to give definitive sentence in all high controversies; for which purpose there were Proctors and Agents continually residing at Rome to transact these affairs: all supported and maintained at the cost of the English Suitors.

Dispensations were another constant drain into the Pope's Treasury; such as licenses to eat meat on Fast-days; for Sons of the Clergy to succede their Fathers in an ecclesiastical benefice; to marry within the forbidden degrees; for divorces, and on many other occasions. The Pope had multiplied Canons, Decrees, and Constitutions,

ⁱ Twenty four thousand pounds according to the present value. See pag. 6.

^k An Act of Parliament in 1532 sets it at eighty thousand dollars since the 2 Hen. vii. which was in 1486, which is near four thousand a year, i. e. twenty-four thousand pounds present value.

Constitutions in indifferent things, that he might have the more opportunities of being paid for the breach of them: nay sometimes for the sake of this Idol, Gold, he would take upon him to dispense with the Laws of God himself. What his gains were from this article is not easy to say: but that they were great, must appear from the frequency of divorces and double marriages in England, to the continual embroiling of families and inheritances; such families especially as were rich enough to pay for being made unhappy. Of which the King's single family may be a sufficient proof; for Henry viii. himself and his Two Sisters were every one entangled in the vexatious consequences of a double marriage.

The King had, as is well known, when Prince of Wales, a dispensation to marry his Brother Arthur's Widow. And what confusion that occasioned afterwards to Himself, and the Succession, appears in all the Histories of those times. And though the Divorces he obtained were not granted by the Pope, yet were they made by virtue of a power which he had introduced; and which, for not exercising it as he ought, in the King's favor, was wrested out of his hands.

The King's Eldest Sister, the Princess Margaret, after burying her first husband, James iv. King of Scotland, married the Earl of Angus, who was at the same time married to another Lady, and had a daughter, the Lady Lenox, by him. She was afterwards divorced from the Earl, and during his life married the Lord Mufsein, and bastardised her daughter by the Earl of Angus.

The Princess Mary, the King's youngest Sister, was first married to Lewis the French King, and after his death, to Sir Charles Brandon; who, having been contracted to Mrs. Ann Brown, had a daughter by her before Marriage: but broke his promise with her, and married the Lady Mortimer. That Marriage was dissolved by divorce, and he married Mrs. Brown; after whose death he married the French Queen, the Lady Mortimer being still living.

living. Upon which her daughters, the Ladies Frances and Eleanor, had bastardy alledged against them in the reign of Edward vi.

And how generally this inconvenience had prevailed, and needed reformation, may be gathered from a Sermon of Bishop Latimer's before King Edward ¹. "For the Love of God, says he, take
 "an order for marriages here in England. For here is marriage
 "for pleasure and voluptuousness, and for goods; and so that they
 "may join land to land, and possessions to possessions, they care
 "for no more here in England. And that is the cause of so much
 "adultery, and so much breach of wedlock in the Noblemen and
 "Gentlemen, and so much divorcing. And it is not now in the
 "Noblemen only, but it is come now to the inferior sort. Every
 "man, if he have but a small cause, will cast off his old wife, and
 "take a new one, and will marry again at his pleasure; and there
 "be many that have so done."

This shews what occasion there was to reform this abuse introduced by the Pope's avarice in granting dispensations and divorces. And long before, Wickliff had complained, that "he was no ways
 "pleased with the multitude of the causes of divorce, since many
 "of them are of human appointment without any foundation ^m."

But as many would sin without a dispensation, his Holiness had a device to draw large sums of money out of their pockets by *Pardons* and *Indulgences* for sins already committed. In 1500, Pope Alexander vi. celebrated a jubilee at Rome for *distributing heavenly grace*, as the phrase was. At which Fuller computes above twenty thousand English. To encourage as many as could to come, he was very indulgent to such as died in their pilgrimage thither; as appears by Two Bulls, in the one of which it is said, "We
 "absolutely command the Angels, that they place their souls in
 "Paradise."

¹ Latimer's Sermons, p. 106.

^m Life of Wickliff, p. 347.

“Paradise, entirely exempt from Purgatory :” In the other, “Our pleasure is, that the pains of Hell do not afflict them, in any wife.”

After he had made the most of These that he could, for the sake of such as (hindered by any forcible impediment) could not come to Rome at that time, he sent over into England, towards the end of the year, Jasper Pons a Spaniard ; with commission to him (and such Confessors and Penitentiaries as he should appoint,) to grant to all persons truly confest and contrite, and visiting such churches as by that said Commissary should be assigned to be visited, and putting into the chest for the intent ordained, (namely a war with the Turk) such sum or quantity of money, gold or silver, as is limited by a schedule annext, the same indulgence, pardon, and grace, with remission of their sins, as they should have had, if they had gone personally to Rome in the year of grace ; namely, to absolve them of all manner of crimes, trespasses, transgressions and sins, whatsoever they be, though the absolution thereof be reserved to the Court of Rome, or to the Pope himself : nothing excepted, but such as was excepted to the Penitentiaries of Rome. If any be curious to know what these irremissible sins were ; they were conspiracies against the Pope and state of Rome ; falsifying his bulls, and laying violent hands on Bishops and Prelates. In which pardons and exceptions it is difficult to determine which we should admire most, the placability or the implacability, of his Holiness.

But beside the year of Jubilee, every year brought Pilgrims from England to Rome, and those Pilgrimages brought *Offerings* to the the Pope's chest.

The Clergy likewise had been subject formerly to great oppressions by demands of *Taxes and Levies*, a charge upon every religious house to find and pay a number of soldiers for the Pope's wars ;

^a See Grove's Life of Wolsey, P. i. p. 258.

wars : but these grew to be so frequent and burthenfome, that Martin v. was forced at the Council of ° Constance to ordain that these taxes should not be laid universally without a General Council ; nor upon any particular kingdom or province without the consent of the Bishops there. Accordingly when Leo x. demanded a contribution of the English Clergy, to support a war against the Turk, they twice refused him. His ordinary exactions and the King's wars being more than they were well able to bear.

There were several other methods of draining the people of England of their money. It is, I presume, impossible to say with any tolerable exactness what the Pope's annual income from hence was. The general computation will make us wonder how the people could answer the demands ; for the Pope and Cardinal Wolsey are reported, each of them, to have received yearly from hence more than the King's revenue.

It is true the greatest part rose from Church preferments and payments from the Clergy : but still their abilities rose from the labor of the people. And the Pope was too discrete to suffer them to be starved whom he intended to milk.

Beside the Baronies of Bishops, the Manors
 §. 4. *The Revenues of the Clergy.* of Chapters, and the Tithes and Offerings of the people due to the Parish Priests for their labors in the ministry of the gospel, other Orders and other Services were invented (the numbers and revenues of the former being too short to feed the avarice of the Court of Rome) that new pretences might raise new supplies from the people.

Such were Abbots with their Colleges of Monks ; originally Holy men, who were driven by persecution to lead solitary lives in wildernesses. Afterwards, men of melancholy humors voluntarily chose that unsocial retreat, which others had been compelled
 to

to by necessity. Whose austerity, piety, and frugality procured such reverence, that the people recommended themselves to their prayers, and often chose them to be their Almoners to distribute their bounty to the Poor. This presently improved those dens and caves of the earth into regular edifices, with large endowments to be disposed of in pious and charitable uses; and to pray for the Souls of their Founders, and their Ancestors and Posterity.

These multiplied apace, and were of several Orders, Benedictines, Augustinians, Gilbertines, and Carthusians, with their several subdivisions. Not only amply endowed at first, but daily encreasing by the devotion of new Benefactors, bequeathing manors, lands, and tenements to them; some of them so rich as to occasion a common saying, that if the Abbot of Glastonbury might marry the Abbess of Shaftesbury, their Heir would have more land than the King of England.

Their rapacious arts were so great, as to give occasion to the Emperour Valentinian to enact a new law, strictly forbidding the Ecclesiastics, and such of them as professed celibacy, meaning the Monks, to frequent the houses of Orphans or Widows, or to accept from those whom they attended, under the veil of religion, any thing whatsoever by way of donation, legacy, or feoffment in trust^p.

As the tithe of the land was thus disposed of to the secular Clergy, and the lands themselves in great measure to the Abbies and Monasteries, that merchandize and labor might not pass unexcised, several Orders of Friars, Beggars by profession, swarmed over the kingdom, who at first had no property, only a house to live in, and were to be maintained by the alms and offerings of the people.

By degrees they also began to have lands and endowments, and are therefore not easily to be distinguished from Monks; only, that the Friars prowled about to pick up what they could, while the monks were confined to their cloisters. They claimed the Pulpits from

^p Cod. Theodos. 16. tit. 2. l. 25. p. 48. anno 1370.

from the Parish Priests, inveighing against their ignorance and inability to preach; and magnified themselves above the Monks, representing the latter as idle drones, who indolently indulged themselves in their hives. And by enlarging on the miracles of the Saints to allure offerings to their shrines, and by attending the sick beds of rich men, they procured a very good subsistence. They were far more active and busy than the Monks, running into every family, hearing confessions, carrying about Indulgences, Agnus Dei's, Rosaries, Pebbles, and other trumpery, which they made the world believe had great virtue in them. Erasmus paints them in three several pictures^a: a fox in the pulpit; with a goose popping its head out of the hood behind: a wolf absolving; but his cloke not sufficient quite to conceal the sheep he had made a prey of: a monkey attending a dying person; one paw elevates the Host, while the other is diving into the sick man's pocket. In short, Preachers to plunder; Confessors to devour; and charitable Visitors of the sick to gull them of their money. The Friars and the Monks between them are reported to have become Lords of little less than half the Temporalities of the Kingdom^r.

I shall say nothing of Chantries, Free Chapels, and such Colleges as were founded for praying Souls out of Purgatory; as they are all so well known to have served the same ends, and employed the same persons as have been already mentioned.

And when to all these we shall have added the numbers engaged, and the great cost yearly expended in the Pope's Court at Rome, his Legate's, and the Bishop's courts here in England, we shall be sensible that the primacy of Rome cost the English an immense sum of money to maintain it.

It will be a natural curiosity to enquire what use and benefit the people reaped in return, and what effect this scheme of Papal Dominion had upon the Learning and Manners of that age.

The

^r In his Ptochoploustoi.

^a Sanderson's Sermons, p. 211, 212.

§. 5. *An Account
of their Learning.*

The secular or parochial Clergy were at a very low ebb in point of learning. They were greatly impoverished by Impropropriations; one third of the livings being vicarages with small stipends or allotments, did not afford them much money with which they might purchase books: and for the richer rectories, many of them were bestowed by the Pope upon Italians, who never saw their churches, but got them supplied as cheap as they could; so that their blind parishioners were left to as blind guides, fit only, as the Friars upbraided them, like hackneys, to run the stage in the Mass-book.

The Monks wallowed in wealth, luxury, sloth and idleness; their study seems to have been chiefly for amusement, in reading and writing histories. Erasmus very smartly lashes them in his Dialogue betwixt an Abbot and a learned Lady, where he represents the Abbots discouraging their monks from study, lest they should become impertinently busy and troublesome: and describes them as consuming their time in their several masses, hunting, fine horses, and entertainments; insomuch that there was danger, upon the revival of letters, that the very women would drive them out of the Pulpits, Divinity-chairs, and Bishopricks, and take possession of them themselves.

The Friars, as their employment and gains rose from giving absolutions, pardons, and indulgences, and dispensing the merits and intercessions of Saints, exercised themselves in the casuistry and subtleties of the Schoolmen, to qualify themselves for Confessors. And in order to draw offerings to the shrines of their Saints, they amused the people with legends of their miracles. This evil had taken deep root an hundred years before, and was complained of by Wicliff, "Cap'd Friars, says he, that been cleped maisters of Divinity, senden out idiots full of covetise to preche, not the Gospel, but chronicles, fables, and leasings to please the people, and to rob them."

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There

There were few Sermons but in Lent ; for their discourses on the Holidays were rather Panegyricks on the Saints then commemorated, or the vain magnifying of some of their relicts, which were laid up in such and such places : in Lent the Friars used all the force of their skill and industry to raise the people into heats by passionate and affecting discourses, which generally tended to raise the value of some of the laws of the church, such as abstinence at that time, confession, and corporal severities ; or some of the little devices that both inflamed devotion, and drew money ; such as indulgences, pilgrimages, or the enriching the shrines and relicts of the Saints *.

This bred emulations among them for the honor and enriching of their respective cloisters. The Franciscans and Dominicans had raised a mighty controversy, which, at the beginning of this interval, exercised almost all the Schools and Universities through the whole Church. The Franciscans, called Grey Friars or Minorites, held with their Master Scotus, that the Virgin Mary, prevented by the Grace of the Holy Ghost, was so sanctified, that she was never subject one moment in her conception to Original Sin. This was to enable her the better to be a Mediatrix : for in consequence of this they held, that she did not pray to God at any time for remission of her own sins, but for the remission of other men's sins ; and that she counted their sins for hers. The Dominicans, called Black Friars, or Preaching Friars, held with Thomas Aquinas, that she was conceived as all other children of Adam are. On this point they had preached one against the other : but in 1483, Pope Sixtus iv. by a Bull determined in favor of the Franciscans, as more agreeable to the system of Popery : which was greatly to the disadvantage, as well as the disgrace of the Dominicans.

The Dominicans endeavoured to recover their credit by a sleight †. Four of that Order had so infatuated a simple Friar, who had newly planted himself in the Cloister, with several superstitions and
illusions,

* Burnet.

† At Berne, in 1509. See Fox.

illusions, that he believed the Virgin Mary had appeared to him, and had offered him a red Host consecrated, with the miraculous blood of Christ: which blessed Virgin, he was also persuaded, had sent him to the Senators of Berne with instructions, declaring unto them from the mouth of the Virgin, that she was conceived in sin, and that the Franciscan Friars were not to be credited, nor suffered in the city, who were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception: moreover, that they should resort to a certain Image there of the Virgin (which Image the Friars by engines had made to sweat) and should do their worship, and make their oblations to the same. This device was scarce sooner forged by the Friars than it was believed by the people; so that a great while the red coloured Host was taken undoubtedly for the true body and blood of Christ; and several coloured drops thereof sent abroad to many noble Persons and States for a great relict, which brought in ample returns. Thus the deceived people flocked in crowds to the Image, and to the red Host and coloured blood with their gifts and oblations. In short they so vanquished the Franciscans, that all the alms came to their box. The Franciscans perceived they were over-reached, but were by no means convinced. They had too much experience of these juggles to be deceived by them; and therefore were upon the watch to detect them: which at length they did, and the Provincial of the Dominicans with his three Accomplices were burned for it.

This may serve for a taste of the kind of learning that then engaged the chief Scholars of the age, as the Friars were accounted; and the scope at which their studies aimed. Many like Impostors were discovered in England. And how by these, and other arts they enriched their shrines, and misled the people's devotion, may be judged by the comparison of two year's offerings, which Bishop Burnet gives us, made at three altars in Christ's Church, Canterbury; namely, Christ's, the Virgin Mary's, and Thomas Becket's: in one year there was offered at Christ's altar three pounds two
D 2 shillings

shillings and six pence. At the Virgin's altar as much more : but at St. Thomas's altar eight hundred and thirty two pounds twelve shillings and three pence. In the next year, not a penny was offered at Christ's altar ; at the Virgin's four pounds fifteen shillings and eight pence. And at St. Thomas's nine hundred and fifty four pounds six shillings and three pence.

In short, an entire new Gospel and scheme of Redemption was invented. Christ was no longer a Saviour, but a Judge only ; before whom we need only produce for our acquittal, the merit of our own Good Works, such as alms, offerings, and pilgrimages ; or the merits or intercessions of some Saints that we had purchased ; or the acts of grace from Popes in our favor.

As all this was contrary to the Scriptures, the Bible was very little known, locked up from the people in a language to which they were strangers, and the Clergy had no occasion (as far as that religion was concerned) or any encouragement to study it. Wicliff tells us, that in his time, it was ordered in the University of Oxford, that Priests and Curates were not to read the Scriptures, till they were nine or ten years standing there. And by the Constitutions of Arundel it was ordered, that ' none should preach ' any doctrine contrary to the determination of the Church, nor ' call in question what the Church had determined on pain of ex- ' communication *ipso facto*, and for the second offence of being de- ' clared an Heretick. And that nobody by his own authority ' should translate any text of Holy Scripture into English, or any ' other language, by way of a book, libel, or tract ; and that no ' such should be read, either in part or all, publickly or privately, ' under pain of the greater excommunication, until by the Diocesan ' of the place, or, if the case should require it, by a Provincial ' Council, the Translation should be approved.' Such care was taken to keep the people entirely from the knowledge of the scriptures, and discourage the Clergy's study of them. These last acted upon the principle, which had not lost ground since Wicliff's days, namely,

namely, that the decrees of Bishops in the Church are of greater authority than the Scriptures". Such as did look into them, found little there to their satisfaction; as appears from a saying of *Whitgift*, Abbot of *Wellow*, in *Lincolnshire*, and Uncle to the Archbishop of that name in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. He said, the religion of the Monasteries could not long continue. "I have read, said he, the Scriptures over and over; and could never find therein that our Religion was founded by God: and every planting which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up^x."

As to the people, they were severely prosecuted if they presumed to read such heretical books as the Scriptures were accounted. We find several cited before *Fitzjames*, Bishop of *London*, in 1512, 'for reading and using certain English books repugnant to the faith of the Romish Church, as the four Evangelists, a book of the ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of St. John, the Epistles of Paul and James.' And again, 'One *Richard Butler*^y, for that he did erroneously and damnably read in a great book of *Robert Durdants*, certain chapters of the Evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy^z'. And in Scotland, when the Lutheran Controversy had been for some time carried on, some Monks there charged Luther with being the Author of a wicked Book called the New Testament^a.

Another branch of learning in vogue was the Canon Law, through which lay the high road to honors and preferments.

In the Universities sophistical querks, Aristotle and Scotus generally prevailed. Erasmus gives us a good view of this Scholastick Divinity, when he asks, what was to be done with the Turks, if we conquered them, and would attempt to bring them over to Christianity. 'Shall we, says he, put into their hands an Occam, a Durandus, a Scotus, a Gabriel, or an Alvarus? What will they think of us? (for after all they are rational creatures) What will

^x Life of Wicliff, p. 27.

^z Fox, Hen. viii. p. 10.

^y Fuller's Church History.

^a Perizonius, in histor. sæc. sexti decimi, p. 233.

^y In 1521.

‘ will they think, when they hear of our intricate and perplexed
 ‘ Subtleties concerning *Instants, Formalities, Quiddities, and Rela-*
 ‘ *tions* ? What, when they observe our quibbling Professors so lit-
 ‘ tle of a mind, that they dispute together till they turn pale with
 ‘ fury, call names, spit in one another’s faces, and even come to
 ‘ blows ? What, when they behold the Jacobins fighting for their
 ‘ Thomas, and the Minorites for their most refined and seraphick
 ‘ Doctors, and the Nominalists and Realists, each defending their
 ‘ own jargon, and attacking that of their adversaries^b.’

In the last reign Greek was a stranger in both Universities ; and so little even of Latin had Cambridge of its own growth, that it had not sufficient to furnish out the common Letters and Epistles of the University ; they usually employed an Italian, one *Caius Auberinus*, to compose them, whose ordinary fee was twenty pence a Letter^c. The first publick Orator chosen to this Office was *Richard Crook*, in 1521. The state of learning in Oxford cannot be supposed any better, as they with greater difficulty admitted the *new learning*, which about the beginning of this century was introduced into the kingdom ; for in 1497 Erasmus came over into England, and went to Oxford, where he grew acquainted with Wolsey and Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) More. His acquaintance with the former proved fortunate for Oxford, as Wolsey probably received from it a better taste of Learning, and a resolution to encourage it, which he afterwards did when Chancellor of that University. In 1505 Erasmus studied at Queen’s College in Cambridge ; where it is not improbable that he was a mean of introducing those many Authors he mentions^d, whose very names were till then unknown there. Greek began to be taught in both Universities, quietly at Cambridge, but with some tumult at Oxford.

Some eminent Scholars were then in the kingdom, but most of them such as had fetched their learning from abroad, or whose un-
 common

^b Epist. Lib. 23. Epist. 7.

^c MSS. in Bennet College Library. Lib. P. p. 194.

^d Epist. Lib. 2. Ep. 10.

common liveliness of parts and diligence had removed the rubbish that lay in their way. Such was Colet, 'whom as often as I hear, (says Erasmus,) methinks I hear the divine Plato himself.' he had travelled to Paris and Italy, and at his return read the Epistles at Oxford, instead of Scotus and Thomas. He founded a Grammar School at St. Paul's, and appointed William Lilly the first Schoolmaster; who had travelled in pilgrimage as far as Jerusalem, and in his return applied himself to his studies in Italy under Sulpitius and Sabinus, two eminent Criticks*. Italy was then the almost only seat of Classick learning; there it flourished to the exclusion of every other branch, except Physick and Law'. 'In Grocyn, as Erasmus proceeds, who cannot but admire that universal compass of learning; what more acute, more profound, more accurate than the judgment of Linacre; what did nature ever form so soft, so sweet, so happy, as the wit of Sir Thomas More?' Indeed in almost all the Universities of Europe polite literature was struggling with its inveterate enemies to gain admittance, except at Cologne only, where it could gain none; which Erasmus ascribes to the swarms of Franciscans and Dominicans there.

So that, though the principal learning in vogue was the subtleties of the Schoolmen, legends and miracles, the common law, decrees and decretals, with very little knowledge of the Scriptures, barbarous Latin, law French, Gothic poetry, and a contempt of Greek; yet by the industry of a few, such as Warham, Erasmus, Colet, Grocyn, Lilly and others, especially the Chancellors of both Universities, Wolsey at Oxford, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, at Cambridge, a politer taste of Latin, and new light from an

* Lilly published his Latin Grammar in 1515: which, as King Henry enjoined universally to be used, (Fuller Cent. 16. p. 1687.) was probably the exercise of our young Scholar at Newcastle; where it came time enough to improve him in the Latin tongue, not to give him his first rudiments of it.

† Eras. Epist. Lib. 17. Ep. 11.

an acquaintance with the Greek, began to break upon the nation, and disturb the solemn ignorance of the Cloisters.

Nay, dangerous as it was, the Scriptures began to be opened and taught; Colet had laid aside Scotus and Thomas, and introduced the reading of St. Paul's Epistles at Oxford, and had ventured even to translate the *Pater noster* into English. It is true this cost him much trouble from his Diocesan Fitzjames, Bishop of London: but Archbishop Warham, who knew and favored Dean Colet's merit, saved him from the Bishop's resentment.

Ever since the days of Wicliff, who had translated the New Testament into English, the whole or some parts of it had been privately handed about, and greedily read by many. Not openly, for that they durst not do: but, in secret, before Luther appeared, they would sit up all night in reading and hearing it; they would give some five marks, some more, for part of the Scriptures in English; some gave a load of hay for a few Chapters of St. James or St. Paul translated^e.

But this was yet only a glimmering, rather than a shining out either of the Gospel, or of learning. Printing, which had been invented about fourscore years before, had only sown the seeds of learning, the time of harvest was not yet: Wicliff, who about the same time had endeavoured to unlock the Scriptures by translating them, had rather stirred the curiosity of the people, than informed their judgment. In general, the Schoolmen and Canon Law triumphed, and polite literature was but creeping in; indeed the King, the good Archbishop Warham, and the Chancellors of both the Universities gave it some encouragement, while the old Clergy were jealous of the novelty, and set themselves against it. However, both the regal, and the whole sacerdotal power jointly concurred in suppressing the knowledge of the Scriptures; and he who was wicked enough to read his Bible was in danger of burning for it^h. The preference given to the Schoolmen
above

^e Fox.

^h See Registr. Longland Lincoln. in Fox.

above the Scriptures, made Erasmus complain in a letter to the Archbishop of Mentz, ‘ formerly he was accounted a Heretick
 ‘ who contradicted the gospels, or articles of faith, or points de-
 ‘ termined by like authority: but now, if any one opposes Aquinas,
 ‘ or the devices of any little Sophist of yesterday, he is presently
 ‘ an Heretick. Whatsoever they like not, whatsoever they under-
 ‘ stand not, that is heresy. To understand greek is heresy, to
 ‘ speak correctly is heresy, in short every thing to which they are
 ‘ not accustomed is heresy¹.’

This view of the power and revenue of the Pope
 §. 6. *A View of* in England, the numbers, orders, and maintenance
the Popish Religion. of his Clergy and Officers here, would lead us to
 suspect a plan or system of Religion rather con-
 trived by the Spirit of this world, than one reveled by the Spirit
 of God. But I am writing a history, and not indulging con-
 jectures. We may take some aim at their doctrines and discipline
 from the Bishop’s registers in those days, in which are recorded the
 opinions abjured, or for which the maintainers of them were put
 to death.

Against the usurped Supremacy of the Pope, and the exemption
 of Ecclesiasticks from the Civil power, from which so many incon-
 veniences followed, some were driven to cut the knot they could
 not untie, and to hold that Priests have no more power of God
 than Laymen.

In opposition to the prevailing art of diving into people’s secrets,
 and by that means governing them, others denied the necessity of
 Auricular Confession.

Beside the *absurdity* of Transubstantiation, they saw that doctrine
 was calculated to create an unbounded reverence of the Priests, as
 if they were superior to God himself^k; and therefore some main-
 E tained

¹ Erasmi. Epist. Lib. 12. Ep. 10.

^k A Franciscan preaching before the Marquis of Carmuna at Milan, said ‘ Kings in-
 deed were above other men, but that Priests were superior to Kings.’ Among other rea-
 sons,

tained that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very body of Christ, but material bread.

Against the Idolatry of the age, universally insisted on to pick people's pockets at the shrines, others maintained, that neither Images, nor the Crucifix were to be worshipped.

Against vain Merit, especially of outward unprofitable works, highly encouraged for the offerings attending them, many held that Pilgrimages were neither necessary, nor meritorious.

Against an attendant or consequent Idolatry, they maintained that our prayers were to be addressed to God only, and not to Saints.

Against other false and vain dependences, such as Holy Water for the Living, and Extreme Unction for the Dying, they held that the one was nothing better after benediction than before; and that the latter was neither necessary, nor profitable¹.

It is obvious to discern what purposes the Popish Doctrines were calculated to serve; and the severity, with which the Opposers of them were punished, declare of what importance the Ecclesiastical Judge thought them.

Such heretical tenets, as they were then accounted, had been for a long while creeping into the kingdom, ever since the days of Walter Lollard, who revived them in Germany about 1313. Yet they gained but little ground here, till Wicliff, towards the end of that century, took pains to propagate them. From his time, which was now little more than one hundred years, they were secretly countenanced by several, his numerous writings having persuaded many; some of whom went more extravagant lengths. Wicliff's writings were therefore prohibited. But the works of Chaucer had a like effect; who, as he worked more covertly,

sons, because although 'Kings could command the Creature, the Priest commanded the Creator. Kings had much trouble and difficulty to make the people obey him, but the Priests by virtue of the words of consecration constrained God Almighty Himself to descend into their hands upon the very first signal.' *History of Cardinals*, p. 13.

¹ Canterbury Register, 1511, and others.

vertly, was allowed to be read; except his Ploughman's Tale; where indeed he speaks plain enough, and very powerfully recommends the Lollards or Wiclivians in preference to the Popish Clergy.

That the corruptions were great, and the abuses intolerable, was discerned and felt in general. To pass over the complaints of Germany, and the declamations of persons who may be represented as prejudiced, let us enter the Pope's Cabinet, and judge from the advice of his Privy Counsellors how to stop the great clamors raised against the Court of Rome, what just occasion had been given to alarm the Western world, and to seek for some redress. The advice indeed was given many years after the interval I am now speaking of, so late as Queen Mary's Reign: but this counsel of the Bishops at Bononia, by what effectual means the Apostolical See might be established and advanced, after it had been shaken by the Reformation, will evidently shew what reason there was for making such a stand against it in vindication of Christian Liberty.

After their preface, they acknowledge in substance thus;
 ' When we had well and long considered what was the state of
 ' this weighty controversy, recollecting all things from the begin-
 ' ning, we at last found it to be this: the Lutherans hold and
 ' confess all the articles of the Apostles Creed, that of Nice and
 ' Athanasius. This is very certain, for we ought not to deny (es-
 ' pecially among ourselves) what we all know to be so true. And
 ' these Lutherans refuse to admit of any other doctrine, but that
 ' alone, of which the Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles were au-
 ' thors. We, on the other hand, following the opinion of your
 ' Holiness, would have all Traditions, Constitutions, Rules, and
 ' Ceremonies, which have hitherto been brought into the Church,
 ' by the Fathers, Councils, or any Private Men, (with a good in-
 ' tention) believed and received as doctrine necessary to Salvation:
 ' but particularly as to Tradition, we believe as an article of faith,
 ' what

‘ what the Council of Trent has decreed in the third Session, viz.
‘ that our Lord Jesus Christ, and his Apostles, delivered more pre-
‘ cepts, relating both to manners and faith, by word of mouth,
‘ than are in the Scriptures; and that these, without writing, were
‘ handed down to us: and although we cannot prove this clearly,
‘ (for amongst ourselves we plainly acknowledge, that we have no
‘ proofs, but some sort of conjectures, to make out what we teach
‘ concerning Tradition) yet we confess this to be true, because the
‘ Roman Church maintains it. This in short is the hinge on which
‘ the whole controversy turns; hence these tumults and contentions
‘ procede. But we ought to venture all to keep their doctrine from
‘ spreading; for it is no trifle that is under debate, but the safety
‘ and welfare of your whole State, and of us, who are all your
‘ creatures and members, is now at stake. For in the days of the
‘ Apostles (to tell you the truth, but you must be silent) and for
‘ several years after them, there was no mention made of either
‘ Pope or Cardinals; there were none of these large revenues be-
‘ longing to Bishops and Priests; no sumptuous Temples were
‘ raised; there were no Monasteries, Priors, or Abbots; much less
‘ any of these Doctrines, these Laws, these Constitutions, nor this
‘ Sovereignty, which we now exercise over people and nations.

‘ But the Ministers of all Churches (as well that of Rome, as
‘ others) were willingly obedient to Kings, Princes and Governours.
‘ Let your Holiness therefore judge how hard it would go with us,
‘ if, by ill destiny, we should again be reduced to the primitive
‘ poverty and humility, again subjected to the wretched servitude
‘ of being under the command of others.

‘ We find upon full examination of the matter, that the glory,
‘ authority, and power of the church first arose when shrewd, dis-
‘ crete, active Bishops began to preside over it, who used their op-
‘ portunities to obtain from the Emperours, that they would by
‘ their authority and power establish the Primacy and Supreme
‘ Power over other Churches, in this See. And this Pope Boni-
‘ face

face iii. amongst others, is said to have received from the Emperor Phocas.

‘ We observed likewise, that the affairs of the Church began
‘ more and more to flourish every day, when Cardinals were created,
‘ the number of Bishops was encreased, and so many and so godly
‘ Orders of Monks and Nuns were first founded. Nor can we
‘ doubt, but those Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Monks, and Nuns
‘ have by their cunning, their inventions, rites, and ceremonies
‘ turned away the Church from that antient doctrine which kept
‘ her so poor and humble, and have by these arts procured her favor and authority. We ought therefore to take the same measures to preserve her in that state to which they have raised her ;
‘ that is, all kind of application and wit is to be employed ; and
‘ the number of Cardinals, Bishops, Monks, and Nuns is to be encreased.

‘ France, Italy, and Spain are content with your empire, the last
‘ of which religiously observes all your Laws and Constitutions,
‘ and does not change or innovate in any thing : but if
‘ there are any Hereticks amongst them, they are such as rather
‘ deny that the Messias is yet come, or that men’s Souls are immortal, than question the Power of your Holiness. But without
‘ doubt, this heresy of theirs seems to us more sufferable than that
‘ of Luther ; and the reason is plane, for these Moriscoes, though
‘ they believe nothing of Christ, or a future state, are yet wont to
‘ hold their tongues, or at most, laugh amongst themselves, and
‘ in the mean time they are not at all wanting in their duty to the
‘ Roman Church.

‘ It would not be amiss to send a great many of those Priests that
‘ they call Chietini and Paulini into France and Italy ; for to say
‘ the truth, these common Priests and Monks do really abuse the
‘ Mass too much, which they say with little or no devotion, chopping it up in haste, and making a public sale of it : beside, they
‘ live such dissolute, profligate lives, that men deservedly give no
‘ longer

‘ longer credit to them, or suffer themselves to be persuaded (though
‘ our Sophisters take great pains about it) that a wicked debauched
‘ Fellow can draw Christ out of Heaven to the altar, free Souls
‘ from Purgatory, and obtain forgiveness of sins both to them-
‘ selves and others, and all this by *the works done*.

‘ You should likewise make it your business to get new Orders of
‘ Monks founded every where; for They, believe us, do great
‘ service in the establishment of your Dominion. For you may
‘ consider how they have encreased it by the confessions, preaching,
‘ and worship, which they have brought into the Church. Be-
‘ side, we are taught this by long experience, that the Sect of the
‘ Lutherans has been less able to intrude itself there, where is the
‘ greatest numbers of Monks (especially Dominicans and Francif-
‘ cans) who have stoutly maintained Your, and overthrown the
‘ Adversaries doctrine.’

And after some directions for the encrease of ceremonies, they
proceede,; ‘ Beside, we advise, that your Holiness should lay your
‘ commands on those Bishops and Cardinals that happen to reside
‘ in their dioceses, that they take care to have Logick, Sophistry,
‘ and the Art of the Schoolmen, Metaphysicks, the Decretals, the
‘ Clementines, the Extravagants, and the rules of Chancery pub-
‘ lickly taught and read in their cities. It had been well if men
‘ had ever applied themselves industriously to the reading such sort
‘ of books, for then our affairs had never been in so bad a posture
‘ as they are; but despising this sort of learning, they began to
‘ employ themselves in learning Greek and Hebrew, and in a little
‘ time to examine the Translation of the Bible by the true Ori-
‘ ginal, and to study Divinity, and the antient Fathers of the church;
‘ and hence sprang all the misfortunes we lie under; therefore you
‘ must endeavour, that, setting these studies aside, men should again
‘ fall to the study of the Schoolmen and of your Canon Law: by
‘ which it is manifest, the study of Divinity was in a manner over-
‘ whelmed and buried.

‘ We

‘ We mentioned not the *Decretum*, for it is a pernicious book,
‘ and lessens your Authority extremely, although it seems in some
‘ places to enlarge it: for, amongst other things, in several places,
‘ it denies, That the Pope can add the least tittle to that doctrine,
‘ which our Saviour declared to us, and the Apostles taught; for
‘ thus says the Canon, *Transferat*, &c. 24. 9. 3. ‘ They change
‘ truth into a lie, who preach any thing else than what they re-
‘ ceived from the Apostles.’ This is a downright Lutheran max-
‘ im; for what else do our Adversaries daily inculcate, than that
‘ it is not lawful to depart in the least degree from those things
‘ that were in use amongst the Apostles? But who of us doth not
‘ every day often depart from them? Indeed in our churches we
‘ scarce retain (as we hinted at the beginning) the least shadow of
‘ that doctrine and discipline, which flourished in the times of the
‘ Apostles, but have brought in quite another of our own.

‘ But we have reserved the most considerable advice, which we
‘ could at this time give your Holiness, to the last. And here
‘ you must be awake, and exert all your force to hinder, as much
‘ as you can possibly, the Gospel from being read (especially in the
‘ vulgar tongue) in all the cities that are under your Dominion.
‘ Let that little text of it which they have in the Mass serve their
‘ turn, nor suffer any mortal to read any thing more; for as long
‘ as men were contented with that little, things went to your mind,
‘ but grew worse and worse from that time that they commonly
‘ read more. This in short is the book, that has, beyond all others,
‘ raised those storms and tempests, in which we are almost driven
‘ to destruction. And really, whosoever shall diligently weigh the
‘ Scripture, and then consider all the things that are usually done in
‘ our churches, will find there is great difference betwixt them;
‘ and that this doctrine of ours is very unlike, and in many things
‘ quite repugnant to it.’

Such was the closet counsel of the Bishops of Termulæ, Caprulæ,
and Theſſalonica to Pope Julius iii. Oct. 20, 1553, which, though
not

not given till the time of Ridley's death, yet I judged it proper to produce in this place, to justify the wishes of many people in this very interval of which I am speaking, for a reformation; and to give the more credit to the complaints which were published about this time in England, in a small tract by Mr. Simon Fish, a Gentleman of Grays-Inn, in the year 1526, addressed to Henry viii. and stiled *The Supplication of Beggars*.

He accounts for the great number of distressed and starving beggars, from the immense and disproportioned wealth of the Clergy at that time. Beside the tithes, the Prelates, Abbots, Priors, Monks, and Canons had, as he says, got more than the third part of all the realm into their hands. And then proceeds to reckon up the further profits of the Clergy, in these words;

' Hereto have they their four offering days; what money pull
' they in by Probates of Testaments, privy tithes, and by men's Of-
' ferings, and their Pilgrimages, and at their first Masses? Every
' man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for Masses and
' Dirges to be sung for him, or else they will accuse their friends
' and executors of heresy. What money get they by Mortuaries,
' by hearing of Confessions, (and yet they will keep thereof no
' counsel,) by hallowing of Churches, Altars, Super-altars, Cha-
' pels and Bells, by cursing of men and absolving them again for
' money? What a multitude of money gather the Pardoners in a
' year? How much get the Sumners by extortion in a year, by
' sciting the people to the Commissaries Court, and afterwards
' releasing the apparents for money? Finally, the infinite numbers
' of begging Friars, what get they in a year?

The five Orders of Friars, he tells us, had each a penny a quarter of every household, that is, every house paid twenty pence a year amongst them.

' And what do all this greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy Thieves
' with these yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly,
' nothing but exempt themselves from the obedience of your Grace.

' Nothing

‘ Nothing but translate all rule, power, lordship, authority, obedience, and dignity, from your Grace unto them. Yea, and what do they more ? Truly nothing but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every man’s wife, every man’s daughter, and every man’s maid that no man should know his own child, that their bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right begotten children clean beside their inheritance ; in subversion of all estates and godly order. Who is able to number the great and broad bottomless ocean sea full of evils, that this mischievous and sinful generation may lawfully bring upon us unpunished ? Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity, that should punish by death, even as other men are punished, the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons committed by this sinful generation ? Where is their obedience who should be under your high power in this matter ? Is it not altogether translated from your Grace unto them ?’

Then, to shew how desperate of relief the kingdom was, he asks, ‘ What remedy ? Make Laws against them ? I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not stronger in your own Parliament House than yourself ? What a number of Bishops, Abbots, and Priors are Lords of your Parliament ? What Law can be made against them that may be available ? Who is he (although he be grieved ever so sore,) that for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter, robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge by any way of action ? And if he do, then is he by and by, through their wiliness accused of heresy : yea, they will so handle him ere he pass, that except he will bear a faggot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicate, and then be all his actions dashed.

‘ Neither have they any color to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say, they pray for us to God, to
F deliver

' deliver our Souls out of the pains of Purgatory ; without whose
 ' prayers they say, or at least the Pope's pardon, we can never be
 ' delivered thence. Which, if it be true, then it is good reason
 ' that we give all these things, although it were an hundred times
 ' as much. But there be many men of great literature and judg-
 ' ment, that for the love they have unto truth, and unto the Com-
 ' monwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest
 ' infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea in peril
 ' of death, to declare their opinion in this matter : which is,
 ' that there is no Purgatory ; but that it is a thing invented by the
 ' covetousness of the Spirituality, only to translate all kingdoms
 ' from other Princes unto them ; and that there is not one word
 ' spoken of it in all Holy Scripture. They say also, that if there
 ' were a Purgatory, and also that if the Pope with his pardons
 ' may for money deliver one Soul thence, he may deliver him as
 ' well without money ; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a
 ' thousand ; if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver All, and
 ' so destroy Purgatory : and then he is a cruel Tyrant, without all
 ' charity, if he keep them there in prison and in pain, till men
 ' will give him money.

' Well I wot, that this Purgatory and the Pope's pardons are the
 ' great scab, why they will not let the New Testament go abroad
 ' in your mother tongue, lest men should espy, that by their cloked
 ' hypocrisy they do translate thus fast your kingdom into their
 ' hands ; that they are not obedient to your high power ; that they
 ' are cruel, unclean, unmerciful and hypocrites ; that they seek not the
 ' honor of Christ, but their own ; that remission of sins is not given
 ' by the Pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the true faith and trust
 ' that we have in him^m.

But:

^m Fox. Henry viii. p. 280.

§. 8. *The obstacles against it.* But though the people had a sense quick enough to feel the Papal Tyranny, they had not power sufficient to shake it off: although the lucrative errors in support of that Tyranny began to be discovered, there were not yet knowledge and understanding sufficient to reform them with judgment. Learning and Reformation indeed began to dawn together upon the nation; but such black clouds hung over them, as threatened to extinguish their rising day. God had said, *Let there be light; and there was light*: but not yet digested into a regular and useful system; the darkness, that mingled with it, was more likely to eclipse it, than to be dispelled by it. The gospel-light did not shine so clear and disentangled, as to break irresistibly upon the rational or the pious.

Some learned and good men had discovered many gross errors; yet had they, as private Doctors, their singular opinions, not so certainly true, as to bear up against the contempt with which they were industriously treated: Others, of more devotion than judgment, brought in their dreams, enthusiasms and mistakes: many, zealous against the papal excesses, hurried themselves into very extravagant extremes. Beside These, who meant well, men of lighter fancies were sucked in, and swam with the stream; the Vain, who affected to be wiser than their Teachers; the Impertinent, who loved to be meddling; the Peevish, who are always dissatisfied; the Warm, who could keep no bounds or temper; the Worldly and Avaritious, who quarrelled at the expence; the Profane, who will join with any religion to disturb that established; and the Profligate, who are natural enemies to all restraints of government, Civil or Religious. It is impossible to keep such men as these from busying themselves too far: and their absurdities, follies, and misconduct, threw, at this very time, a great discredit upon the attempts towards a Reformation; gave the Papal party great advantages in declaiming against them; and very much discouraged

discouraged many good people from joining with them. Such we find, quite from Wicliff's days, even down to the present, have retarded or disgraced the Reformation. Knyghton, who gives us an account of the great numbers of the Wiclivians in his days, does it in these words; 'The number of those who believed in his doctrine very much encreased, and, like suckers growing out of the root of a tree, were multiplied, and every where filled the compass of the kingdom. . . . These were like their Master, too eloquent and too many for other people in all disputes or contentions by word of mouth; being powerful in words, strong in prating, exceeding all in making speeches, and out-talking every body in litigious disputations'.

The indiscrete and ill principled men, that thrust themselves in among the rational and serious good Christians, damped the Reformation at this time; obstructed it by their impertinence in the latter days of King Henry; deformed it by their enthusiasms under Muncer in Germany; spoiled it by their rapaciousness under Edward vi. deserted it by their unsettledness under Q. Mary; weakened it by their sowerness under Q. Elizabeth; and have disgraced and disturbed it by their follies and obstinacy ever since.

But beside these discouragements, the Civil Power very heartily concurred in support of the Papal; and the union of the two powers was such an impediment, as effectually suppressed the growth of Gospel Knowledge. That we may the more clearly apprehend the strength of this Union, it will be necessary to take a cursory view of the capital events during the interval before us.

1485.

The wars between the Two Houses of York and Lancaster, which had long distracted the kingdom, were ended in the marriage of the Earl of Richmond, now King Henry vii. with the Princess Elizabeth, Heiress of the House of York. But they were

§. 9. *A brief view of publick Transactions during this period.*

^a De Eventibus Angliæ. Col. 2663, 2665.

were too near of kin to marry without the Pope's dispensation ; and even his title to the crown, (notwithstanding his descent, his victory, marriage, and an Act of Parliament,) he thought too insecure till confirmed by the Pope's Bull. This laid the foundation of a political friendship betwixt the Pope and King of England ; which was strengthened by an alliance with Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the most devoted Princes in Europe to the See of Rome ; who had revived in that kingdom the Court of Inquisition, which was taken little notice of, either there, or in any other part of Europe, except Italy, till they restored it.

Henry viith's chief passions were an implacable hatred to the House of York, and an insatiable avarice : Both were gratified in the marriage of his Son, Prince Arthur, with the Infanta of Spain ; as he was to receive in dowry with her two hundred thousand ducats, the greatest portion that had been given for many ages with any Princess ; and as Ferdinand insisted (or at least K. Henry took this occasion to give out that he did so,) in order to secure the crown to the Heirs of that marriage, that the only surviving Competitor of the House of York should be removed out of the way. With these views Arthur and Catharine were married by Proxy, May 19, and the unhappy Earl of Warwick for conspiring with ^{1501.} Perkin Warbeck to raise sedition, and to destroy the King, was beheaded the 28th of November following.

A marriage contracted with too bloody a view to be very fortunate to any persons concerned in it ! of which Queen Catharine afterwards was sensible, and acknowledged it°. November 14, the marriage was solemnized ; but not blessed by Heaven. The Prince, to whom his Father, by cutting off the Earl of Warwick, hoped to secure his crown, died soon after ; and dying without issue, half ^{1502.} of the rich dowry (the King's other object) was to be paid back to ^{April 2.} Spain. However, not to be too hasty in this point, Henry waited ten months, to see whether the Princess might be left with child, or not : and then the King's youngest Son, Henry, was created ^{1503.} Prince of Wales.

In

° Lord Verulam's Hist. of H. vii. p. 112.

In the mean time, the King, unwilling to lose so much money, projected a marriage betwixt Henry and his Brother Arthur's widow. That learned and good Prelate (as the times then were) and the King's great Favorite, Archbishop Warham, could never be prevailed upon to approve a conjunction forbidden by God under so severe a commination. It was likewise represented, that it would occasion contests for the crown against the heirs of so incestuous a marriage : but the King, blinded by his avarice, was satisfied by an expedient proposed by Fox, Bishop of Winchester ; which was, a dispensation from the Pope, to prevent all the ill consequences apprehended.

The deaths of Alexander vi. and Pius iii. successively prevented the dispensation being granted till 26 Dec. this year, when it was obtained of Julius ii. The Pope, though his chief divines did not assent to it^p, was willing to oblige two such Kings as Ferdinand and Henry vii. and to secure the dependence of England ; whose future Princes, born of this marriage, must be beholden to the Pope's friendship to allow or disallow their Title in consequence of it.

But how did the over-ruling Providence of God disappoint the wicked politicks of these Princes, and conduct the events contrary to what they projected ! King Henry vii. to secure the crown to his children, laid the foundation of his eldest son's marriage in blood, who died childless ; and that of his second son in incest, which embroiled the succession : Pope Alexander vi. who was first applied to for a dispensation, was prevented from granting it by the just judgment of God ; for having projected the murder of several Cardinals at an insidious entertainment, he fell himself by the poison which he had prepared for them : Pope Julius ii. who granted the dispensation, to secure the interest of the Roman see in England, was by that very step the instrument of totally destroying

^p Parker's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

stroying it there. Lessons proper for Princes to learn ; to convince them that they are in the hands of a supreme Monarch, who reigns over Kings themselves ; and that there is no wisdom in schemes which are contrary to the maxims of the Divine Lawgiver.

Faithful Warham ceased not to represent the offensiveness of this marriage to the King, however disagreeable the truth might be, till he had convinced him of it. So that Prince Henry by the King's command, when he was just 14 years old, solemnly protested against the marriage, contracted by him when under age ; and that he did now, coming to be of age, retract and annul it. About four years after, King Henry vii. upon his death-bed charged his son effectually to break the marriage, and died 22 April 1509.

The gay young King, Henry viii. now about 18 years old, began his reign with great glory. Empson and Dudley, the ministers of his Father's oppressions, were sent to the Tower the very next day, and in the beginning of the following year sacrificed to the people's resentment. Nor did he satisfy himself with this cheap justice only, but made restitution of great sums of money, which had been unjustly extorted from his subjects : And by his magnificence and liberality in a short time dissipated the great treasure, which his father had been accumulating through many years of avarice and rapine ; but with it purchased the hearts of his people, which Henry vii. had sordidly sold.

Nature had endowed the late King with great solidity of judgment ; but education had given to Henry viii. a brilliancy beyond him. Insomuch that he was accounted the most learned Prince that had been in the world for many ages, and obtained the title of *Beau Clerk*. Although his taste for politer learning might make him disdain the ignorance of the Popish Clergy, yet his fondness for Thomas Aquinas had tinged him with too strong a prejudice in favor of Popish Errors ; which likewise his interests and alliances had recommended still more strongly to his protection.

Ferdinand

Ferdinand had address and influence enough in the English Court to perswade the King to confirm his marriage with Catharine, on the 3d. of June, and on the 24th they were both crowned. This linked him with Spain; and his children's title to the crown, hanging on the Pope's favor, made him a most obedient son to the Bishop of Rome.

1510. In the next year Julius ii. presented him with the Golden Rose, and his Benediction. And presently after, when France had distressed his Holiness in Italy, Henry leagued with Ferdinand in his
1511. defence, and called it *God's Quarrel*. And in the following year, in return for the indignity offered the Pope by Lewis xii. the French King, in besieging him in Bononia, he demanded the provinces of Anjou, Guienne, and Normandy, which formerly had belonged to the Kings of England; and upon Lewis's refusal declared war with France. But as King Henry by this time had pretty well exhausted his Father's treasures, the Pope in concert with him, while
1512. the next Parliament was sitting, sent over a plenary Indulgence to all the King's subjects, who should assist him with their persons or their purses in this Holy War. And about this time Wolsey became the chief favorite.

1513. The February after, Julius ii. died, and Leo x. succeeded to the Papacy; who addressed the King in a Letter directed *To the most Christian King*; which Title his Predecessor had promised to transfer from the French King to him: sending him at the same time, a consecrated Hat and Sword, as emblems of the Spiritual and Temporal powers invested in the Pope; wishing him success and prosperity in the use of them against the enemies of the church, as well as his own. The King soon after having beat the French, and taken from them Terwin and Tournay, demolished the former, and made Wolsey Bishop of the latter.

While the King was abroad obtaining these conquests, his Brother-in-law James iv. of Scotland, married to his eldest sister the Lady Margaret, endeavoured, in favor of France, to give his
arms

arms a diversion, by an invasion in the North : where he was defeated by the Earl of Surry, in Floddon field, and slain in the battle.

In the following year, Lewis xii. reduced to great extremities, 1514. made his submission to the Pope : who absolved him, and desired Henry to lay down his arms, taken up in defence of the Holy See ; since the Prince, who had oppressed the Church, was become sensible of his error, had made satisfaction, and was again received into her bosom.

King Henry, under the influences of Wolsey, made peace with Lewis ; and confirmed it Oct. 9. by the marriage of his sister, the beautiful Princess Mary, with the French King. She carried over with her into France, among her attendants, the celebrated Ann Boleyn, then but seven years old. The French King died about three months after the marriage, and was succeeded by Francis i. who courted King Henry to renew the peace with him, which he did. During the course of this year, Wolsey's services were rewarded with the Bishoprick of Lincoln, upon the death of Dr. Smith, the 5th of March ; which he resigned for the Archbishoprick of York in August following, on the death of Cardinal Bambridge.

In about two months after the death of Lewis, his Queen Dow- 1515. ager being returned to England married the Duke of Suffolk : but left Ann Boleyn behind in the service of Queen Claude ; whose Husband Francis i. falling upon the Milanese, provoked the Pope, who endeavoured to engage Henry in the War again : he was too devoted to the Holy See to refuse him a great supply in money, though he excused himself from declaring against France. However in November the Pope sent to demand an extraordinary subsidy of the English Clergy, who refused ; pleading their inability from the wars in France in support of the Holy See, and a decree of the council of Constance, that Popes could lay no imposition on the clergy without a General Council. In the same month

Wolsey obtained the Cardinal's Hat; and for maintaining the charges of it he held in farm, at very easy rates, the Bishopricks of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, in regard the Bishops of those sees lived abroad. And in December the King gave him the seals, upon the resignation of the last Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Warham.

1516.

Early the next year died Ferdinand of Spain, who was succeeded by his grandson Charles, duke of Austria, nephew to Queen Catharine. And February the 19th, the lady Mary was born; the King had buried two sons before. The Pope cast about how to recruit his exchequer, which his wars had considerably impoverished, and which the decree of the Council of Constance prevented him from filling again at his pleasure by arbitrary impositions; as he had experienced the year before, from the answer of the English Clergy. In his necessity he had recourse to an extraordinary jubilee; and spread his bulls and commissions abroad all over Europe, to dispense *the heavenly Grace*; by which every person, who paid ten shillings should be enabled to redeem one soul out of Purgatory.

The Archbishop of Mentz in his district, which was Saxony, employed the Dominican Friars to preach up the *Indulgences*, and deal them about; which they did with such prostitution and impudence, publicly selling them in taverns, that they gave open scandal. One John Tetzel, a Dominican, was the Principal appointed by the Archbishop, who, in his rapacious grasping at money, sold an Indulgence for a crime intended hereafter to be committed, which was not mentioned: but the purchaser waylaid the Friar, and robbed him of all he had scraped together, and told him that was the crime for which he had bought the Indulgence¹. Nay, of such efficacy he boasted his Indulgences to be, that although a man had deflowered the Virgin Mary, and got her with child, he

¹ Sechendorf's Hist. of Lutheranism.

he could, for money, absolve him'. The Augustine Eremite Friars, who were wont formerly to be engaged in this merchandise, being now neglected, failed not to animadvert upon this scandalous abuse: but none with so much effect as Martin Luther, who appeared to resent their behaviour upon more solid and rational principles.

In 1517 he published his Theses against Purgatory, the Popish Sacrament of Penance, and Indulgences. This necessarily led him to prefer Divine Authority before human; and, in consequence, to reject the school subtleties and papal decrees, where they clashed with the scriptures; and to a better acquaintance with them his writings began to excite the more inquisitive and learned world. 1517.

The Turk now growing formidable by his conquest of Ægypt and Syria, the Pope proposed a league among the Princes of Europe against him, and offered the treasures of the church in support of the war. For this purpose Henry, by the advice of the Cardinal whom Francis had corrupted, entered into a closer league with France; by which a marriage was agreed on between the Dauphin and the Lady Mary, the King's Daughter, with a penalty in case she did not inherit the crown of England; and that Tournay should be delivered back on the payment of 600,000 crowns. 1518.

The January following Maximilian the Emperor died, and his grandson Charles, King of Spain, and the French King were competitors for the Imperial Crown. Charles was elected 28th of June, which occasioned a lasting quarrel betwixt the rivals. 1519.

To encrease the treasure of the church, which he had promised as the mean of supporting a war with the Turk, the Pope again endeavoured to draw a tenth from the clergy: but they again availed themselves of the decree of the council of Constance, and refused

refused it. The Pope's emissary was cardinal Campegius, who, failing in this point, had in reserve a commission with legatine power to visit monasteries, in order to pick up a little money there, in which Cardinal Wolsey was joined : who choosing to have that province to himself, so intrigued as to get Campegius recalled, and himself constituted Legate *à latere*, with power to visit not only monasteries, but all the clergy of England, and to dispense with church laws for one year next ensuing the date of the Bull, which was the 10th of June.

By this time Luther's writings and opinions were spread abroad all over Europe : many learned men and universities, and the good Elector Frederic espoused him. It was not long before the course of the controversy brought the Pope's supremacy into question. Several other points were likewise inveighed against, such as denying the cup to the laity, auricular confession, and the abuses of monasteries. England, from the impressions which Wicliff's opinions had made, was particularly prepared to receive them ; and therefore they were soon translated and scattered here : but the regal and sacerdotal powers were strongly combined against them. The King saw the validity of his marriage and the legitimacy of the Princess Mary depended on the Pope's dispensing power ; and Wolsey's views to the Papacy made him an enemy to Luther and his friends. Accordingly we find the effect of Luther's writings in England this year was the bringing some unhappy people to the stake at Coventry.

However, the Cardinal's sense of the ignorance and immoralities of the clergy made him wish and project a reformation among them. In remedy of the former, he founded several lectures at Oxford, for theology, civil law, physick, philosophy, mathematics, rhetorick, humanity, and the Greek tongue ; of which last, Calphurnius, a native of Greece, was the first lecturer. To correct the latter, the Cardinal erected his legatine court, of which Stephen Gardiner was secretary. In this court the Cardinal was
guilty

guilty of great rapine and extortion. As the getting money was the end for which Campegius was first appointed to visit the monasteries, we may readily believe Wolsey had an advantage from his new commission, which was greatly enlarged, and which he was so assiduous to obtain : accordingly, we are informed, that no offence escaped censure and punishment, unless privately they gave money : he summoned all religious persons, of what sort soever, before him, who were grievously chidden and terrified with expulsion, till they compounded. Warham informed the King of these excesses, and, by the King's command, admonished Wolsey ; which in the event produced in the Cardinal a greater caution, but an implacable hatred against the Archbishop. Yet in comparing the Pope's and Wolsey's views together, perhaps the preference may be given to the latter in this respect ; that the Pope, aiming chiefly at the money, proposed a reformation only as a mean to obtain it : while Wolsey really wished a reformation in some things, but chose fines, mulcts, and commutations, as the means of producing it.

The next year the Emperour and Francis, each of them, had ^{1520.} an interview with Henry, to solicit his friendship, and the good offices of his favorite. In which the Emperour had the best success, having cheaply bought the ambitious Cardinal to his interest, by a promise of using his influence to obtain the Popedom for him upon the first vacancy ; which indeed was not likely to happen soon, Leo x. being then a young man. The acquisitions of Francis in Italy were represented as endangering the Pope's liberty, and was an argument that determined the King to take part with the Emperour.

Luther's doctrines made a great progress in Germany ; to stop ^{1521.} which the Emperour called a Diet at Worms February 6. at which Dr. Tunstall was sent by King Henry to assist. By his letter to the Cardinal from the Diet, we learn that great numbers, and many great clerks held with Luther ; that several offered to sacrifice

fice their lives in his cause, and were grown too powerful for Princes to check. He recommended to the Cardinal, that he would call the printers and booksellers before him, and give them a strict charge that they brought none of his books into England, nor translated them into English. Upon the noise and success of Luther's opinions abroad, the Lollards grew more bold and numerous at home, and were greatly encreased from the Lutheran writings that had been brought over; for in the last year Erasmus told Luther in a letter he sent him, 'You have those in England who think very well of your writings, and they are very considerable men.' The Bishops were busy in suppressing them: In the diocese of Lincoln they multiplied so fast, that Dr. Longland their Bishop, and the King's Confessor, thought proper to call in the King's authority; which he readily granted, by directing his sheriffs, bayliffs, officers, and subjects to aid the Bishop in this behalf. Some relapsers were burned, and above 500 forced to abjure in his single diocese. The King, as deeply interested in these disputes, which tended so much to weaken the Pope's power, did not only lend his regal authority to suppress the growth of the Lutheran heresy within his own territories, but drew his pen, and employed his learning and school divinity in opposition to these opinions abroad, by publishing this year a book against Luther (who had written much against the Pope's tyranny) and to maintain the authority of the Scriptures against him, under the title, *De Captivitate Babylonica*; in which book Luther had rejected four of the Romish Sacraments. Our Royal Author, in his answer, maintains 3 Theses: 1. the doctrine of the Pope's pardons, which began the controversy; 2. the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, the foundation on which the whole superstructure of Popery is built; 3. the Seven Sacraments, the vindication of which is the title of his book*. What was the principal point in his intention may be guessed at from the manner of treating them;

* *Affertio septem Sacramentorum.*

them ; for in his defence of the Pope's supremacy he was so warm, and defended the Pope's spiritual power with so little guard upon his own regal, that Sir Thomas More, who died afterwards in defence of the Pope's supremacy, wished the King to be more moderate and guarded, as granting what was inconsistent with his royal dignity, and which he might some day hereafter wish unsaid : but it was the very point in all probability, for the establishing of which he had framed his book ; and he was too tenacious of what he had written to suffer this material correction of it. I think it appears from the plain tendency of some of Luther's doctrines, the penalty inserted in the treaty with France for a marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess Mary, *in case she did not inherit the crown of England*, (for at that time he had no further hopes of the Queen's bearing more children) and from the particular zeal with which the King engaged to defend the supremacy, that some suspicions were then risen of the validity of the King's marriage. The Pope, to reward this zeal, granted the King a mighty boon, no less than a new title ; and by a spirit of prophecy, of the meaning of which he was unconscious, styled him DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. Together with his book, the King sent an assurance to the Pope, that he was ready and resolved to prosecute, with all the forces of his kingdom, those who should presume to follow or defend the errors of Luther.

By this time many profelytes to Luther's opinions appeared in both the universities ; which occasioned the Cardinal's sending for some scholars from each, deputed by their respective bodies, to repair to him at London, to refute those tenets. Here Luther's doctrine was condemned as altogether repugnant to Christianity ; and a transcript of the censure was remitted to the universities. Soon after, Luther's books were burnt both at Oxford and Cambridge.

I shall close this year and period with the death of Pope Leo x. on Dec. 1. which opened that vacancy, which Wolsey hoped to have

have filled up himself; depending on the Emperour, who had promised to employ his interest and influence to procure that dignity for the Cardinal.

§. 10. *A brief View
of Ridley during this
Period.*

Such was the state of things from which Ridley received his first impressions. From an ancient and worshipful house he derived an ingenuous temper and disposition: the care taken of him in his youth seasoned his mind with an early piety: that constancy and resolution with which he was remarkably endued, made him indefatigable in his studies, both at Newcastle and the university. When he came to Cambridge, about the year 1518, he found it in some disturbance occasioned by setting up the Pope's indulgences upon the school-gates, over which was written this verse of the Psalmist, *Blessed is the man that hath set his hope in the Lord: and turned not unto the proud, and to such as go about with lies.* Ps. xl. The person who stuck it up, (though then unknown) was excommunicated by the Chancellor of that university, Bishop Fisher: It seems it was one Peter de Valence, a Norman. Here Ridley had an opportunity of learning the Greek tongue, at the publick lectures of Richard Crook, who about that time began to teach it in Cambridge; to which all the scholars equally contributed, whether they attended it or not. As to religious opinions, his first prejudices, the publick discredit of Lollardy before he came to Cambridge, and the diligent and severe prosecution of Lutherans after he came there, were all in favor of the established superstitions. Nay more, his uncle Dr. Robert Ridley, at whose expence and under whose influence he was now educating at Pembroke Hall, would keep him steady in that tract: for in the year 1520, or 1521, when the Cardinal held a kind of convocation in his house, for the discussing and refuting Luther's doctrines, Dr.

Ridley

Ridley (with others) was sent from the university of Cambridge to assist in them¹.

This is the account which his cotemporaries give of him; Bp. Grindal, who was his chaplain, (in Fox) and Bishop Bale. The first says, ‘ Descended of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberlandshire; who being a child learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the university of Cambridge; where he in a short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, by degrees attaining thereunto.’ Bale tells us, ‘ He was a gentleman by his birth, and remarkable for an ingenuofness of mind; not only pious in his youth, but even then studiously applying himself to the acquiring the learning then most in repute. With which view he repaired to Cambridge, to Pembroke Hall: where his attainments in Greek and Latin are particularly mentioned.’ In short his character at this time appears to be that of an ingenious, virtuous, zealous papist.

¹ Pembroke Coll. Register.

² Nicolaus Ridley, genere illustris, animi candore clarus, non modo pietati ab ipsâ statim pueritiâ studebat, verum etiam meliores artes excolere cœpit. Quo nomine Cantabrigiensem academiam, literis florentem, et in eâ Pembrochiense collegium pro suo petiti studio. Unde post utriusque linguæ, Græcæ et Latinæ, adeptionem—famæ pretium non leve tulit.

THE

L I F E

OF

Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

BOOK II. From 1522 to 1540.

RIDLEY at Cambridge.

Diotrephes, who loveth to have the preeminence, receiveth us not. 3 JOHN ix.

1522.

§. 1. Publick transactions to the year 1527.

WE have seen the great occasion for a Reformation, and some small tendencies towards one; but both the secular and ecclesiastical powers active to obstruct it. Wicliff had discovered many superstitions: these discoveries had been again suppressed, and his opinions pretty well weeded out of the kingdom; except from among the lower class of people, whose extravagances in some points, and profaneness in other, were more likely to hinder than forward a rational reformation. The revival of letters had indeed raised a disgust at the ignorance and immorality of the clergy: but this aimed at nothing more than introducing a new method of learning and discipline among them; leaving the doctrines and superstitions of the church unmolested. The tyranny of the Pope and

and his retinue, it is true, were heavily complained of: and the rather because it was too mighty to be resisted; for the King was so strictly linked with him and interested in his welfare as not to wish his influences less. The writings of Luther were the likeliest mean of effecting it, as they recommended to the learned those opinions of Wicliff, which had been long in discredit from the obscurity and indiscretion of the professors of them: and accordingly we find that the two fountains of learning were early tinged by reading his works: but alas! the great patrons and encouragers of learning were strongly engaged against them; the prince's minister at this time had the papacy immediately in view, and the King was flushed with the honors of his controversy with Luther. Not only his sword was drawn, in policy, to defend the power of the Pope, but his judgment too, and what was worse, his vanity, was enlisted against the Lutherans. Infomuch that Sir Richard Morison, speaking of the King's change afterward, says, 'Of the miracles and wonders of our times, I take the change of our Sovereign Lord's opinion, in matters concerning religion, to be even the greatest. There was no Prince in Christendom, but he was far liker to have changed than our Sovereign Lord. He was their pillar, and bare them up a great while. They gave him fair titles for his so doing, and honored his name in all their writings.'*

However, these contrary humors working together raised that ferment in the kingdom, which in the end produced so happy an effect. Learned and unlearned plainly discerned several superstitions in their religion; and the ignorance, vices, and extortions of the clergy were generally resented. By these means there was a disposition in the people to receive the blessing which God was preparing for them, whenever the course of his providence should

H 2

remove

* *Invective against Treason. vid. Strype's Memoirs, vol. 1. p. 41.*

remove those outward obstructions which lay in the way. Indeed the removal of these, at that time, was what human wisdom must rather have despaired of than expected : though even then God began to move those wheels with which he intended to overturn the pillar and ground of all their superstitions, the Pope's supremacy.

The Emperour, as was mentioned before, had promised to assist Cardinal Wolsey in obtaining the Papacy, when the Roman See should become vacant. Pope Leo was just dead. The King and the Cardinal employed their emissaries to procure the election according to their wishes : but before Pace, who was to negotiate for them, could get to Rome, (the Emperour having secretly worked for his tutor) the election was over, and the Cardinal Tortosa, under the title of Adrian vi. was chosen. Wolsey, however disappointed, was too artful a politician to discover any resentment : the new Pope was old and infirm ; he therefore chose to have the Emperour's promise renewed to him, with the additional hope of the archbishoprick of Toledo* : and to merit the performance of these promises, when opportunity should offer, he forwarded Charles's interests with his master, in the interview
 1522. which the Emperour had with Henry this year in England ; whether he came to be installed Knight of the Garter, May 26. There they entered into a new league of mutual assistance, and a match was agreed on between the Emperour and the Lady Mary ; sworn to on both sides at Windsor 19th of June ; by which the Emperour obliged himself to marry her when she came to age, under pain of excommunication, and the forfeiture of 100,000
 1523. pounds. But the very next year the Cardinal had fresh experience of the Emperour's insincerity : for September 14, 1523, Pope Adrian died, and about November, Julius de Medicis, assuming the
 name

* Valued at 80,000 £. per annum. Geddes.

name of Clement vii. succeeded, the Emperour concurring and secretly assisting; and a little before he had named Don Antonio de Tonsca, Archbishop of Compostella, to the vacant see of Toledo. This opened our Cardinal's eyes, who was now convinced that he could no longer depend on the promises of the Emperour, who had repeatedly deceived him. He studied to be revenged: and in the following year so wrought with his master, ^{1524.} as to slacken the payment of the money with which he was to assist the Emperour in his war with the French King; for which he received 400,000 crowns of France for his good service^y; and even to demand the yearly pension, which Charles had taken upon himself to pay instead of Francis. And in the January after, ^{1525.} entered into a secret negotiation with Joachin, a Genoese, and plan'd a league with France, without the privity of Henry^z. The French King was now besieging Pavia, assured of the Cardinal's friendship, while the Imperialists, under the Duke of Bourbon, who had revolted from Francis, were in the greatest distress for want of the supplies that were withheld. Francis was too secure; and Bourbon, having a desperate game to play, exerted all his art as well as strength: the event was, the French King was taken prisoner, nor released from his captivity by the Emperour, but upon hard terms, to the performance of which he was solemnly sworn. But from the obligation of this oath the Pope discharged him, as extorted from him at a time when he was not his own master. The like favor he had done for the Emperour, in dispensing with his oath to marry the Lady Mary. In the fol- ^{1526.} lowing spring the Emperour married the Infanta of Portugal, that he might unite all Spain together: and urged in his own defence, that his council had preferred this match, alledging that the Lady Mary was illegitimate, as being born in an unlawful marriage.
The

^y Strype's Mem.^z Godwyn's Henry viii.^a Burnet.

The behaviour of the Emperour, his successes, and views of universal empire threw the Pope, Henry, and the Venetians into a league with Francis to check the power and ambition of Charles.

1527. This alliance proved unfortunate to the Pope, as his conduct offended the Emperour, who took Rome in May 1527, and kept the Pope prisoner there six months. Such an indignity to his Holiness was generally resented by other Christian Princes, and induced Francis and Henry to enter into a stricter league for his release; the cement of which was to be a match between the French King, or his second son the Duke of Orleans, with the Princess Mary. But one of the French ambassadours, the Bishop of Tarbe, objected to the lawfulness of Henry's marriage, which would affect the Princess, and the issue to spring from it, and bring into question the inheritance. At length a treaty was concluded, which left the two Kings at liberty to proceed in this match, or dispose of their children elsewhere.

Thus stood the affairs of Europe at the time when the King's scruples relating to the validity of the Pope's dispensation, and the lawfulness of his own marriage began to be publick. Let us now take a view how the people were prepared to receive the great event to which these scruples, relating to the King's marriage, led.

The need of a reformation was so evident, that the new Bishop of Rome confessed it, as appears from the instructions given by Adrian vi. to his nuncio at the Diet at Nuremberg, in 1523; in which he says: 'It is not to be dissembled, nor past over in silence, ' that God who is the revenger of all iniquity, did in this manner ' [by Luther] afflict his church for the sins of the people, but ' chiefly of the rulers and ministers of the church; since the scripture

ture faith that the iniquity of the people proceeded from the priests: for that in truth, for these many years past, the sins of Rome had been manifold and grievous; and that even from the head, down to the inferior clergy, that evil and contagion had been propagated: that no man did his duty, all had gone astray, and that none were free from guilt, no not one. That since things were then in such a state, he would take care, that the court of Rome, which perhaps had given occasion to so great evils, should first of all be strictly reformed; that so the cure might begin at the root and cause of the distemper. But as the disease was very inveterate and complicate, he must procede gently by degrees; for that all sudden changes were dangerous, and it was an old proverb, "that he who blowed his nose too hard would squeeze out blood."^b

These concessions occasioned the demand of a free council in Germany, to which this Pope's death put a stop: but the countenance and succour, which Luther received from them, did not expire so soon. For we find by a Letter from the Cardinal to the Bishop of Bath, the King's ambassadour at Rome, in the following year, that 'the Lutheran sect had not only spread through all Germany, but the seeds of it began to sprout up in France, Spain, Flanders, Denmark, Scotland, and in many parts of England: and that the only remedy to be expected was the reformation of disorders by his Holiness, a restoration of discipline, and causing obedience to the laws of Christ to be observed.'^c

At home a reformation was as much wanted as any where. As is acknowledged not only by the Pope's Bull in 1519 to Wolsey for erecting his legatine court, in which it is said, that 'the English Clergy were given over to a reprobate mind:' but from an excellent Letter of Bishop Fox to the Cardinal, January 1523, congratulating

^b Sleidan's Hist. Reform. B. iv.

^c Grove's Life of Card. Wolsey, vol. iii. p. 343.

gratulating him on his design to reform the whole body of the clergy; 'for which (that old Prelate says) he had no less ardently wished, than did Simeon to see the much desired Messiah. For the space of almost three years (as he proceeds) this important affair had been the great end of his study, labors, and attention, till he had discovered, what before he had not imagined, that all things relating to the primitive simplicity of the clergy, especially of the monastick state, were either perverted by licences and corruption, or else become obsolete and exploded by the iniquity of the times.' How the King, Nobility, and Commons stood affected towards them is manifest from another passage in the same letter. 'This reformation of the clergy and religion will so abate the calumnies of the laity, so advance the honor of the clergy, and so reconcile our Sovereign Lord the King, and nobility to them, and be so much more acceptable to God than all the sacrifices we can offer, that I intend the short course of life I have now to run, shall be entirely devoted to the advancement of it.'

But the Cardinal's boasted Reformation ended in a court job only; to raise an unprecedented supply from the clergy, for carrying on the war with France; and whose exemplary benevolence was intended as a guide to the commons in parliament.

Whatever his real thoughts and designs for a *Reformation of manners* were, it is certain the multiplicity of publick affairs did not prevent his studies and endeavours for the encouragement and advancement of *Learning*. And probably to this we must attribute his, otherwise unaccountable, favor to those scholars, in both universities, who were suspected of inclining to Luther. The most ignorant were generally the most furious papists; who substituted zeal in the place of argument: the readers of the new books discovered at least a studiousness and application to letters, which the Cardinal did not seem very solicitous to suppress.

George

George Stafford, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, is noted to be the ^{1523.} first who publickly read lectures out of the scriptures : before, they read only the *sentences*. He was proctor and university preacher in the year 1523, and reader of divinity in 1524, in which office he continued four years ; and soon after^c he died of the plague, caught by a charitable visit to a priest, who lay ill of it, whom Stafford converted in his sickness^d. Among others, who at this time were willing to examine and judge for themselves, concerning the high points which began to be moved in controversy, was Thomas Cranmer, Fellow of Jesus College, who, for that purpose, gave three years application to the scriptures, from 1519 to 1522.

The Scripturists began to make a noise in that university, in-
somuch that in the year 1523 the Bishops were very urgent for a
a visitation of Cambridge, to discover who were the maintainers
and favorers of heresy there : but Wolsey, as legate, did inhibit
it. Indeed he seemed rather to encourage than discountenance
the scholars of this class ; for in the next year he directed Dr. Ca- ^{1524.}
pon to choose out some students of the best parts and learning, to
be transplanted to the Cardinal's college then erecting : for the
endowment of which he obtained licence from the Pope and the
King for dissolving several small monasteries, situate in different
parts of England, in order to apply their revenues to the support
and maintenance of his new intended college. Which was a
leading step to the dissolution of all the monasteries in England ;
the Pope and the Cardinal setting the example of such kind of
alienations.

Most, if not all these students, were Scripturists : among which
Mr. Cranmer was appointed for one, but he refused the advan-
tageous offer ; owing probably to his engagement with the wo-
man, whom he soon after married. Upon his marriage, which

I

was

^c In 1530.

^d Regist. MS. Pembroc. and Strype's Memor. vol. 1.

1525. was in 1525, he quitted his Fellowship of Jesus College, and was made divinity reader in Buckingham college: but upon the death of his wife, who lived with him but little more than a year, he was readmitted Fellow of his old college again, and about that
 1526. time took his doctor's degree in divinity. The students who were removed from Cambridge to Oxford were Dr. Clark; Friar, afterwards doctor of physic; Sumner; Harman, afterwards fellow of Eton; Betts, afterwards chaplain to Queen Ann; Cox, afterwards schoolmaster to Prince Edward; Fryth, afterwards a martyr; Baily; Goodman; Drum, afterwards one of the six preachers at Canterbury; and Lawney, afterwards chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. With these were transplanted the seeds of the new learning into the university of Oxford, where they throve, chiefly under the direction of Dr. Clark.*

But Luther's books being much dispersed in both universities, at Oxford under the influences of Dr. Clark, and at Cambridge under those of Bilney and Stafford, the Cardinal was at length constrained to act against them. Accordingly every one of those abovementioned students, who had removed from Cambridge to the Cardinal's college in Oxford, were cast into prison on suspicion of heresy; and Dr. Clark, with some others, died under the hardships which they suffered there.

At Cambridge they made great progress, and had gained over as obstinate a Papist as any was in England, as he himself testifies; who had used to preach against Stafford, and exhort the people not to believe him, and the scholars not to hear him. This was the university cross-bearer, Mr. Hugh Latimer of Christ's College. By mean of a private conference with Bilney about this time, he began to perceive his errors, and became a friend and follower of Stafford. As did many others of Peter-House, Gunwell

* Fox.

Gunwell Hall, St. John's, Queen's, King's, and Bennet College, particularly two fellows of Stafford's own college, Dr. Thixtal and Nicholas Paynel: the authority of the former was so allowed in divinity, that *Thixtal dixit, Thixtal said it*, was a sufficient proof. These had frequent meetings at the White Horse, near St. John's, which on that account was called by others, in contempt, Germany.

Dr. Barnes was summoned before the Cardinal from Cambridge, by complaint of Dr. Walter Preston and Dr. Robert Ridley, the uncle and patron of Nicholas. These two were relations and chaplains to Dr. Tonstal, Bishop of London. Bullock, fellow of Queen's College, Humphry, Watson, and Ridley were sent for to London, and appointed to oppose the Lutheran opinions. Stephen Gardiner, who was at that time secretary to the Cardinal, prevailed upon his old acquaintance, Dr. Barnes, to abjure: by which mean he escaped for the present. As did also Bilney and Arthur the year following: who, being convened by the Cardinal before himself, Archbishop Warham, the Bishop of London, and several other Bishops, Divines, and Lawyers were wrought upon to abjure, chiefly by the persuasions of the Bishop of London. And though Bilney, as a relapsed person, according to the usual methods of proceeding, was to have been burned, yet the gentleness of Dr. Tonstal was such, that, as the Cardinal's delegate, he was satisfied with their abjuration and penance: but Bilney's remorse was so great, that it almost drove him to despair. To make atonement, he boldly preached the gospel from place to place in the diocese of Norwich; and at last sealed the truth by his death in that city, in 1531. 1527.

From the articles brought against these Cambridge divines, we may see the state of the reformation in that university: Not yet sifted and digested by the debates and conferences of deeply learned and experienced men, but blended with some excesses and contrarieties of private opinions. They were charged with read-

ing Luther's books ; with whom nevertheless they did not hold in many things, but accounted him an heretick. They inveighed much against the pride and pomp of churchmen ; and some too irregularly extended the power of preaching and administering the sacraments to all Christians indifferently. But in general they agreed in quitting the school divines, and in applying themselves to the study of the scriptures : from whence they learned to despise the popish *merit* of pilgrimages, penances, fasts, offerings, and masses ; together with the *imputed merit* of departed saints, indulgences, pardons, and every thing that drew the mind from the true foundation, the merits and intercession of Christ, to rest upon the wood, hay, and stubble of man's inventions : recommending part, at least, of the Bible to be read to the people in English ; and to prevent its being misapprehended, to join the interpretation of the fathers in the margin.

And accordingly this year appeared a very useful work, which laid open the errors of popery to the common people, I mean William Tindal's Translation of the New Testament. Which in process of time produced the happy effect that the author promised from it ; for he had said some time before, ' ere many years he ' would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the ' scripture than the Pope did '. But the Cardinal and Bishops were busy in prohibiting this, and many other books which were published about this time ; among which was that severe invective against the number, pride, revenues, exactions, and lewdness of the clergy, before mentioned, *The Supplication of Beggars*.

§. 3. *A View of Ridley in this interval.*

Amid these contentions Ridley was calmly pursuing his academical studies, and acquiring a reputation which already began to make him taken notice of. In the year 1522 he took his Batchelor of Arts degree ; educated

¹ Fox's Martyrs. vol. 1. p. 362.

educated under the influence, as well as at the expence of his uncle Dr. Robert Ridley, a little man, but a great divine, says Cavendish^g. He was likewise a celebrated canonist. Dr. Tonstal, promoted this year to the see of London, was his relation and patron, and collated him to the rectory of St. Botolph Bishopsgate, in 1523; and in the beginning of the next year to the prebend of Mora in the church of St. Paul's; he had likewise from the same patron the rectory of St. Edmunds Lombard-street, the prebend of Isledon, and the sine-cure of Fulham. He occasioned Dr. Barnes to be summoned before the Cardinal, as was before mentioned: and I find him in several causes of heresy an assessor to the Bishop of London. His nephew was not likely to learn much of the new divinity from him; nor do I find that he had yet at all applied himself to the study of it. He had already acquired a good skill in the Latin and Greek tongues, and was now making himself master of the learning more in fashion, the philosophy and theology of the schools: in which he was very expert; and therefore better qualified to discern the vanity of it, and to detect the sophistry of his antagonists when attacked from that quarter.^h These abilities and qualifications gave greater weight and value to his determinations afterwards, which were made by a mature judgment, and gradually as light opened upon him; not hastily produced like the flashes of light wits, who catch at novelties, and affect to be thought wiser than their elders, by forwardly contradicting established doctrines, which they would never take the trouble to examine, nor had learning enough to understand.

His

^g Life of Wolsey.

^h — Post utriusque linguæ, Græcæ et Latinæ, adeptionem, ac scholasticæ philosophiæ, tum theologiæ cognitionem summam, doctrinæ et famæ pretium non leve tulit. Serò ille, vel tanquam novissimus, undecimâ horâ in vineam seu messem Domini venit; et non prius quam erat summatim vocatus ob insignem eruditionem veritatis adversariis valdè formidabilis. Aptissimus ergo atque opportunus fuit, qui spinosas sophistarum et Antichristorum vepres ex Christi vineâ evelleret. Bale.

1524.

His character was by this time so established, as to procure him the esteem of the other university as well as of his own; for in the very beginning of 1524 the master and fellows of University College in Oxford invited him to accept of an exhibition there, founded by Walter Skyrley, Bishop of Durham.

This fact has occasioned some controversy between the two universities. The Oxford writers, Keys,^k Godwin,^l and Anthony Wood,^m unwilling that Oxford should lose the honor of having such a scholar, clame him as their own; and report, that being Batchelor of Arts, he was elected fellow of University College, 13 April 1521. On the contrary side, Caius,ⁿ Dr. Richardson,^o and the MS. account of the masters of Pembroke Hall,^p vindicate him wholly to themselves, and will allow Oxford no share at all in him. They challenge the others to point out the year, or produce any proofs in support of their clame, by which they would endeavour to wrest their Ridley from them^q. They urge that it is impossible he should have been chosen 13 April 1521, then being Batchelor of Arts, because he did not take that degree till 1522; and from that year they can trace him advancing to higher degrees, honors, and offices in their university: nay, the very walls of the garden at Pembroke Hall bore testimony of his studies there, a walk under them being called Ridley's walk to this day, where he was accustomed to learn and repete without book St. Paul's Epistles in Greek.

This

^k Assertio Oxoniensis.

^l De presulibus.

^m Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford.

ⁿ Antiq. Acad. Cantabr.

^o Notes upon Godwin.

^p In Pembroke Hall.

^q Nescio quid in scriniis secundis comperit (Godwin) cur eum socium collegio universitatis Oxoniæ attribuat, potius quam academiam Oxoniensem tanti alumni gloriâ fraudari patiatur . . . instet, numeret annum, exponat indicia, quibus nos a Ridlæo nostro speret aspellere. Verum (pace tanti viri dixerim) frustra est si speret; suosque hâc in re, ut poterit maximè, Pembrochianos tamen non poterit fallere, quorum vel ipsa fruticeta quidem atque hortorum muri Ridlæum, Ridlæum adhuc resonant. MS. Regist. Colleg. Pemb.

This contest does honor to Ridley: I will endeavour now to end it with justice to each clamant. We must give Oxford the credit of wishing him theirs, and of paying the earliest regard to his merit by endeavouring to incorporate him amongst them by an advantageous invitation to a fellowship in University College: but we must resign to Cambridge the uninterrupted possession of him, for he refused to accept the offer that was made him. The inconsistency in the two accounts was owing to some little inaccuracy in the register of University College, and an inattention in those who examined it. The top of the page carries the date of 1521; and the first alteration of date, which is 1524, appears in the margin against an entry signifying, that 'on the 26th of April of the same year, the master in chapel appointed the 3d of May next ensuing, for their election of a fellow into the Skyrley exhibition.' This immediately follows an entry, without date, (but against which the 1524 below should have been placed) signifying that 'Nicholas Ridley, Batchelor of Arts in Cambridge, was elected into the exhibition of Walter Skyrley, *but he refused to accept it*; therefore the master declared his place and that exhibition to be vacant.' This entry has been refer'd, and at first sight it should seem to refer, to the preceding date at the top of the page, 13 April 1521: whereas it connects with the subsequent entry, against which stands the date 1524, when, 'on the 26th of April of the same year,' that is, of the same year that Ridley had been elected, and refused to accept the fellowship, the master appointed a day to fill up that vacant exhibition. And this appears manifestly and expressly to have been in the year 1524.

So that Oxford must be allowed to have been earnest in endeavouring to do justice to Ridley's distinguished merit: yet it was not long ere Cambridge did him the same honor; for in that very year he was chosen fellow of his own college. An event which

which probably he foresaw, and might be one reason for his refusing the offer at Oxford. Thus Cranmer and Ridley, so closely linked together afterwards, were both invited to accept fellowships in Oxford in the same year, and both refused.

1525. The next year he took his Master of Arts degree ; and in the
1526. year following he was appointed by the college their general agent in all causes relating to the churches of Tilney, Soham, and Saxthorpe, belonging to Pembroke Hall.

1537. Though his uncle Robert had now probably quitted the university, attending on his cures in London, and frequently employed by Bishop Tonstal, yet he forgot not his nephew, nor remitted his cares in completing his education. To his attainments in the languages and school-philosophy, he was willing to add the advantages of travel, and the improvement of foreign universities. Especially as his studies were now directed to divinity, his uncle, at his own charges, sent him to spend some time among the doctors of the Sorbonne at Paris (which was then the most celebrated university in Europe) and afterwards among the professors of Louvain. The peace with France opened a communication with Paris, whither he first went ; and the Cardinal's embassy thither in July this year, attended by Dr. Tonstal, and a retinue of twelve hundred horse, might afford an opportunity to his uncle to send him at that time. There we will at present leave him, to pursue and acquire that knowledge in the theology of the times, as might enable him to be a thorough judge of it ; conducted by the hand of Providence, like another Moses, who was skilled in all the learning of the Ægyptians, through the several steps and scenes which were necessary to qualify him to be hereafter the leader and captain of God's people.

The

The Lutheran doctrines having raised some doubts with regard to the Pope's dispensing power, which might affect the validity of the King's marriage, and, in consequence, the legitimacy of the Princess Mary, the King very earnestly engaged to maintain the Pope's authority, on which so much depended; and had entered into a strict league of friendship with the Emperour, Queen Catharine's nephew, in the interview between them in the year 1522; in which interview, according to Godwyn^a, the Emperour admonished the King, that he was now past the years of a child, and needed no tutor; that it was not fit he should suffer himself to be swayed by a Priest, one in all reason better skilled in the mysteries of the altar, than of state. But the Cardinal, who was sowered against the Emperour for twice disappointing him with regard to the Papacy, in order to incense the King against him, discovered what had passed in conference betwixt the Emperour's Ambassadour and himself in 1524, from which he concluded that the Emperour would delude him with regard to his engagement of marrying the Princess Mary, the Spaniards having represented her as a bastard, begotten in incestuous wedlock; in which case it was not in the Pope's power to dispense^b. This discovery, which seemed made only to separate Henry from Charles, sunk deep in the King's mind, and awakened there the earnest dissuasions of good Archbishop Warham from the marriage at first, his father's injunctions never to confirm it, and the divine commination that he who took his brother's wife should die childless^c. He thought he had experienced this divine commination executed upon himself; for that many of his hopes and promises of children died abortive; of those born to him, two sons K withered

^a Life of K. H. viii. p. 33.

^b Ibid. p. 37.

^c Levit. xx.

withered away like untimely fruit ; one only survived as the heir of his Crown, to prevent quarrels about the succession (perhaps as long and fatal to his kingdoms as those between the Houses of York and Lancaster ;) and this heir was a daughter ; whose legitimacy had been disputed even in her mother's family ; and his Queen had left child-bearing, having borne none since the year 1516.

These reflections set him upon studying the point himself. In which enquiry he found that his oracle, Thomas Aquinas, had decided clearly against such marriages, as forbidden by God expressly, with whose laws no power invested in the Pope could dispense. It was not likely that the King would long conceal these scruples from the Cardinal ; who at first did not encourage them : apprehending probably many ill consequences from the dissolution of a marriage of twenty two years standing ; illegitimizing the King's only Heir to his crown, and who might be the cement of some useful alliance for his Master ; looking on it as an ill compliment to the Pope, whose friendship they now depended upon, if they should dispute the authority of that See with respect to Dispensations ; a point, which the Cardinal himself, whose views to the Popedom were not yet at an end, might not think it discrete to bring into controversy. For these, or such like reasons, the Cardinal might at first oppose the King's inclinations to be divorced ; as Henry himself acknowledged to the Legates in Court that the Cardinal had endeavoured to dissuade him. But his dissuasions had but little success, for the King's scruples grew so powerful, as to occasion him from this time to abstain from the Queen's bed^d.

3525. However, they were yet concealed from publick view : but an incident happened in the following year, which helped to ripen the discovery of them. Towards the end of February the French King

^d K. Henry's Letter to Grynæus.

King was taken Prisoner at the siege of Pavia, and carried into Spain ; whither his Sister the Dutcheſs of Alençon went to viſit him in September. Ann Boleyn, who, ſince the death of Queen Claude, attended on the Dutcheſs, not caring perhaps either to go with her Miſtreſs into Spain, or to be left in France without her, or at her Father, the Earl of Wiltſhire's deſire, might take the opportunity of returning to England with the Ambaſſadours from the Regent of France this year^e. At leaſt I know not where to place her return hither with ſo great probability as at this time. Her attendance on Queen Claude till her death^f, and afterwards on the Dutcheſs of Alençon, will not permit me to bring her into England ſo ſoon as Tillet and Duplex do, I mean in 1522 : nor will ſome incidents, that happened before the diſcovery of the King's paſſion, allow me to delay her return till the year 1527, where others place it.

No ſooner was the Earl of Wiltſhire's daughter introduced at Court, than the King ſecretly admired her : but the young Lady herſelf was ſo little ſenſible of the conqueſt ſhe had made, that ſhe entertained the Lord Piercy, Son to the Earl of Northumberland, as her Suitor. The King's intentions ſeem at firſt not to have been very honorable ; for no deſign of making her his Queen appeared. However, he could not brook a rival : and the Cardinal ſharply admoniſhed the young Lord, as did his Father alſo, to drop his pretenſions. Both Piercy and the Lady were forbidden the court for ſome time : which ſhe, not knowing the cauſe, reſented highly, and was incenſed againſt the Cardinal. In 1526, the ſuſpicions^{1526.} with regard to the Emperour's inſincerity, in not intending to fulfil his engagements with the Lady Mary, were found to have been juſt, by his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal. And by this time the King's uneaſineſs, and doubts about the validity of his

K 2

own

^e In June.

^f She died at Blois, July, 1524.

own marriage, and desire to be divorced began to be no secret; though where his second choice would light was not yet guessed at.

1527. Early in 1527 Ann Boleyn returned again to court, and was entertained as Maid of Honor to Queen Catharine. The Cardinal, who suspected nothing more than that the King intended her to supply the place of Mrs. Blount, his old Mistress, took no pains to restrain the King's affections, or to remove the object of them. When he found his Master's scruples continue, and that they were not to be removed by political reasonings, upon consulting the Schoolmen and Canonists, especially his Favorite Aquinas, of whom he was so fond as to obtain the name of Thomist, he was soon entirely convinced, and pawned his very life and soul upon the justice and sanctity of the King's desires to be disentangled from that marriage. The French Ambassadors, who came over in March this year to make a league with Henry, and a treaty of marriage between the Princess and the French King or the Dauphine, publicly objected against her legitimacy. Upon this the King applied to his Confessor, the Bishop of Lincoln, for counsel and advice. His Confessor, finding it a point that would draw after it very important consequences, expressed himself doubtfully, and moved the King to ask counsel of the rest of the Bishops. Whereupon he applied to the Cardinal, as Legate, to summon the Bishops for their opinions. They were accordingly summoned to appear at Westminster: and though they did not then come to a resolution in this arduous cause, yet Wolsey prosecuted the divorce with so much earnestness, that the Queen charged him with being the first contriver and promoter of it, in revenge to her, who had freely reproved him for his pride, vanity, and voluptuous life; and in revenge to her Nephew the Emperour, who would not gratify his ambition so far as to make him Pope by force. And indeed the Cardinal, to strengthen the league of friendship with France, had
cast

cast his thoughts on the Dutches of Alençon, Sister to Francis, as a proper Successor to Queen Catharine. Nor did they doubt of the Pope's concurrence to dissolve the first marriage, as he was in alliance with the King, the Venetians, and Francis, to check the power and ambition of Charles.

The Pope was taken in May at Rome, and kept prisoner six months. During which time the King began to avow his passion for Ann Boleyn, to the great regret and disappointment of the Cardinal, who from that time wained in his master's favor, from the superior influence which the Earl of Wiltshire's daughter had over him.

In July Secretary Knight was dispatched to Rome about the Divorce, or Dispensation; with orders to consult the Cardinal in the way, who was now in an Embassy to France. And towards the close of this year, the opinions of the English Divines and Canonists were taken. Many of whom thought the Pope could not dispense in this case of the first degree of affinity, which they esteemed forbidden by a Divine, Moral, and Natural Law. All the rest concluded, that the Pope could do it, but only upon very weighty reasons: and they found not any such in the Bull. However, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, did defend the marriage; he had at first advised the Pope's dispensation as sufficient to remove the scruples and objections against it: yet even he in a Letter to the Cardinal in this year says, ' he had consulted all the masters he could on the subject; that the greater part of them indeed affirmed such marriage prohibited by the Divine Law; others that it was not: but he thinks in a doubtful case the Pope's Dispensation would incline the scale in favor of the lawfulness and validity of such marriage.' In December the Pope escaped from confinement, and retired to Orvietto; where he granted a Commission to Two Cardinals

* Pluribus asserentibus id esse divino jure prohibitum. Collier's Coll. of Records vi.

dinals for hearing and determining the King's Cause, in England : and also a dispensation for the King to marry another.

1528. But these being not so full as were desired, in February, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, the Cardinal's Secretary, Master of Trinity-Hall, and who was esteemed the ablest Canonist in the Kingdom, with Dr. Fox, Provost of King's College, who was accounted one of the ablest Divines, were sent to procure a Bull for Campegius and Wolsey to examine the cause ; which Bull was obtained in April, 1528 ; but after many studied delays for fear of the Emperour, and at last not in the form, and manner, and to the effect which was expected. So that Gardiner boldly told the Pope, ' that the King, ' the Nobles and People of England would think strangely of the ' Pope and that College, and would cry out upon them, as a most ' ungrateful generation, and most negligent of the King's kindness : ' that they, who ought to be simple as doves, and of an open breast, ' were full of all deceit, craft, and dissimulation ; that they promised all things in words, but performed nothing in deed. And ' that seeing they would answer nothing certain, a hard thought of ' this See would possess the minds of the English ; namely, that ' God had taken away the key of knowledge from it. And that ' however the King had hitherto exploded the sentence of some, ' yet now he would begin not to be displeased at it, viz. that the ' Pope's laws were fit to be committed to the flames, which were ' uncertain even to the Pope himself, and to those that belonged to ' him.''

The Pope afraid of the King, and of the Emperour, studied delay ; and told the Ambassadors in a private audience that, ' although it were a saying in the Law, that the Pope had all Law ' in the desk of his breast, yet God never gave unto him the Key ' to open that desk.'

Gardiner

Gardiner then went to Rome to Campegius, the other Legate joined in commission with Wolsey. He found him very backward to enter himself in this business, pretending great difficulties, and contriving delays. Of which when the King heard, he reckoned himself deluded by the Pope, who was protracting the coming of that Cardinal, to the intent it might be known which Army, the French or Imperial, would be Conqueror, before any thing was done or attempted in the case ^h.

At length ^a Campegius came over into England, and being there, endeavoured to dissuade the King from proceeding in his intended Divorce; spinning out the time with many dilatory arts, because the Pope was then entering into a league with the Emperour. Henry's earnestness was a mean used by his Holiness to bring the Emperour to better terms: while, on the other hand, the Emperour's ministers represented to the Pope, that the Lutherans were likely to improve to their advantage any decision his Holiness might make against the dispensations and Bulls of his Predecessors: that nothing had ever fallen out since the beginning of Luther's sect, that would so much strengthen it as such a sentence: that the Emperour would have a general council called, and whatsoever the Pope did in that Process should be examined there, and he be proceeded against accordingly: and that being a Bastard, and for that reason by the Canon incapable of that dignity, they would depose him. The Pope being thus intimidated, the year ended without any thing done in the King's Cause.

In the mean time the Queen, by means of the Emperour, was laboring with the Pope for an avocation of the Cause to Rome; and entered a Protestation against submitting to the Legates. Upon this, Gardiner was recalled from Rome; and the King resolved to proceed in England before the Legates.

June

^h Stripe's Mem. vol. i. c. 14.

^a In October.

1529. June 18, 1529, the King and Queen were cited to appear; and one of her Advocates was that Dr. Ridley who had educated Nicholas at Cambridge, and was now supporting him at the Universities of Paris and Louvaine. After several adjournments, at last^a the King's Council (of which Gardiner was the chief) closed their evidence, and summed up all that had been offered, and in the King's name desired that sentence might be given. Campegius, who presided, and by whom all orders of the Court were directed, either as sent immediately from the Pope, or to shelter his Associate from the resentment of the King, and the odium of the People (though Wolsey was the senior Cardinal) appointed Friday, the 25th, for giving the sentence. Upon the day, there was a great appearance, and general expectation to hear it: but Campegius adjourned the Court to the first of October; urging that they sat there as a part of the Consistory of Rome, and therefore must follow the rules of that court, which from that time till October was in a vacation, and heard no causes. This provoked the temporal Lords; one of whom swore by the mass, that 'he saw it was true, what had been commonly said, That never Cardinal yet did good in England.' Soon after, there came an avocation of the cause to Rome.

The King, to divert the great uneasiness under which he labored, resolved upon a progress; in his return from which^b he lay one night at Waltham. Two of his attendants, Gardiner and Fox, had lodgings provided for them at Mr. Cressy's: there they found Dr. Cranmer, who was at that time Tutor to Mr. Cressy's Sons, having fled a little before from Cambridge on account of the plague that raged there. In their conversation together Cranmer proposed consulting the judgment of the several Universities: not, as had been done before, that their opinions against the marriage might

^a The 21st of July.

^b About August.

might be a ground for asking a commission to try the Cause, and to incline judgment in it; but that their determinations, however they decided, might be a sufficient rule to the King's conscience, without waiting for the event of a tedious process at Rome before a prejudiced judge. The King liked the proposal when reported to him, and sending for Cranmer was pleased with his discourse and behaviour. Then ordering him to digest his own thoughts on the subject in writing, committed him to the family and care of Sir Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, where he contracted an acquaintance with the Lady Ann.

In October fell the Cardinal; at which time he was ordered to confine himself to his House at Esher, near Hampton Court, and the seals were taken from him, and committed to Sir Thomas More.

Soon after, the Parliament passed some bills against the exactions of the Clergy in the Probate of Wills, Mortuaries, Pluralities, and against their farming of lands; which aiming a blow at the Pope's Supremacy, were opposed by the spiritual Lords.

At the same time the House of Lords drew up forty-four Articles of Treason against the Cardinal: but his trusty Servant, Thomas Cromwell, very handsomely and successfully defended him. As he had been obliged to the Cardinal, he worked his way into the House of Commons, that he might there help his Master, which he did with great effect, and generously adhered to him in his afflictions. But the Cardinal knowing it in vain to oppose the King, and dangerous to provoke him, threw himself upon his mercy, and acknowledged he had incurred a Premunire in exercising his power Legatine; though he had the Royal Assent under Seal for so doing. By this confession all his goods and chattels were forfeited to the King. This submission abated the King's resentment; he granted him his protection, and then his pardon; restoring to him the Archbishoprick of York, and the Bishoprick of Winches-

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ter; and gave him back in money, goods, and plate to the amount of more than six thousand pounds; and many kind messages were sent to him both by his Royal Master and the Lady Ann.

1530. When Cranmer had finished his Book on the Divorce, he was joined in Embassy with the Earl of Wiltshire, and Stokesly, Elect of London, and others, to dispute those matrimonial points at Paris, Rome, and some places in Germany; and to procure the subscriptions of Learned Men to the nullity of the Marriage. To the Pope they were to assert the Prerogative of the Crown of England, which was such, that their Master would not suffer any citation to be made of Him to any foreign Court, and that therefore the King would not have his Cause tried at Rome. The Pope, in compliment, gave Cranmer the empty Title of his Penitentiary in England.

In this year, the hands and seals of several Universities were obtained by the King's Agents for the Divorce. In those of England, the Doctors and Heads of Colleges were most favorable to the King: but the Masters of Arts were in general against him. They, who were enemies to the New Learning, dreaded the growth of heresy, which the new intended Queen, as they apprehended, favored; as did likewise Cranmer and his Friends. However, Bishop Longland at Oxford, and Stephen Gardiner at Cambridge managed so, as to obtain, that the point might be referred to a Committee of Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity; who gave it for the King.

When he had received the conclusions of the Universities, he sent a remonstrance to the Pope signed by most of the Nobility^a, and among the rest by the Cardinal himself. In which they urge the justice of the King's Cause, confirmed by the opinion of so many Learned Men and Universities, the King's earnest requests, and high deservings of the Apostolick See, and the dangers threatening the

^a July 13.

the state for want of an Heir Male by a lawful marriage. ' In
 ' which distress (they said) if the Pope will leave them, refusing
 ' that fatherly care which he might and ought to shew towards
 ' them, they shall look upon themselves as Orphans deserted by
 ' him to take care of themselves, and shall be obliged to think of
 ' some other remedy. If he will not, when it is in his power, re-
 ' dress the King's and their grievance, or be dilatory in doing it,
 ' though they shall look upon themselves as unhappy, yet they
 ' shall not altogether despair of disentangling themselves. Some
 ' remedies indeed, they observed, were rough in the operation,
 ' but that a Patient was to cure himself as well as he could : and
 ' that something of comfort there was even in the change of a mis-
 ' fortune, which time and custom might make more tolerable.'

The Pope (who was now in strict alliance with the Emperour, having received from him full reparation of all past injuries, with assurance of assistance for the recovery of his Towns, and for investing the Pope's Nephew with the Dukedom of Florence, to whose Son the Emperour had also engaged to give his own natural daughter in marriage) would return no satisfactory answer to this Remonstrance, but contented himself with promising to refuse no remedies that might be granted without harm to any one. What those remedies were in which there was no harm, we learn from a Letter of Sir Gregory Cassali to the King at the same time^a, acquainting him that his Holiness had in secret proposed to him as a mighty favor to his Majesty, to indulge him the liberty of marrying Two wives ; an accommodation which Sir Gregory knew was wished for by the Emperour's faction.

But as this was looked upon as adding the further load of Polygamy to a conscience already overburthened with that of an incestuous marriage, and nothing further could at present be obtained from the Pope ; lest the Queen or Wolsey should procure any

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Bull

^a September, 1530.

Bull against the King, the above Remonstrance was soon followed by a Proclamation, forbidding the purchasing, using, or publishing any thing from the Court of Rome.

In the beginning of November, while the Cardinal who had retired to York was preparing for his Installation as Archbishop of that See, the Earl of Northumberland arrested him of High Treason. In his journey towards London by leisurely stages, apprehending the worst, though the King had sent him many kind assurances, he took poison, as Mr. Cavendish, his Gentleman Usher, who then attended him, relates; and arriving at Leicester Abbey, unable to travel further, died there November 28.

In the Parliament and Convocation, it was judged, that the Cardinal had incurred a Premunire by procuring Bulls from Rome for the exercise of his Legatine Jurisdiction; and with him were all the Clergy involved in the like Premunire, for submitting to that Jurisdiction^a. Their case was hard: but the King had views, and the Clergy had very few friends left. The King's views were, a sum of money for the redemption of the Clergy, one hundred thousand pounds in the Province of Canterbury, and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty in that of York; and another more important one, the setting up an Ecclesiastical Supremacy. Wherefore he pushed his advantage in this juncture, and refused to pardon the Premunire, unless the Clergy submitted to own Him their sole and supreme Head, next and immediately after Christ. This, as Cranmer tells Brooks, was first suggested to him by Warham; who also, when the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors in the

^a There was a precedent for the Clergy's ransoming themselves before. In 1295 Pope Boniface viii. made a constitution, That if any Clerk gave to Lay men any spiritual goods, or any Lay person took such goods, they should forthwith stand excommunicate. On the strength of this the English Clergy refused the King, Edward i. the aid he required of them for maintenance of his wars. The King called a Parliament, excluding the Bishops and Clergy, who enacted, that their persons were out of the King's protection, and their goods confiscated, unless by submitting themselves they redeemed his favor: which they were glad to do by a very liberal offering for their ransome.

the Upper House, on the proposing this new Title, were silent, took advantage of their silence, and construed it into a consent. But as a more express acknowledgement was required, the Clergy not disputing the King's Civil and Secular Jurisdiction, and the King, to restrain his Supremacy from being understood in cases purely Spiritual, submitting to the restriction of *as far as by Christ's Law they might*, both Houses of Convocation in each Province subscribed to this Title in their Submission, and received the King's Pardon ^b.

After the Parliament rose, the King endeavoured to persuade ^{1531.} the Queen to withdraw her Appeal to Rome, and submit her Cause to the decision of four Spiritual and four Temporal Lords : but she refused. And after the 14th of July the King saw her no more.

On the 25th of January following, the Pope wrote to Henry, ^{1532.} exhorting him ' to take home his Queen, and put away one Ann, ' whom, as he was informed, he kept about him as his Wife.' The King likewise wrote to the Pope, in which he charges him with dealing inconstantly and deceitfully, with regarding worldly respects

^b Herbert's Life of Henry viii. p. 320. Archbishop Parker indeed, in the Life of Warham, says, that the King, distrusting what exceptions might be made to his just authority, under color of this restriction, insisted on the Clergy's subscribing in general terms to his being *Head of the Church of England* : but Bishop Burnet observes (vol. i. p. 112.) that when the Province of York thought that Title could be given to none but Christ, the King sent them for answer, that words were not always to be understood in their strict sense, and that the Convocation of Canterbury had explained this Title to be *as far as was agreeable to the Law of Christ*. And Cranmer says, (Fox, vol. iii. p. 662.) that he had conferred with the King on this point, who agreed that Christ only was Head of his Church, and of the faith and religion of it ; but that the King was Head and Governour of his people, who made the visible Church in England, and that there was never other thing meant. So that although the Title subscribed had been barely, *Head of the Church of England*, to guard against the disloyal exceptions of the Papalins, yet in the sense of the Imposer, as well as of the Subscribers, *as far as by Christ's Law they might* was understood. In one case the King had the power of interpreting the statute, in the other it had been left to the Subject.

respects more than the ease of the King's conscience, with ignorance in the point, which the Pope had often acknowledged; wherefore the King had consulted diverse Learned Men, and many Universities, who had declared his marriage unlawful, and the Dispensation null; declaring that he did not intend to impugn the Pope's authority, except he compelled him; and that what he had done was only to bring that Authority within its first and antient limits, to which it was better to reduce it, than to let it always run on headlong and do amiss; therefore he desired the Pope would conform himself to the opinions of so many learned men, and do his duty and office.

About the same time a bill passed in parliament prohibiting the payment of *Annates*, or first fruits, to Rome. They were founded on no law, but were exacted by restraining the bulls for the consecration of Bishops till these were paid. They were now forbidden, under pains of forfeiture of all the lands, goods, and chattels of the person that should pay them, together with the profits of the see during the time he was vested with it. If the bulls were restrained, the new Bishop should be consecrated by the Archbishop of the province, and an Archbishop by any two Bishops in the kingdom. It was likewise provided, that if upon this act the Pope should vex the King, or any of his subjects, by excommunications or other censures, these notwithstanding, the King should cause the sacraments and other rites of the church to be administered; and that none of these censures should be published or executed. The King had power to confirm or abolish all or any part of this act before Easter 1533, time being given to try to compound with the Pope for a moderate payment of them. It was afterwards confirmed by letters patent 9 July, 1533.

The Pope, finding his authority declining in England, ordered a citation to be made of the King to appear in person, or by proxy, at

at Rome, to answer to the Queen's appeal. Upon which Sir Edward Karne was sent to excuse the King's appearance, and insist on the prerogatives of the crown of England. Boner went with him, a forward bold man, but neither learned nor discrete, says Bp. Burnet. They arrived in March at Rome; and one business on which they came was expedited; which was a bull for a commission to erect six new Bishopricks, and to be endowed by monasteries that were to be suppressed.

In England the parliament was prorogued hastily May 14, on the breaking out of the plague; and two days after, Sir Thomas More desired leave to deliver up the Great Seal, and Sir Thomas Audley was made Lord Chancellor.

In the mean time* Ann Boleyn was created Marchioness of Pembroke; who attended the King in the following month to Bologna; where he and Francis had an interview, each bestowing honors on the other's servants: Francis, the order of St. Michael on the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; and Henry, that of the Garter on Montmorancy and Chabot the French Admiral. Nor did they return to England till 14 Nov. when Lord Herbert says,^a they were privately married by Rowland Lee, in the presence of Archbishop Cranmer, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, and others. But some defer it till January 25. Even on the last of these days, Cranmer was not Archbishop; nor could he be present if the marriage was on the former, for he was then in Germany^b: Mr. Strype indeed says, he finds him in England in November^c; perhaps from an inclination to save the credit of Ann Boleyn, who was delivered of the Princess Elizabeth on the 6th of September following: but that was needless, if, according to

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* In September.

^a Life of Hen. viii. p. 240.

^b Cranmer himself to B. Brooks. Fox, vol. iii. p. 661.

^c Life of Cranmer, p. 16.

to Monf. Peyfonel, a legitimate birth may happen any time betwixt the 182d and 280th day. All we can venture to affirm in this case is, that if Cranmer was present, the marriage was not till Jan. 25; but if they were married on Nov. 14, Cranmer was not at it. Archbishop Parker says, that Cranmer performed the ceremony.

Indeed, on Warham's death the King sent for Cranmer, who was then in Germany on his master's affairs, to fill up that high dignity; but Cranmer thought himself not qualified for such a promotion; and foreseeing tempestuous times before him, and also fearing to be entangled in an oath to the Pope, formed a pretext, by which he kept himself out of England half a year. Another reason might probably make him decline this appointment, which was his second marriage with a neice of Osiander, while he was in Germany; and by the canon law second marriages rendered persons incapable of holy orders. However the King would not be refused; and Cranmer left his wife in Germany, to wait upon the King in England, where he arrived about the latter end of January.

1533. In the end of January the King sent to the Pope for the bulls for Cranmer's promotion; the act against preventing any more bulls from Rome having not yet been confirmed by the King. The Pope, however averse to the advancement of Dr. Cranmer, was unwilling to precipitate a rupture with England. These bulls therefore, eleven in number, and the last that were received in England in Henry's reign, were expedited; and instead of annates, there were only 900 ducats paid for them, whereas there used to be demanded 10,000 florins*. In march he was consecrated by the Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph; but

* Archbishop Parker calls them, aureos ducatos, ducats of gold: each was 9s. 6d. in value, and the florin about 2s. 6d. He therefore paid about 430 pounds, instead of 1250.

but was driven upon such an expedient as that to decline the Archbishoprick, if he could have been permitted to have done so, appeared more eligible to him, than to be obliged to have recourse to it.

An oath of obedience to the Pope was necessary : this he would avoid, but could not otherwise than by this poor subterfuge of the canonists and casuists, which was to enter a full and formal protestation, before he took the oath, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, or to the King, or to his country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these.

The parliament of this year passed an act against appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, and other cases, which were not sufficiently provided for by the statutes of Edw. i. Edw. iii. Rich. ii. and Hen. iv. enacting, that all such causes, whether relating to the King or any of his subjects, were to be determined within the kingdom, in the several courts to which they belonged, notwithstanding any appeals to Rome, or inhibitions or bulls from thence.

This bill shewed the sense of the two houses of parliament with regard to the King's cause; which was now debated fully in the upper house of convocation, as soon as they had an Archbishop to preside. They had two questions before them : one, whether it was against the law of God, and indispensable by the Pope, for a man to marry his brother's wife, he being dead without issue, but having consummated the marriage ? In the lower house this was carried, 14 for the affirmative, and 7 for the negative ; one doubtful, and one affirming it to be a divine command, but denying that it was indispensable by the Pope. * In the upper house after long debating, 197^b were for the affirmative, Fisher, Bishop

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of

* Matth. Parker de Antiquitate Eccl. Britann. in vitâ Thomæ Cranmer. p. 490.

^b Archbishop Parker says 272.

of Rochester, and 18 more dissenting. The other question was, whether Prince Arthur had consummated his marriage with the Queen? This was remitted to the canonists, whether the presumptions were such as in the course of law must be looked on as good evidence of a thing incapable of formal proof? They all, except 5 or 6, were for the affirmative; and all the upper house confirmed this, except the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

The Church of England having made so full a decision, nothing remained but to give judgment, and formally to declare the marriage null. Wherefore on Easter Eve, the Marchioness of Pembroke was declared Queen of England, her pregnancy making it difficult to conceal the marriage longer. And in the May following, the King and Queen Catharine were cited to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury at Dunstable, with others his Assessors, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Bath and Wells, and Lincoln, on the 10th of that month; but the Queen would take no notice of the citation. She was therefore declared *contumacious*; and after a full process and many sessions, sentence was given^a, declaring the marriage null from the beginning. And five days after, the Archbishop at Lambeth confirmed the King's marriage with the Lady Ann: and on the first of June she was crowned Queen.

When these things were known at Rome, they declared by a sentence, which they affixed at Dunkirk, that all that had been attempted or done in England relating to the King's suit of divorce, (the matter depending in the court of Rome, by the Queen's appeal,) was null; and that the King by such attempts was liable to excommunication, unless he put things again in the state they were, and that too before September next; and that then they would procede further.

The

^a May 23.

The Archbishop likewise was threatened with a process from Rome for what he had done. Whereupon the King sent Boner to the Pope at Marseils, who delivered to him an authentick instrument of the King's appeal from him to the next general council lawfully called. The Pope rejected the appeal as unlawful, and observed that the calling a general council belonged not to the King, but to himself. Boner also delivered another appeal of the Archbishop of Canterbury from the Pope to the next general council, with such threatenings, delivered with such vehemency and fury, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a cauldron of melted lead, or burning him alive: but Boner, apprehending some danger, made his escape.

On the 6th of September the Queen was delivered of a Daughter, named Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Canterbury being her godfather.

The Pope's sentence against the process in England, the King's appeal from it to a general council, and the rejection of that appeal by the Pope, with his claiming a right himself to call the general council, furnished matter of debate to the English council^b; at length they determined, that a general council was above the Pope; and that his Holiness had no more authority in England than any other foreign Bishop. And this conclusion the clergy were to set forth in their sermons, and the King's appeal was to be fixt up at the church door of every parish. The Pope's power to call a general council was denied, for that the first four general councils were called by the Emperour in his own extended territories; since the division of which, each Prince had the same right within his own territories, and no other Prince may by his authority call a general council therein: that by the negligence of the Emperour and other Princes, the Pope had been suffered to usurp this power: That if one or more of those Princes,

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for

^b Dec. 2.

for the general weal and tranquillity of all Christian people, invite other Princes to a general council in a safe place, those so invited ought in Christian charity to agree thereto, having no lawful impediment or just cause to the contrary.

Such were the tendencies in England at the close of the year 1533. But the Archbishop of Paris brought assurances from his master to the King, that the Pope had promised at Marseils, if Henry would send a proxy to Rome, that he would give the cause for him against Q. Catharine, because he knew his cause was good and just; and prevailed with the King to submit the whole matter to the Pope and his consistory. On this welcome message the Archbishop hurried to Rome at that inclement season, Dec. 26. where the motion was approved, and an express sent back to England with a promise, that if the King would send his submission under his hand, with an order to his proxies to appear in court, the cause should be determined in his favor; and they fixed a day for the King to transmit his submission in form.

1534. And now the important day was in view, when this long perplexed cause was to receive a final determination to the satisfaction of Henry's troubled mind, to the recovery and firmer establishment of the Pope's power and supremacy in England, and to the total despair of any further reformation in this kingdom. The Pope's promise was brought over by the express; and the King's acquiescence had been dispatched back again; all engaged and hasting to accomplish that great event, which Heaven would not permit. The day arrived before the courier; those of the imperial faction pressed his Holiness to procede to a sentence definitive, and to censures. Bellay, the Archbishop of Paris, interposed, and begged a respite, in consideration of winds and waves, which were not at their command. They were militating under a higher power, to disappoint the ambition of Rome, and rescue this kingdom from

from the tyranny of it. The King of England, Bellay observed, had followed this suit six years, and had patience so long; he therefore desired the delay of six days, and if in that time no return came, they might procede. The angry Pope, and a plurality of voices in the consistory, carried it for proceeding immediately. Yet, as in the usual forms of process, there were to be three sessions before sentence was given, Bellay was not without hope that the courier might arrive in the interim: and indeed he did so, for he arrived the third day. But this dilatory court, by a providential infatuation, contrary to their usual forms and practice, concluded all in one day; and so on the 23d of March, the marriage between the King and Queen Catharine was declared good, and the King required to take her for his wife: otherwise censures were to be denounced against him; and the Emperour was commissioned to see this sentence executed.

In the mean time Henry was contriving the final demolition of the Pope's authority in England, in case he kept not his word. The council had ordered several divines to consult their books, and deliver what they found with regard to the Pope's power. The King had written a book on the subject, which (though not yet published) crept abroad in MS. and was seen by the Pope: after the parliament sat,* a Bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's Cross, and declared that the Bishop of Rome had no more power in this kingdom than any other foreign Bishop. The parliament passed an act, that whereas it had been lawful for every ordinary to arrest and imprison any person whom they thought defamed or suspected of heresy; and that heresy had been declared to be holding opinions contrary to the determinations of the canonical sanctions, as well as of holy scripture—Hereafter none should be apprehended by the ordinaries unless accused of heresy by two lawful

Burnet.

* January 15.

lawful witneffes, and then fhould answer in open Court to fuch accufation and prefentment. And that no manner of fpeaking, doing, communication or holding againft the Bifhop of Rome, or his pretended power given by Human Laws, and not by Holy Scripture ; nor any fpeaking, doing, communication or holding againft any Laws, called Spiritual Laws, made by authority of the See of Rome, repugnant to the ftatutes of this realm, or the King's Prerogative Royal, fhould be deemed or taken to be herefy.

Herbert's
Life of
H. viii.

The Convocation acknowledged that they ought to be called together only by the King's writ ; and promifed never to make, enact, or execute any new Canons, Conftitutions, Ordinances, provincial, or other, without the Royal affent and licence. They alfo humbly befought the King to affign thirty two perfons, fixteen of the Clergy, and as many of the Laity, to examine, abrogate, or confirm the Canons as they thought fit ; and the Parliament prohibited all appeals to Rome.

They likewise difcharged the fubjects of all dependence on the Court of Rome : the payment of Annates was to be extinguifhed without referve : Bifhops were no longer to be prefented to the Pope, but their Election was to be fignified by Letters Patent from the King to the Archbifhop, with orders to confecrate the Elect within twenty one days under the penalty of a Premunire. And then, after homage done to the King, the Spiritualities and Temporalities of the See were to be reftored. By the fame Act the Italians, who had Bifhopricks in England, were deprived ; Campegius, of Salifbury, and Jerome de Ghinucci, of Worcester.

All payments made to the Apoftolick Chamber, and all Provisions, Bulls, or Difpenfations from Rome were to ceafe. Difpenfations or Licenfes for things not contrary to the Law of God, but only to the Law of the land, fhould be granted by the Archbifhops in their refpective Provinces ; who fhould not prefume to grant any contrary to the Laws of Almighty God, declaring that
they

they did not intend to vary from Christ's Church about the articles of the Catholick Faith of Christendom, or in any other things declared by the Scriptures, and the word of God necessary to Salvation. The Abbots, whose elections were formerly confirmed by the Pope, were now to be confirmed by the King, who might also give Commission under his Great Seal for visiting them.

They passed likewise an Act of Succession, in which all marriages within the degrees prohibited by Moses are declared unlawful; Dispensations for such marriages, as contrary to the Laws of God, are declared void; the persons so married are appointed to be divorced; and the children begotten in such marriages are made illegitimate. The Issue of the King by the present Queen is declared lawful; the Crown to descend to the Issue Male of Her, or any other Wife; in default, to the Issue Female of the present Queen; and, in default of such issue, to the right Heirs of the King for ever. All persons of full age, as well spiritual as temporal, are bound to swear and maintain this Act; and refusing this oath was made misprision of Treason.

The Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of March to the 3d of November following. And on the 30th of March the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury resolved, that the Bishop of Rome has no greater authority given him by God in this realm than any other foreign Bishop. The University of Cambridge resolved the same on the 2d of May; as did the Convocation of the Province of York, June 1. And these were followed by almost all the Dioceses, Religious Houses, and Colleges in the Kingdom.

During the sitting of the Parliament *the Maid of Kent*, Elizabeth Barton, with her immediate accomplices, were attainted of Treason. She had been suborned by some Monks to use some strange gesticulations, and pretend divers feigned miracles to gain credit to several revelations and visions which she related she had received.

received, and to some bold prophecies which she uttered, against heresy and innovations, and even threatening the King's death within a month, if he should venture to marry the Marchioness of Pembroke. She and her Accomplices the Monks confessed their subornation and imposture: but their execution was awhile respited. Silvester Darius and Antonio Pollioni, the Pope's agents here, gave her credit and countenance. Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were too willing to believe her; and even the late Archbishop Warham was in some measure imposed upon. Fisher and More were judged guilty of misprision of treason, in knowing these practices and concealing them: but the King pardoned them on their several submissions. Sir Thomas More acknowledges that he had believed her to be a holy woman, favored with revelations; but was afterwards convinced of her errors.

I find an examination of her by him among the Harleian MSS. (No. 283, p. 75^b) reduced to 30 articles; but he says 20 sheets of paper would not be sufficient to write all her stories. Some of these I shall produce, to shew the nature of her pretended visions.

1. An Angel appeared, and bad her go unto the King, that infidel Prince of England, and say, that I command him to amend his

* The Maid of Kent lived first as Servant to Thomas Cobb, at Aldington, which had been Erasmus's Living, and from which Erasmus at that time received a pension, yearly paid by the then Rector, Richard Masters. The Girl had fits, and pretended revelations in them about Easter 1525; her revelations were to recommend the hearing of mass, confession to Priests, and prayer to our Lady at her chapel of *Court of Street* in the same parish. Her fame then was so great, that Archbishop Warham sent three monks of Canterbury and two observant Friars with the abovementioned Richard Masters, Rector of Aldington, to examine her. They encouraged her, and confirmed the belief of her revelations, which brought many offerings to the Chapel, and procured for herself from the Archbishop a place among the Nuns of St. Sepulchre's, in Canterbury, for such, she said, was our Lady's pleasure. Afterward, when Idolatry shook, to preserve it from falling, she ventured to meddle with state affairs in her revelations; for which she and her Monks and Friars, and the Parson of Aldington, confessing their villanies, were deservedly hanged. Lambard's *Hist. of Kent*, 1576.

^b See also Strype's Mem.

his life, and that he leave three things which he purposeth ; that is, that he take none of the Pope's right or patrimony from him : that he destroy those new folks of opinion, and the works of the new learning : that if he married, and took Ann to wife, the vengeance of God should plague him.

2. Two or three months after this the Angel appeared, and bad her go again unto the King and say, that since her last being with his Grace, he hath more studied to bring his purpose to pass. And that she saw in spirit the King, the Queen, and the Earl of Wiltshire standing in a garden together, and that they did devise how to bring the matter to pass, and by no means it would not be ; but that at the last a little divel stood besides the Queen, and put in her mind to say thus, You shall send my Father unto the Emperour, and let him shew the Emperour your mind and conscience, and give him these many thousand ducats to have his good will, and thus it will be brought to pass. Go and fear not to shew the King this tale and privy token, and bid him take his old wife again, or else—— Here Sir Thomas breaks off, and says, ' It is such a matter that my hand shaketh to write it, and something better unwritten, than written.'

4. That she was charged to go to the Cardinal when he was most in his prosperity, and shew him of three Swords that he had in his hand, one of the Spirituality, another of the Temporality, and the other of the King's marriage.

5. At another season after, the Angel commanded her to go to the said Cardinal, and shew him of his Fall, and that he had not done as she had commanded him.

6. That since he died, she saw the disputation of the divels for his soul, and that she was three times lifted up, and could not see him, neither in heaven, hell, or purgatory. And at the last where she saw him ; and that by her penance he was brought into heaven, and what souls she saw fly through purgatory.

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10. That

10. That the Angel commanded her to go to a certain Monk, and bid him burn the New Testament that he had in English.

14. That the old Bishop of Canterbury had promised to marry the King, and of the warning by the Angel of God.

18. Of the vision she had, if the King had married at Calais, of the great shame that the Queen should have had.

27. The vision of 9. 9. 9. the reign of the King, how long he shall reign, as faith a prophesy which agreeth with her sayings.

Burnet. Thus much I thought necessary to set down, not only to shew the scope and nature of her particular imposture, but that the reader might judge, where the superstitious influences of popery were vigorous, how much it was in the power of any little designing Monk to interrupt, or give motion and direction to the great wheels of government. And so ashamed were the Papists of this discovery, that in Queen Mary's days the letter of Sir Thomas More, acknowledging his conviction of this gross imposition, was suppressed, that the opinion of this Nun's sanctity and revelations might be again established.

When the Parliament broke up, the determinations at Rome were eagerly expected; and the unfavorable sentence confirming the former marriage soon arrived. A fatal blow to Rome, given by herself; for immediately on the receipt of this sentence, the King resolved to break totally from the Pope, and disengage himself and his kingdom from the usurpations of Rome.

April 20 the Maid of Kent and her Accomplices were hanged at Tyburn, confessing their cheats and treasons. Worthy Martyrs for a Roman Catholick Writer to boast of! But the people of England with more reason grew incensed against the religious Orders, which were the schools where such delusions were invented and taught. Such pretended visions and miracles to serve their turns, as England had abundantly experienced, greatly abated their credit at this time, when people dared to speak their minds, and opened the way to a demolition of Monasteries.

The

* Sanders de schismate Anglicano, p. 85.

The account given by a Carthusian himself to vindicate and do honor to the memory of the Prior and Brotherhood of the Chartreux, who was hanged in the year 1535, may, I believe, be trusted with the Reader as a sufficient evidence of their delusions and designs.

He tells us, when they were brought to suffer their sentence, and the Executioner had thrown in their faces their own hearts, yet beating and alive, torn out of their stomachs, and upbraided them with their disobedience and disloyalty to their King, that these devout martyrs with one consent cried out, ' Our hearts ' are there where our treasure is, Jesus Christ : and we now hear ' our obedience and allegiance approved in heaven by the King of ' Kings, who himself already begins to encircle our heads with ' crowns of precious stones.' Which was an *extraordinary speech* to be made by men, whose hearts had been pulled out of their stomachs, and thrown in their faces. He likewise tells us of another Prior of that Monastery, one John Tynzby, an Irishman, who died in 1529, that before he took the habit he was at Jerusalem, and was taken by the wild Arabs, and put into prison to be murdered : but that the day before he was to be executed, he remembered an Image of St. Catharine at home in his own country, to which he prayed very earnestly for deliverance ; and that the fervor of his devotion was so great as to throw him into a profound sleep, out of which when he awaked, he found himself in that very chapel in his father's house before the Image, conveyed by the almighty power of God out of prison over such immense tracts of land and sea. And, to mention but one more out of many miraculous ones in that narrative, we are told that Robert Smith and John Darley were two intimate friends in that Convent ; soon after the martyrdom of our Prior, says he, the former took to his bed and died. His friend Darley, visiting him, said, Dear brother, you are now going the way of all flesh ; I earnestly beg,

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when

when you are in happiness, that by God's permission you would return hither to tell me in what state our martyred brethren are. The other promised to do so, God willing. A week after this he died ; and five days after his death, as Darley was walking early in the morning in his cell, the deceased all in white appeared, and joined him in his walk, who being asked who he was, answered, Your Brother, who died five days ago. Being asked in what condition He and our Fathers were, answered, It is well with me, I am in glory enjoying the beatific vision, I thank God : but in a glory much inferior to that which our Fathers who suffered enjoy. They are in great glory with a palm of martyrdom ; and the Prior of this House hath a crown more illustrious than any of the others^b. If these accounts appear improbable and ridiculous, let us be thankful for our deliverance from those slavish fears under which that designing religion was studious to train their votaries for the more absolute dominion over them.

The King was desirous that Catharine would lay aside the Title and Port of a Queen, and Dr. Tonstal, among others, was sent to persuade her to do so. But she upbraided Tonstal, for that he and others of her Council had always shewed her that her Cause was good. The Bishop told her, that as the chief universities in Christendom, even of Bononia itself, which was the Pope's own Town, had concluded, that after the decease of the Brother (he having had carnal knowledge of his Wife) the Brother living might not marry the said Wife by any Dispensation from the Pope, because it was forbidden by the Law of God : and as the Pope never made answer to maintain lawfully his power to the contrary ; but rather in confirmation of the opinions of the said universities had said at Marseils, that if the King would send a Proxy thither, he would give the sentence for him against Q. Catharine, because he knew the Cause was good and just ; therefore He, the Bishop, had changed his opinion, and desired her to do the same. But she

^b Historia aliquot nostri seculi Matyrum. Anno Dom. MDL.

she resolutely refused for any peril of life or goods to relinquish her Royal Title.

Clement vii. did not long survive the loss of England, but died in September this year ; to whom succeeded Cardinal Farnese by the title of Paul iii.

In the next session, which began in November, the King's Supremacy was fully settled ; and the Convocation unanimously addressed the King that he would order the scriptures to be translated into the vulgar tongue ; and that all persons possessed of books of suspect Doctrine should bring them in before Commissioners to be appointed by the King within three months.

Hitherto the Reformation may be looked upon as purely Regal ; being only a recovery of that obedience due to the King, which had for some years been diverted from him to the Bishop of Rome, by an usurped authority. Further than this they proceeded not yet ; for it was declared that no alteration was intended in the Doctrines by the Parliament. However, it is easy to see what an opening was made to the reformation of Doctrines by the acts that had been passed.

With the Pope's Supremacy and Power of dispensing against God's Laws would fall in course the Doctrine of Pardons and Indulgences : with the abrogation of his Laws would follow in train the Doctrines built on them : judging heresy by the Scriptures, and not by Those Laws, must change the whole course of studies among the Learned, and turn them from the Decretals to the word of God : this led to a Version of the New Testament, that the people might be acquainted with their duty ; and at length to an examination and rejection of such Doctrines as had no foundation in those sacred writings.

The opposition given to the established Doctrines proceeded as yet only from the disagreeing opinions of Individuals, and not the consenting judgment of a national Synod : some of these opinions were

were founded in truth, and maintained with sobriety; others were the wild dreams of fanciful men, rashly scattered abroad like wild fire. The madness, disorder, and impiety of these latter raised an odium and disgust against the former. And the King, jealous lest his opposition to the Pope should be mistaken to proceed from an indifference to Religion, indiscriminately punished both with severity. John Frith seems to have been the first Scholar who at all doubted of the Corporal Presence, in the year 1532; and in the year 1534 not only some Dutch Anabaptists were condemned to the stake for their impious Tenets, but Frith also suffered the fire for his opinion; with so implicit and blind faith had Transubstantiation been received, that no one Bishop, Doctor, or Scholar (beside Frith) seemed yet to have entertained any doubt about it.

It is time to turn our eyes to Ridley, whom we
 §. 5. *A view of* left studying for improvement in Languages, Phi-
Ridley in this Inter- losophy, and Divinity, at Paris and Louvain, which
val.

I have placed in the years 1527, 1528, and 1529; for as this was done at the charge of his Uncle Robert (by the testimony of his Cotemporary and Fellow-collegiate, Dr. Turner, afterwards Dean of Wells) it must be before the year 1536, when that celebrated Canonist died: we find Ridley at College in every year preceding those three abovementioned, and in those Three we meet with nothing recorded of him; which makes it probable that he spent them abroad: and after the year 1529 we hear of him so often at home, as cannot consist with his studying in foreign Universities after that time.

1530. In the year 1530 I find him chosen to an Office in his College, not proper for an absent member, that of Junior Treasurer*. And at this time it was, as I apprehend, when he was pursuing his theological

* Registr. Aulae Pembroch.

theological studies, the foundation of which he had laid abroad, that he not only applied himself diligently to the reading of the scriptures, as the safest guide in those studies, but for their more ready assistance took pains *to imprint* them in his memory ; for this purpose he used to walk in the Orchard at Pembroke-Hall, and there get without book almost all the Epistles in Greek : which walk to this day is called Ridley's Walk ^b.

About the same time he might take under his care Mr. William Turner, afterwards Physician to the Protector Somerset's Family, and Dean of Wells, to perfect him in the knowledge of the Greek tongue ; who gives the following account of him in a letter to Fox, when he was collecting materials for his Book of Martyrs, translated by Mr. Strype in his third volume of Memorials Ecclesiastical ^c.

' Concerning Ridley I am able to say things more, and more
' certain than you have in your book set down, as being born in
' the same Country with him, and for many years his Collegian
' in Pembroke-Hall, and his Opponent in theological exercises.
' He was born in my native County of Northumberland, and
' sprang of the gentile Pedigree of the Ridleys : one of his Uncles
' was a Knight, and another was Doctor of Divinity, who by the
' name of Robert Ridley was famous, not only at Cambridge, but
' at Paris, where he long studied, and throughout Europe, by the
' writings of Polydore Virgil. At the charges of this Doctor was
' our Nicholas long maintained at Cambridge, afterwards at Paris,
' and lastly at Louvain. After his return from the schools beyond
' the seas, he lived with us for many years in Pembroke-Hall :
' but at length was called away from us to the Bishop of
' Canterbury, whom he served faithfully. And lastly, was raised
' to the dignity of a Bishop. The Town where he was born was
' called

^b MS. in eod. Colleg.

^c P. 228.

' called Willowmontifwick ; now Willowmont : in the Northum-
 ' brian language signifying the DUCK OF THE ROCKS.
 ' Concerning his memory, and his manifold knowledge of tongues
 ' and arts, although I am able to be an ample witness (for he first in-
 ' structed me in a further knowledge of the Greek Tongue) yet,
 ' without my testimony, almost all Cantabrigians, to whom he
 ' was sufficiently known, will, and can testify. How able he was
 ' in confuting or overthrowing any thing, yet without any boast-
 ' ing or noise of arms, not only I, but all with whom he disputed,
 ' easily perceived ; unless he understood that they thirsted more af-
 ' ter glory than was fit : for those he used to set himself more vi-
 ' gorously to crush. His behaviour was very obliging, and very
 ' pious without hypocrisy, or monkish austerity : for very often he
 ' would shoot in the Bow, or play at Tennis with me. If there
 ' were no other witness of his beneficence to the Poor, I will tes-
 ' tify this to all, that before he was advanced to any ecclesiastical
 ' preferment, he carried me along in company with him to the
 ' next Hospital, and when I had nothing to give to the Poor, be-
 ' side what he himself, according to his estate, liberally gave,
 ' he often supplied me that I might give too. While he was
 ' himself in prison, what aid he sent out of England to us in our
 ' exile in Germany, that learned man, his faithful Achates, Dr.
 ' Edmund Grindall, now Bishop of London, can testify ; and ma-
 ' ny others who were assisted by his liberality.'

One part of this character probably refers to a remarkable inci-
 dent within this interval ; I mean, his setting himself vigorously
 to crush such Disputants as aimed at their own glory more than
 was fit, while his usual method was to be as calm as he was for-
 cible in his attacks, and to content himself with conquest without
 a triumph.

1532. In the beginning of the year 1532, in the Proctorship of Cake
 and Taylor, George Throgmorton and John Askwell, two young
 men

men from Oxford, who happened to think pretty highly of themselves, ventured to Cambridge on no wiser an errand than to challenge all that University to a Disputation on two Questions, in which they had prepared themselves. Ridley was one of the Five appointed to undertake the Challengers. The oddness of the occasion drew together a great concourse of Scholars, so that the school doors were broken down by them. For the number of scholars then at Cambridge was very great, as may be guessed at from a passage in Latimer's Sermon before King Edward in 1550; where he says, that 'he verily believes there were then ten thousand scholars fewer than there were twenty years ago.' Throgmorton was to respond on the first Question, whom his Opponents so pressed, that, finding him a little embarrassed, they pursued their advantage, (the very character of Ridley with such vain-glorious Disputants) and never suffered him to recover himself again. His Fellow Adventurer Askwell, who was to respond on the second Question, was so discouraged, that he declined the Disputation, by feigning himself sick.

Archbishop Tenison, in his MS. Notes in the Library at Lambeth, calls this *Duellum Religiosum, a religious Combat*; but in truth there was no more of Religion in the Questions, than there was of Discretion in the Challenge. The First was, Whether the Civil Law was more excellent than Medicine? The Second, which helps us to see what Learned Trifles they busied themselves about at that time of day, was, Whether a Woman, condemned to death, being twice tied up, and the cords both times breaking, ought to be hanged the third time?

So ended this ridiculous Challenge, to the disgrace of the Challengers. Though, as a Cambridge Relater of it candidly observes, 'not the least shadow of shame can reflect on Oxford,' for the indiscretion of Two of their hot-headed Members. However, Dr. Caius tells us, it was said, that Oxford at their return expelled them

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* Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge.

them from the University. Which Fuller censures, supposing that disgrace within the University had been a more proper punishment.

1533. In the following year Mr. Ridley was chosen Senior Proctor of that University. And while he continued in that office the important point of the Pope's Supremacy came before them to be examined upon the authority of Scripture. For this purpose they
1534. appointed publick Disputations for sifting the Question thoroughly. In which it is probable that Ridley's education at Paris had given him an ability to assist with great success; as he might have learned there to overcome the chief difficulty in that Question, which was to get over the prejudice of human authority in the decrees of Popes and Councils, and their false interpretations of Scripture. Their famous appeal from the Pope's repeal of the Acts of the Council of Basil was yet fresh in memory, and the Writings of Two of their Members, Gerson and Occham, were then diligently read there. The latter of which determines, That neither the Pope or the Clergy are exempt from the Emperour's Jurisdiction; and that whatever greater privileges they enjoy, they hold of human right only*. Grounding his determination on this Scripture, that each, after embracing Christianity, was to remain in the same condition in which he was before he was called. 1 Cor. vii. 20. If therefore, says he, before ordination, every Priest was subject to his own Prince; after Priesthood taken, he was to continue in the same subjection: and consequently the Pope, if before he was called to the Papacy he was subject to the Emperour, his being called to the Papacy does not discharge him from being under the imperial jurisdiction. The University of Cambridge therefore following the judgment of that at Paris, after mature deliberation came to this Resolution; 'That the Bishop of Rome had no more Authority and Jurisdiction derived to him from God, in this Kingdom of England, than any other foreign Bishop.' Signed in

* De potestate Pontificis questionis 2. cap. 7.

in the name of the University, May 2d, 1534, by Simon Heynes, Vice-chancellor; Nicholas Ridley, Richard Wilkes, Proctors.

§. 6. *Relating to the Supremacy.* The King's Supremacy was now generally acknowledged, few of any name opposed it, except Sir Thomas More and Fisher Bishop of Rochester.

The rest of the Bishops, even Those, who afterwards were the Pope's great Champions, were zealous in the support of it. Towards the close of the year 1534, they took an oath, and utterly renounced the Pope's Authority in England. A passage or two, signed by Lee, Archbishop of York, Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, Stokely, who succeeded him in London, and Gardiner, made Bishop of Winchester in the place of his late Master the Cardinal, will serve to shew what they once thought and swore to on this subject. 'I do purely of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely in the word of a Bishop profess the Papacy of Rome not to be ordained of God by Holy Scripture, but constantly do affirm, and openly declare, and shall declare it to be set up only by Man, and shall cause diligently other men likewise to publish the same. Neither shall I enter any treaty with any person or persons either privily or apertly, or shall consent thereto, that the Bishop of Rome shall have or exercise here any authority or jurisdiction, or is to be restored to any jurisdiction hereafter——for the confirmation hereof I give my faith and truth by firm promise, and in the faith of a Bishop, that against this my aforesaid profession and promise made, I shall defend myself by no dispensation, exception, nor any remedy, or caution of Law, or example, during this my natural life.'

Nor content with This, some were very earnest by other voluntary means to justify their sincerity in this point, which they knew was suspected by the King. Whose suspicions of Tunstall appear in a Letter from the King to the Bishop, in which the King charged him with '*looking for a new world, or a mutation.*' Which the

Bishop took much to heart, and complained of it to Cromwell in these words; 'If the King's Highness knew my mind, as God doth, sure I am those words had not been put in. For I have been as fore against such usurpations of the Bishop of Rome, as daily did grow, as any man of any degree in this realm. And that I should now look for the renewing of that thing, which I withstood heretofore, as far as I might, when He flourished most, is not likely. Surely I look for no mutation, nor new world but one; which is the changing of this life transitory to the Life Eternal in the world to come.'

Fox gives us the substance of a Sermon preached and published by this Bishop, in which he proves from the Example of Christ, and of St. Peter, and other Apostles, that the Power claimed by the Popes, is contrary to the Gospel Spirit: that the passages alledged in defence of their Supremacy are wrested from their true sense, and contrary to the interpretation of the Fathers: that the Councils, falsely cited in their favor, were directly against them: that, following the pride of Lucifer their father, they make themselves fellows with God, and do exalt their seats above the stars of heaven, and do ascend above the clouds, and will be like to Almighty God: that when, four and thirty years ago, in Julius his time, he saw a Nobleman of great age prostrate himself upon the ground, and kiss the Bishop of Rome's shoe, which he stately suffered to be done, as of duty; he thought he saw Cornelius the Centurion submitting himself to Peter, and much honoring him: but saw not Peter there to take him up, and to bid him rise, saying, I am a Man as thou art. So that the Bishops of Rome, admitting such adoration, due unto God, do climb above the heavenly clouds. . . . And now, because he can no longer in this realm wrongfully use his usurped power in all things (as he was wont to do) and suck out of this realm by avarice insatiable innumerable sums of money yearly, to the great exhausting of the same; He therefore, moved and replete with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth

goeth about to stir all Christian Nations, that will give ears to his divilish enchantments, to move war against this realm of England, giving it in prey to all those that by his instigation will invade it. Whose pestilent purpose the Princes, that he breaketh it unto, have in much abomination ; both for that the Bishop of Rome (who being a Bishop should procure peace) is a stirrer of war ; and because this most errant and unkind Traitor [Pole] is his minister to so divilish a purpose, to destroy the country that he was born in, which any Heathen Man would abhor to do. He says further, that for these many years past, little war hath been in these parts of Christendom, but the Bishop of Rome either hath been a stirrer of it, or a nourisher of it, and seldom any compounder of it, unless it were for his ambition or profit. Wherefore since, as St. Paul saith, that God is not the God of dissention, but of peace, who commandeth by his word peace always to be kept, we are sure that all those, who go about to break peace between realms, and to bring them to war, are the Children of the Divil, what holy names soever they pretend to cloke their pestilent malice withall. Finally, he wishes that Gog (by whom he means the Pope) may drink of the same cup, which he maliciously goeth about to prepare for us, that the people of God might afterwards live quietly and in peace ^a.

He likewise, together with Stokesly, Bishop of London, joined in a Letter to Pole in maintenance of the King's Supremacy.

But Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, appeared earlier in the field, and published his book *De vera obedientia* in the year 1534. In which speaking of the King's Title of Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, immediately under Christ, he acknowledges that he had not come hastily into this opinion ; but that at length he was convinced, being ' compelled by that which compelleth

^a The abovementioned Sermon could not be preached before 1537, though placed by Fox in the year 1534 ; because Julius, whom he mentions seeing in his state four and thirty years before, was not Pope till 1503.

'pelleth all men, when God seeth his time, even the mighty
 'power of the truth.' Then grounds his judgment on the King's
 Supremacy in his realm confirmed by Scripture and universal con-
 sent; and argues, 'seeing the Church of England consisteth of
 'the same sorts of people at this day that are comprised in the word
 'realm, of whom the King is called the Head; shall he not, being
 'called the Head of the realm of England, be also the Head of the
 'same men, when they are named the Church of England?' He
 observes, that Religion will not alter the case; for, says he, 'the
 'authority of the Master towards the Servant, and the right of
 'the Husband over the Wife is not lost by the mean of religion,
 'and shall it be lost to the King?—Truely, if he be the Head of
 'the people, and that by the ordinance of God, as no man saith
 'nay, yea, even as well when the people as the Prince be most far
 'dissevered from God through infidelity: how much more now,
 'seeing they accord through the power of God in one profession of
 'faith, and by that mean are a Church, ought He to retain the
 'name of the Supreme Head?'

To the argument urged, that the Church hath a Government,
 in which Spiritual Men are the Governours appointed by God, ac-
 cording to that direction in the Acts of the Apostles, *Take heed to*
yourselfes and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made
you Overseers, to feed the Church of God which he hath purchased
with his own blood. Acts xx. 28. He answers, 'This and such
 'like sentences are nothing against the King's authority: no more
 'than the obedience due to the King is diminished in that the
 'Wife is commanded to obey her Husband, and the Servant his
 'Master. In like manner, the government of the Church, com-
 'mitted to the Apostles and to those who succede in their rooms,
 'may not be thought to abrogate or diminish that which God
 'hath committed to Princes, in any condition. The Parson, Vicar,
 'or Parish-Priest's care of his Parishioners is not taken away, be-
 'cause the Bishop ought also to oversee; neither may the Bishop's
 'jurisdiction

‘jurisdiction be deemed of no effect, because he must take the
‘Archbishop for his Superior : even so by the government of the
‘Church, committed to the Apostles and their Successors, that,
‘which beforehand is committed of God to Princes, is in no wise
‘taken away.’

To their objection, who say, Christ only is the Head of the Church, he answers, ‘We all confess it ; (meaning thereby the
‘Universal Church.) Let this be out of controversy : for the
‘avoiding of which, there is both to the word *Head* added in
‘*Earth*, and to this word *Church* is added *of England*.’

To the old distinction, that the Prince should govern in temporal matters, and the Church in spiritual, He observes that it is very unwarrantable to preclude the Prince from a care of spiritual matters. ‘Must every one, says he, in his own private care,
‘seek the kingdom of God first and above all things, and must
‘the Prince in his administration neglect it, or at least take no care
‘of it ?’ This he observes is contrary to the universal practice of the Church through all ages. ‘Did not Aaron, says he, take
‘Moses for his Sovereign Lord ? Did not Solomon ordain the office of the Priests in their ministeries, and Levites in their order,
‘taking care of spiritual matters, not unadvisedly, but by the appointment of David his Father, the Man after God’s own heart ?
‘The same Solomon put Abiathar the High-Priest to death. Jehoshaphat set up the high judgment seat of the Priests and Levites
‘households in Jerusalem. By what authority did he so, but by
‘his regal power, taking it to be his office *rather* to take charge
‘concerning divine matters than human ? Would Hezekiah have
‘so busied himself with the administration of divine matters, if
‘the discipline of his regal office, which he received of God, had
‘not required it ? In the very first year and first month of his reign
‘he did not only build up the gates of the Lord’s House again, but
‘also gave diligence to reform the Priests themselves ; for he not
‘only admonished them of their negligence in their office, but also
‘like

like a man of authority said, Hearken, O ye Levites and Priests, be ye sanctified and make clean the House of the Lord, the God of your fathers, and put away all uncleanness from the Sanctuary.

The Bishop of Rome therefore must either bring out the tables of the New Testament, or none. But Christ openly protested both in *words* and *deeds*, that he sought not an earthly kingdom, but (the estate of orders remaining still) he taught the just government of the inward mind through the grace of God, which consisteth in humility and contempt of worldly things. And the points of office of Him that is Christ's Vicar, if he will do his office faithfully, are not to bear rule, but to be in subjection; not to command Princes, but to acknowledge himself to be under their power and commandment: not only when they command things indifferent and easy to be done, but also when they command things not indifferent (so they be not wicked) in checks, in scourgings, and beatings unto death, yea even to the death of the Cross. These are Christ's footsteps, and this is the majesty of rule-bearing in Christ. His disciples who dreamed of a temporal kingdom he always rebuked; but he never hindered Cæsar's tribute, nor any man's authority one jot. Where we find in Christ's *actions* all contrary to what the Bishop of Rome challengeth to himself as Christ's Vicar.

And can we think his *words* disagree with his own *deeds*? That where he never sought authority among men, he gave it notwithstanding to the Bishop of Rome to use as his Vicar? Men indeed may wrest his words by forced interpretations: but there is not found in the holy scriptures so much as one syllable of the Bishop of Rome.

Nay, admit Christ gave Peter a Supremacy over the other Apostles, (although Eusebius reports from Clemens that James, called Justus, was ordained Bishop of the Apostles) and that the Bishop of Rome is Peter's Successor, was a kingdom, or lordship given him

‘ him with the Supremacy ? That, which in one relation is Chief
‘ and Supreme, in another relation hath sometime an inferior
‘ place. How great a Supremacy, as I may so call it, hath the
‘ Chaplain over his Master while he is in divine ministration ? And
‘ yet when he is out of his place he leaveth his supremacy behind
‘ him. So the chief Phyfician, the chief Painter, the chief Uni-
‘ versity have each a supremacy, only in their respective offices and
‘ employments ; and yet have no power to command even them
‘ over whom they have this supremacy.

‘ If the Supremacy of the Church of Rome in times past, with
‘ great consent of the world, stood in the office of preaching God’s
‘ word, if in the care and charge of advancing Christ’s name, if in
‘ prompt valiantness of mind to defend the truth, and keep the
‘ faith of Christ from heresies, as it is most plane that in those
‘ days it did, when the Bishops of Rome, and almost none but
‘ they, were diligent to heal the fury of tyrants raging against
‘ Christian people : if it were now seen that the Bishop of Rome
‘ contended about that Supremacy faithfully to pass all other
‘ Bishops in godliness, in faith, and religious devotion, and would
‘ strive to go so far before, that in this race he might be worthily
‘ called *the First*, all Christian Princes would call them by those
‘ true names that they saw with their eyes, and Him whom they
‘ spied so to be *first* they would call *chief*, and in that kind of Su-
‘ premacy they would reverence him with due honor according to
‘ his virtue.’

But that Christian Kings were Supreme in ecclesiastical matters
within their own realms, he proves from History. ‘ Who, says
‘ he, did ever disallow Justinian’s fact, who made laws concerning
‘ the glorious Trinity, and the Catholick faith, concerning Bishops,
‘ men of the clergy, and hereticks, and others such like ? How
‘ often do we read that the causes of heresy have been debated be-
‘ fore Emperours and Princes, and discussed by their trial ? If we
‘ will bolt out the antient laws of the Kings of England in times
P ‘ past,

‘past, how many shall we find concerning religion and the church
‘made, proclaimed, and bidden to be put in execution by the
‘commandment and authority of those Kings?’

If it be said they did so as *Defenders* of the Church, and not as
Heads of it, he observes, that ‘they made statutes by their autho-
‘rity, and by their own laws to enquire of heresy, wherein con-
‘sisteth the principal point of office; which is yet, and hath al-
‘ways been observed, even unto these days. They have permitted
‘many things unto the Bishops and Clergy, and have granted
‘them many immunities: then either they gave what they had not
‘themselves; or else they had power to exercise themselves what
‘they granted to other, and therefore they remitted and departed
‘in so doing with part of their own right.’

With respect to matter of fact, that Princes have acknowledged
the Bishop of Rome to be the Head of the Universal Church, as
indeed Henry himself had done very roundly in his attack on Lu-
ther, he says ‘of deeds which seem to diminish the right, ti-
‘tle and authority of the Prince, a certain light of the truth hath
‘always peeped as it were out of the most deep darkness. If our
‘Elders had believed that God had committed the charge of all the
‘whole world unto the Bishop of Rome, what wilful boldness
‘caused them to make so many statutes against and contrary to that
‘charge and power, advancing itself under that pretence? Those
‘Princes seem to have known their own right and authority, and
‘not to have been at all ignorant of the original beginning and na-
‘ture of the Bishop of Rome’s power. And yet the Bishops of
‘Rome thought good to allow both their judgments and doings in
‘that behalf, so much that they have not only not found fault
‘with those Princes which both made such statutes and kept them,
‘but also, dissembling the foil they had taken, commended those
‘Princes for their fidelity and obedience. As for our Elders, when
‘they perceived the Bishop of Rome’s authority by his fruits, and
‘judged

‘ judged him not to be God’s Vicar, they thought that pick-purse
 ‘ authority must be borne withall, and not clean cast out (for so
 ‘ reason permitted at that time) but their expresse deeds do most ma-
 ‘ nifestly declare, that they were of the same judgment that we
 ‘ are of. All sorts of people are agreed upon this point, with most
 ‘ stedfast consent, learned and unlearned, both men and women,
 ‘ that no manner of person born and brought up in England hath
 ‘ ought to do with Rome. All manner of people receiving and
 ‘ embracing the truth do with one whole consent acknowledge, ho-
 ‘ nor, and reverence the King for the Supreme Head of the
 ‘ Church of England upon earth. The word of God gives no
 ‘ more authority to these Bishops of Rome than to all other Bishops,
 ‘ that is, to feed and bring up the people within their diocese com-
 ‘ mitted to their spiritual charge, with the ministration of the
 ‘ word of God, and of his Sacraments. Nor let it in this case be
 ‘ prejudicial to the truth, what men have done heretofore to flo-
 ‘ rish out the matter withall; either serving their own turn, or
 ‘ giving place to the time, or else blinded through ignorance.’
 Thus he opens at once the reasons which overcame his prejudices,
 and compelled him to acknowledge the truth at this time: and
 discovers the motives that probably influenced him in his after re-
 lapse; ‘ either serving his own turn, or giving place to the time,’
 contrary to his convictions.

As he had not been one of the forwardest to embrace this opi-
 nion, Boner, then Archdeacon of Leicester, who wrote a Preface
 to the Bishop’s book, obviates that objection, and turns it into an
 argument of his sincerity and truth in this treatise. ‘ Neither let
 ‘ it move thee, gentle reader, (says he) that Winchester did not
 ‘ before now apply to this opinion; thou knowest well how wise
 ‘ a part it is for a man to suspect his judgment, and not to be too
 ‘ rash in giving sentence. It is an old saying, that Mary Magdalene
 ‘ profited us less in her quick belief that Christ was risen, than
 ‘ Thomas, who was longer in doubt. Winchester, after long and

‘ great deliberation had in the matter, because there is no better
 ‘ counsellor than leisure and time, would resolutely with his learn-
 ‘ ed and consummate judgment confirm it.’ Whence he infers,
 ‘ Thou shouldest, gentle Reader, esteem his censure and authori-
 ‘ ty to be of more weighty credence, inasmuch as the matter was,
 ‘ not rashly, and at all adventures, but with judgment and with
 ‘ wisdom, examined and discussed.’

As we shall often hereafter meet with these Three Divines in the course of this History, it may not be improper to acquaint ourselves with their Characters.

§. 7. *Characters of* Dr. CUTHBERT TONSTAL was born at Hatch-
 Bishop TONSTAL, ford, in Richmondshire, the base Son of one Ton-
 GARDINER, and stal, a Gentleman of a very antient House. Sir
 BONER. Thomas More, who was well acquainted with

him, tells us, that as there was no man more adorned with knowledge and good literature, no man more sincere and of greater integrity for his life and manners; so no man was a more sweet and pleasant Companion, with whom one would rather choose to converse. And Godwyn represents him as a very good Grecian, well seen in the Hebrew tongue, a very eloquent Rhetorician, a passing skilful Mathematician, a great Lawyer, and a profound Divine. It is pity any immoralities should stain so fair a character: but not receiving from God the gift of continency, and precluded by the Pope's unnatural laws from the remedy of marriage, he was habitually guilty of lewdness; for Bale, whose course language affects not the substance of his evidence, but the manner of delivering it, assures us, that he had by him a list of Bishop Tonstal's Whores and Bastards. If at that time such unchristian filthiness passed unreprieved, the Reader may transfer his censure from the person of Tonstal to the corrupt Religion which he professed. The late Author of the Church History of England in

in endeavouring to vindicate him from a greater crime, in his opinion, impeaches that sincerity, for which Sir Thomas More so highly commends him. 'When the design was laying of casting off the Pope's Jurisdiction, he struggled hard to baffle the attempt; and if he afterwards complied, he was rather dragged into it, than willing or consenting.' Judge, Reader, by the passages before quoted from his Letter and Sermon. It is true he never allowed the King a power in matters purely spiritual; nor, such was his sincerity, could he be dragged by any means into an acknowledgment of what he did not really believe. Let that sincerity be his sufficient voucher, that he did really believe what he so clearly and warmly acknowledged, that the Bishop of Rome had no just authority in England. It will not be so easy to reconcile his relapse into the old opinion again to his wonted sincerity: though perhaps not difficult to account for it from Human Infirmary. He with his Chaplain and Kinsman Dr. Robert Ridley had early engaged in the Queen's quarrel against the Divorce; this might easily lead him into a disaffection towards her Successor, Ann Boleyn: which, and the King's repeated suspicions of him, threw him into an association with those Prelates who opposed the new Queen, and were tenacious of the old superstitions. As he swam with this stream, conflicting in his progress with such lets and impediments as lay in his way, he slid insensibly into that opposition and change of opinions to which that current led. Yet, whether from the sweetness of his temper, or a diffidence of his own judgment, though sometimes fowered beyond his usual mildness, he was never heated into such bloody excesses as some of his Partisans were.

STEPHEN GARDINER was born at Bury, in Suffolk, natural Son of Lionel Woodville, (Bishop of Salisbury, and Brother to Elizabeth Wife of Edward iv.) a person of a lively, penetrating wit, of great application, and remarkably skilled in the Civil and Canon Law: of an active spirit, fit for business, and who would not live out

out of it : but selfish, ambitious, and vain. His capacity and diligence recommended him as a fit instrument to Cardinal Wolsey ; who entertained him in his service with two others of his own standing, Mr. More, and Mr. Cromwell. All of them afterward were taken into the King's service ; Gardiner and More came each of them to be Lord Chancellor of England, and Cromwell was made Earl of Essex and the King's Vicar General. But while Cromwell was careful to discharge his debt of gratitude to his old fallen Master the Cardinal, by pleading his cause successfully in the House of Commons, the disgraced Cardinal found it necessary to supplicate ungrateful Gardiner, and remind him of his obligations, in order to prevale with this forgetful man to employ his interest with the King in behalf of his unhappy Master. The same abilities recommending him to the King, he was employed by him in several embassies abroad, where he improved his political capacity, but was, as himself acknowledges in a Letter to the King, but little seen in Divinity. His intolerable selfishness and vanity appear from the account which Boner gives of him in a letter to Cromwell, when sent to succede him as Resident in France. In which he gives him this character. ‘ The Bishop of Winchester, when any
‘ man is sent in the King's affairs, and by his Highness's command-
‘ ment, unless He be the only and chief Inventor of the matter,
‘ and setter forth of the person, will not only use many cavils,
‘ but also great strangeness of countenance and cheer to the person
‘ that is sent : over and beside, as small comfort and counsel as
‘ may be in the matter, rather dissuading and discouraging the per-
‘ son earnestly to set forward his message, than boldening and com-
‘ forting him, as was his duty, with help and counsel to adventure
‘ and do his best therein. The experience whereof I have had my-
‘ self with him at Roan, and at Marseils, and now last of all at
‘ my return from Spain ; where neither my diligence in coming to
‘ him, and using him in the beginning with all the reverence I
‘ could, neither the King's Letter written to him in my favor,
‘ ne

‘ne yet other thing could mollify his hard heart and cankered
‘malicious stomach, but that he would spitefully speak, and un-
‘kindly do, as indeed he did, to his great shame and my dishonesty.
‘He cannot be content that any joined in Commission with him
‘should keep house, but to be at his table, wherein either he
‘searcheth thereby a vain glory and pride to himself, with some
‘dishonor to the King, as who saith, there were among all the
‘King’s Ambassadors but one able to maintain a table, and that
‘were He : or else he doth the same for an evil intent and pur-
‘pose, to bring them thereby into his danger, that they shall say
‘and do as liketh him alone, which I suppose verily hath been his
‘intent. He having private hatred against a man, will rather sa-
‘tisfy his own stomach and affection, hindering and neglecting the
‘King’s affairs, than relenting in any part of his sturdy and stub-
‘born will, give familiar and hearty counsel (whereby the King’s
‘Highness matters and business may be advanced and set forward)
‘to him that he taketh for his adversary.’ His character of not
yielding to others, but being stubborn and wilful in his own opi-
nions was so general, that He himself bears testimony to it in a
Letter to Lord Cromwell, wherein he tells him, ‘I am in some
‘men’s judgment too strait in charging myself : but I will have
‘mine own will therein, that I may be called *selfwilled* for some-
‘thing.’ And he acknowledges this infirmity in his treatise De
vera obedientia, saying, ‘I confesse plainly of myself, I could do no-
‘thing with a worse will, nor more against my mind, than to shrink
‘from any thing that I had been before persuaded in, whatsoever
‘it were.’ The truth of this character is again confirmed by the
King himself, in an evidence given by Lord Paget to the Privy
Council, who declared, that as he was reading the King’s will over
to Him, when he came to the Bishop of Winchester’s name among
the Counsellors, assistants to the executors, the King ordered him
to strike the Bishop’s name out, saying, he was a wilful man, and
not

not meet to be about his Son ; that then, passing over to the Bishop of Westminster, his Majesty bad him to be put out also, saying, he was schooled, or such like term, by the Bishop of Winchester. And when He, the Lord Paget, and others, began to move the King again for the Bishop of Winchester, he would in no wise be entreated, saying, he marvelled what we meant ; and that all we knew him to be a wilful man. This being his character, we may with ease account for all his proceedings ; going heartily into the Divorce, the Supremacy, and Dissolution of Monasteries, thereby to recommend himself to the Royal favor. Accordingly he received as his reward the Bishoprick of Winchester in 1533. But when he found he could not be a Leader, the Queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell managing in chief, he secretly endeavoured to undermine them. His abilities and malice soon qualifying him for a principal Intriguer on the side of the Old Religion, when he found he could act but a second part on the side of the New.

EDMUND BONER was born at Elmley, in Warwickshire, natural Son of George Savage, Parson of Devenham, in Cheshire. A man, servile to those from whom he expected advancement, but having no regard for any one beside ; a fawning Sycophant to Lord Cromwell in his Prosperity, whose Dependent he was, acting vigorously on the side of the Reformers while their influences were prevalent at Court : but the moment his Master fell, he most basely deserted him ; for the next day after Cromwell was apprehended, when Grafton expressed his sorrow to Boner at the news, ‘ are you sorry for that, said Boner ? It had been good that he had been dispatched long ago.’ And immediately struck in with Gardiner’s faction ; which, having been strong enough to pull down his old Patron, he therefore thought the persons best deserving his regard and obsequiousness. From this time, Winchester and He, just before bitter enemies, acted in concert as long as they lived together. His distinguishing character was that of a bold and fearless spirit,
unrestrained

unrestrained by decency or compassion. For which qualities he was employed in embassies that required spirit ; as in appealing from the Pope to a General Council ; and in demanding some English Rebels whom the French King had protected. In the first of which he behaved with such audaciousness, as occasioned the Pope to talk of throwing him into a cauldron of melted lead : and in the latter with such impudence, that the French King ‘ bad him write to his Master from him, and inform him that his Ambassador was a great Fool ; and that if it were not for the love of his Master, he should have an hundred strokes with an halberd.’ The like qualities recommended him to be employed by Queen Mary, in bringing two hundred to the stake in his diocese, for not changing the opinions which he once held. A conduct so meritorious in the opinion of a modern Roman Catholick Writer, that it atones for his having varied from Himself in principles and behaviour. ‘ If ever any one merited to have such a blot in his life overlooked, ’tis Bishop Boner *.’ Whom he admits at this very time when he merited most, and which indeed was his whole merit, to have been imperious and insulting when in power ; and ‘ whom zeal for religion, warmth of temper, or some other less commendable circumstances might induce to distinguish himself in the rigorous executions of Queen Mary’s reign.’ We cannot but admire the uniformity of the spirit of Popery ; the same in bloody Boner, and in the modern Author of the Church History of England.

§. 8. *Progress of the Reformation from 1534 to 1540.* The King’s Supremacy within his own realms, and extirpation of the Bishop of Rome’s usurped authority drew in train the appointment of a *Vicar General* to ease the King of part of the burthen which his newly recovered Honor brought with it, and this was Cromwell. It likewise stirred up the Monks

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* Church History of England, vol. i. p. 496 and 463.

to spirit the people against the King ; for their exemptions and privileges were derived from the Pope, and their credit and profit flowed from the belief of Purgatory, of redeeming Souls by Masses, from the worship of Saints and Images, and from Pilgrimages, and the like. These Monasteries therefore proving the seminaries of Faction and Superstition were to be dissolved : but the way was to be first cleared by sinking their credit with the people. This was done by a Visitation in 1535 ; when such monstrous impurities were discovered, as quite blasted their reputation, and made their suppression less difficult. The smaller Monasteries fell in 1536. And upon a new Visitation the Impostures of several others were detected ; the Images publicly broken before the people, and the hidden springs, by which the rolling of the eyes and other motions were performed, were discovered to the abused votaries, who had offered at their shrines. So that in 1538 the Greater Monasteries shared the same fate which the smaller had done two years before. Out of whose revenues Cranmer hoped to have erected several new Bishopricks, Schools for the education of Youth, Alms-houses for maintenance of the Poor, and to have promoted other good purposes. But it must be acknowledged that very little was done to answer the good intentions of that Prelate. Only six new Bishopricks were created ; the Poor were deserted ; and except a few schools in Henry viii. and Edward vi. time, the Education of Youth continued, as it does to this day, a neglected point ; chiefly supplied at present by the charity and piety of private benefactors.

But beside the suppression of Monasteries, by the influences of the Queen, Cranmer, and Cromwell, the Convocation in the close of 1535, moved for a Translation of the Bible in English to be set up in all the Churches throughout the Kingdom. And although Gardiner and his party strenuously opposed it, yet the King gave orders for setting about it immediately ; and in three years time, under

under the management of Dr. Boner, it was printed at Paris. And some roots of Popery were plucked up in the Convocation in June, 1536, when the following articles of Religion were published.

The first, made the Bible and Three Creeds the Rule of Faith; condemning such opinions as were condemned by the Four First General Councils. This struck out a great deal of Popish rubbish; Traditions, unwritten Verities, the Pope's Laws, and other impositions.

The second treats of the Sacrament of Baptism. In which the opinions of Anabaptists and the Pelagians were condemned as heresies.

The third treats of the Sacrament of Penance; setting forth that it is necessary for men fallen into sin after Baptism: that it consists of three parts; first, *Contrition*, or a sense of having offended, wrought in our judgments by considering the will of God revealed in his Laws, and in our consciences, by the stings thereof convincing us of God's anger, to the producing an ingenuous shame for having done contrary to our Duty, and a disquieting fear of God's displeasure: that to this first part of *Contrition* a second must succeed, which is Faith, Trust and Confidence in God, conceiving certain hope that we shall be justified, not for any merits of the Penitent, but for the only merits of Jesus Christ; and that this Faith is begotten and confirmed by the application of Christ's promises; and these are applied by the Priest's absolution. To obtain which the second part of Penance is necessary, *Confession* to the Priest. That, thirdly, Penance must produce its fruits, *Amendment of Life*; such as Prayer, Fasting, Almsdeeds, Restitution. By which Penance and Good Works, we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but deserve mitigation of present pains and afflictions in this world. This was a narrowing of the Popish merit, which They extended so far as to deserve Heaven.

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The fourth treats of the Sacrament of the Altar : which is entirely Popish, no light having been yet thrown on the doctrine of Transubstantiation. These Articles mention only Three Sacraments.

The fifth treats of Justification, or Reconciliation with God, attained by Contrition, and Faith joined with Charity ; which yet do not of themselves merit such justification : the mercy of the Father promised freely for Christ's sake, and the merit of his blood and passion being the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof. There were Five more Articles concerning Ceremonies.

1. Of Images ; From a persuasion that they had been allowed in the New Testament, they are continued : but only as representers of virtue and good example, and occasions of reminding men of their sins, and no otherwise to be esteemed, lest Idolatry ensue, which God forbid. As for censuring them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entered by devotion, and fallen to custom ; yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no ways do it, nor think it meet to be done *to* the same Images, but only to God and his Honor, although it be done *before* the Images.

2. Of Honoring of Saints ; Saints in Heaven are to be honored as the Elect of Christ, and reigning with him in glory ; as motives to praise Christ for the graces he vouchsafed them, as examples to us of virtue and constancy ; and in that they may help us as advancers of our prayers and demands with Christ : but not with that confidence and honor which is due only to God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had of God only.

3. Of Praying to Saints ; Christ is the only sufficient Mediator for our sins : yet it is laudable to pray to Saints in Heaven to be our Intercessors for us, and with us to God, that he would give, for his dear Son's sake, remission of our sins, earnest purpose and ghostly strength to observe his Commandments. Without the vain
Superstition

Superstition of thinking that any Saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ; or that any Saint does serve for one thing more than another, or is Patron of the same.

4. Of Rites and Ceremonies; Vestments, Holy Water, bearing Candles, Ashes, Palms, creeping to the Cross, hallowing the Font, and other like exorcisms and benedictions were to be used and continued, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things which they signified: but none of these Ceremonies have power to remit sins, but only to stir and lift up our minds to God, by whom only our sins are forgiven.

5. Of Purgatory; that it is agreeable to Christian charity in our Prayers to commit the Souls departed to God's mercy; and to cause others to pray for them in Masses and Exequies, and to give alms to others to pray for them, that they may be relieved of some part of their pain: but forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of pains there, be to us uncertain by scripture; therefore this with all other things we remit to God Almighty, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our Prayers for them, referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their estate and condition. Wherefore it is much necessary, that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of Purgatory have been advanced, to make men believe that, through the Bishop of Rome's Pardons, Souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatory, and all the pains of it; or that Masses said at *Scala Cæli*, or elsewhere in any place, or before any Image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them strait to Heaven; and other like abuses^a.

The negative and prohibitory clauses in these Articles represent to us, some, the avowed *Principles*, as in Merit, Purgatory, and others;

^a Burnet, Hist. Reform. vol. i. Appendix.

others; and all through, the superstitious *Practices* of Popery. The first they endeavoured now to purge away; and to restore the Ceremonies introduced for pious purposes, and consecrated by Antiquity to their original design, without the allay of Superstition with which they had corrupted them.

But more distinctly to discern the state and motion of the Reformation in this interval, it will be proper to attend to the History of Publick Affairs in it.

1535.

§. 9. *Publick Transactions from 1534 to 1540.*

Bishop Fisher, having opposed the King's Divorce and Supremacy, was sent Prisoner to the Tower; and Paul iii. in affront to Henry, sent a Cardinal's Hat to Fisher, as a reward of his service. This was an insult which the King could not brook; so that the indiscrete honor cost the new Cardinal his head. In return, the Pope excommunicated the King and his adherents, and gave his Kingdom a prey to any Invader that would please to take it; but the publication of this Bull was a while suspended. To guard against the intrigues of the Pope and the Emperour, Henry entered into a treaty with the Protestants of Germany, as he understood that the Pope, jealous of the greatness of France and Spain, intended that one of the Princes of Germany should be the Invader. He therefore entered into treaty with the Protestants, to strengthen himself in that Country whence his danger was to arise; and to enable himself for a war, if necessary, was one motive with him to dissolve the Less Monasteries.

1536.

While these things were in preparation, the concurrence of two incidents engaged Henry in new schemes; they were, that Queen Catharine died on the eighth of January, and presently after Queen Ann brought forth a dead Son. Queen Catharine's decline had inspired him with some hopes, that her death, if he could contrive to get Queen Ann also removed, might open the way to a reconciliation with the Emperour, with whom he had involved himself

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in great difficulties on account of his Divorce from the One, and Marriage with the other ; neither of which had answered the end at which he aimed, the obtaining a Male Heir to inherit his Crown : nay even a Son by Queen Ann would still embarrass the Succession, while the validity of his marriage with her was in dispute. Nor was he without his desires and some expectations of disentangling himself from the Pope's Censures. For which purpose he was in treaty with the French King to obtain a revocation of those Censures : this the French King promised to endeavour, and proposed it with much earnestness, and not a few threats to the new Pope. The other part of the treaty, was a proposal of marriage, when they came of a proper age, betwixt the Duke of Angoulesme, third Son of Francis, and the Princess Elizabeth : but in this many difficulties were started, and delays interposed, so that it continued imperfect at the Queen's death. Francis having objected, that notwithstanding all the King's realm should agree and condescend ever so much to the Right and Title of Succession in the Issue of his second marriage, yet when foreign parts shall conceive any other and contrary opinion, great troubles might ensue. Thus circumstanced, and especially as he had found in Jane Seymour a happy temperament betwixt the levity of the French-educated Ann Boleyn, and the Gravity of the Princess of Arragon ; He imagined that the deaths of Both would leave an unquestionable title to a Son of the Third ; and it having pleased God to remove the One, he thought it incumbent on himself to get free from the Other. He doubted not but the unguarded gaiety of his Queen would furnish him with an occasion of offence when he was inclined and determined to find one : but her virtue baffled his diligence, and political jealousy. She saw he was changed ; she knew his temper ; she had discovered the new object of his affections, and trembled at her situation. The King's malice was busied in examining her past life, and her enemies, the Popish Faction,

Faction, were careful to feed it. He hunted after discoveries to her disadvantage, in the correspondence betwixt her and Lord Piercy, now Earl of Northumberland; in the familiarities with her Brother, the Lord Rochford; and intimacies with those who had most easy access to her, the Grooms and Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber. Here he was to find his pretext: but his inclination to get rid of her and the Princess Elizabeth together was too obvious to escape her discernment. She therefore complained of Chabot, the French Admiral, who had been over in England the last year, when the treaty of marriage betwixt the Duke of Angoulême and the young Princess was first proposed, for having delayed to perfect that treaty, by which France would have been engaged to acknowledge the validity of her Marriage, and legitimacy of her Daughter; both which, after Queen Catharine's death, the King seemed rather willing to have set aside. This appears to me to be the meaning of a Letter from Palamedes Gontier to the Admiral, dated at London 5 February this year. At least it plainly shews the ill accord which was at that time betwixt the King and Queen (which the Historians generally begin abruptly with the King's precipitate departure 1 May following, from the Jousts at Greenwich;) and that Chabot had been in some measure the occasion of it. The Letter is to this purpose;

My Lord,

I spent all this morning with Cromwell, and in the afternoon he carried me to the Queen's apartment, where the King was. I made my reverence to the Queen, and presented to her your Letters, delivering to her at large every thing which I was ordered by you to say to Her from you. I observed her much confused during this discourse; and she complained of my too great delay, which had occasioned and produced in the King her Husband many doubts and strange thoughts; for which she said it was proper for you to think of some remedy, and by using the means of the King her Brother to prevent her ruin, for she found herself near it,
and

and in a much more uneasy situation than before her Marriage. She charged me to desire and solicit you in her name to take care of her interests; concerning which she could not speak so fully as she wished, on account of the apprehensions which she was under; and that her countenance was watched by the eyes, not only of her Husband, but of the Princes who were present. She told me likewise that she could not write to me, nor see me again, nor stay longer with me. After saying which she left me, and the King quitted that room, and went into another near it, where there was dancing: but the Queen did not go thither. I assure you, my Lord, that as far as I can perceive, she is not at all at ease. And I presume, in my poor judgment, that the doubts and suspicions of the King, which I have mentioned to you before, are the occasion of her uneasiness.

The King having taken his resolutions, and prepared all things, opened the scene the 1st of May at Greenwich, departing suddenly, as having taken offence at something. The next day the Queen, her Brother the Lord Rochford, Henry Norris Groom of the Stole, Weston and Brereton of the King's Privy Chamber, and Mark Smeaton a Musician were sent to the Tower. The four last on the 12th of May were arraigned and found guilty of a criminal conversation with the Queen, and sentenced to die. On the 15th the Queen and her Brother were found guilty of Incest. The evidence against her was the jealousy of the Lady Rochford, the indiscrete familiarities of the Queen, and the reported declaration of Lady Wingfield before her death: but as these might appear too light to build a matter of such great weight upon, the accused were practised upon with the promise of life, if they would accuse the Queen. Norris, Weston, and Brereton disdained the proposals, and died, attesting the Queen's and their innocence. Norris, who was much in the King's favor, and lately made Constable of Walingford Castle, was offered a pardon by the King, if he would confess that of which he was accused but he answered, 'that in

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‘ his conscience he thought the Queen guiltless of the objected
 ‘ crime : but whether she were or not, He could not accuse her
 ‘ of any thing ; and that he had rather undergo a thousand deaths,
 ‘ than betray the innocent.’ When this answer was related to the
 King, he cried out, ‘ Hang him up, hang him up then ^a.’ But
 Smeaton was mean enough to turn an evidence against her, and,
 probably, to prevent his contradicting that evidence, was hanged,
 on the same day that Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Lord Roch-
 ford were beheaded. The Queen received sentence to be burnt,
 or beheaded at the King’s pleasure ; though the good Archbishop,
 in the midst of the King’s resentment, had justice and courage
 enough to say, from what he had observed in her, that he never
 had better opinion in Woman, than he had in her ; which made
 him think that she was not culpable : The persons accused with
 her, all, except one, constantly to their deaths declared her inno-
 cent for them : And Smeaton’s accusing her has been accounted
 for ; who was never brought to confront her at the trial : and
 even He, at his death, among his other sins, is said to have re-
 pented in particular of the wrong he had done the Queen, in de-
 stroying her by a false accusation ^b. Her Keeper Sir William King-
 ston was so satisfied of her innocence, from what he had heard and
 observed in her during her imprisonment, though she had acknow-
 ledged many indiscrete levities, that he sent word to Cromwell
 the very morning of her execution, ‘ that he supposed she would
 ‘ declare herself a good woman for all men, but for the King, at
 ‘ the hour of her death. I have seen (says he) many men and wo-
 ‘ men executed, and they have been in great sorrow : and to my
 ‘ knowledge this Lady hath much joy and pleasure in death.’
 And such a spirit breaths in her last Letter to the King ^c, arising
 from

^a Dugdale’s Baron. p. 404.

^b André Thevet, a French Franciscan, in his Universal Cosmography, Lib. xvi. cap. 5.

^c Exemplified in Bp. Burnet, and Lord Herbert’s Histories.

from a consciousness of innocence, as abundantly justifies what Sir William wrote.

She acknowledged herself bound to the King for many favors ; Burnet. for raising her first from a mean woman, to be a Marquess ; next to be his Queen. And now seeing he could bestow no further honor upon her on earth, for proposing to make her, by martyrdom, a Saint in Heaven.

On the 19th she was executed in the Tower, to make way for her Successor, whom the King married the very next day. But this was not sufficient ; the marriage standing good, the Princess Elizabeth would be legitimate, and leave the King as much embroiled with the Emperour as before. For this purpose an alternative sentence was pronounced of being burnt or beheaded ; that to avoid the severer death of burning, her weakness might be wrought on to confess a Precontract with the Earl of Northumberland, which would invalidate the Marriage from the beginning : accordingly ^b she confessed before the afflicted Archbishop at Lambeth some just and lawful impediments. Upon which Confession her Marriage with the King was declared null and void. But the Earl of Northumberland insisted on the Truth of an Oath he had before taken in the presence of the two Archbishops, Warham and Wolsey, that no such Contract had ever passed between them. But this affair is said to have passed in secret ; there is no evidence of this judicial proceeding ; the Record of the Archbishop's sentence they say was burnt ; and indeed it is not easy to justify her suffering for unfaithfulness to the King as his wife, after her marriage with him was declared null and void.

The Germans grew cool towards Henry upon this treatment of his Queen, whom they knew to be their Friend. But Cromwell and Cranmer lost not their influence with him at her death, which continued during the reign of her Successor Jane Seymour.

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After

^a On the 17th of May.

After the death of Queen Catharine, the Emperour proposed to Henry a renewal of their old amity; and after the death of Queen Ann, the Pope offered terms of reconciliation with him by Sir Gregory Cassali: but the terms were such that the King could not comply with either; especially as the legitimation of the Princess Mary was one. Finding therefore no probability of a reconciliation consistent with his honor, and desirous to fix the succession on the Issue of Queen Jane, whether Male or Female, he procured two Acts to be passed in this Parliament which made the breach irreparable. 1. For the utter extinguishing the authority of the Bishop of Rome. 2. To annul and make void all Bulls, Breves, and Instruments from Rome; and that all, who enjoyed privileges by them, were to have the effects renewed by the Archbishop under the Great Seal.

1537.

In the following year the Queen blessed the King with what he so ardently desired, a Son to inherit his Crown, Edward, born the 12th of October. But the King suffered a great alloy of his happiness by the death of his Queen within two days. On the 18th the Infant was created Prince of Wales, and his Uncle Sir Edward Seymour, Brother to the deceased Queen, Earl of Hertford. The Archbishop thought it would conduce much to the encrease of true Christian Knowledge to have a plain and sound exposition of the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the grounds of Religion, recommended to the people by publick authority. For which purpose the King issued a Commission to the Two Archbishops, and most of the Bishops to prepare such an exposition. Winchester, and Three or Four more of his leaven, endeavouring to maintain the old Idolatry and Superstition; but at length they came to an agreement, and signed a Book which was presented to the King for his perusal and approbation, who made some alterations. This year it came out, and was entitled, *The godly and pious Institution of a Christian Man*, commonly called, from

from the Composers of it, *The Bishops Book*. It consisted of a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, and of Ave Mary, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Sacraments; signed by the two Archbishops, nineteen Bishops, eight Archdeacons, and seventeen Doctors of Divinity and Law.

Among the MSS. of Fox the Martyrologist is a life of Cranmer, in which the following account of this Book is given; 'A godly Book of Religion, not much unlike the Book set forth by King Edward vi. except in two Points. The one was the Real Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament of the Altar. Of the which opinion the Archbishop was at that time, and the most part of the other Bishops and learned Men. The other Error was of Praying, Kissing, and Kneeling before Images: which was added by the King after the Bishops had set their hands to the contrary.'

However, the Monks and Friars were restless, and many Rebellions, fomented by the Popish Clergy, were raised this year in several parts of England, and many of their Leaders and Promoters were executed.

These tumults forwarded the Suppression of the Abbies and Greater Houses, all which were surrendered the following year. And the Bible in English was appointed to be had in every Parish Church. This was a great victory to Cranmer, as it had been strenuously opposed by Gardiner's Faction. About this time the Doctrine of Transubstantiation was pretty much opposed; and defended by none more zealously than by the Archbishop, as appears in his disputation with Lambert before the King this year, with Adam Dampier the next year, and with one Barber, a Master of Arts in Oxford, in 1541. As also by a Letter to Joachim Vadianus, a learned Foreigner, who had sent him a treatise to prove no Corporal Presence. The Archbishop was offended at the attempt; and declared he would give no Patronage or Assent to that opinion, unless

unless he met with stronger arguments for it, than he had been yet able to find. The King's proceedings this year, translating the Scriptures, suppressing the Monasteries, and burning the Holy Relicks found in them, so incensed the Pope, that December 27 he published the Bull of Excommunication against him, which had been so long suspended.

1539 The year 1539 was unfavorable to the Reformation. A little before, Fox, Bishop of Hereford, died, the best friend and ablest assistant that Cranmer had at that time; and although the Archbishop conceived good hopes of his Successor in the See of Hereford, Dr. Boner, he was then at a distance on an Embassy abroad. So that Cranmer found himself but ill supported: the simplicity of Latimer gave frequent disgust; the pride and petulance of Shaxton were hated; and Barlow's indiscretion gave him but little influence. The Preachers of the New Religion (as they called it) were, many of them, rash and hasty, flying at many things that were not yet abolished. The Pope's excommunication, and calling upon the Princes of Europe to rise against the King of England, and reduce him to obedience; the fear of an alliance between the Emperour, France, and Scotland in support of the Roman Religion; the unquiet temper of many on the dissolution of Monasteries; and a jealousy of the German Princes, that they were making their peace with the Emperour to his disadvantage, concurred to soften the King towards the Popish Faction, and to give them a greater interest at Court. And indeed the King was willing to give Cranmer and his Friends a check for daring to remonstrate against his design of converting the revenues of the Monasteries to his own private use. The Archbishop was honest enough to oppose this sacrilegious rapine, except the resumption of such lands as had been given by the King's Ancestors. And Cromwell seems to have deserted him here, and to have endeavoured to incense his Master against him for his obstinacy in this point. This

This opportunity the Popish Faction improved, not only in stopping the progress of the Reformation, but in putting it considerably back, by the bloody Act of the six Articles^a, which was commonly called the six stringed Whip.

By this Act they decreed, 1. The Corporal Presence; against which whoever spake, preached, or wrote, were to be burned without the privilege of abjuration, and their estates real and personal to be forfeited to the King. 2. That Communion in both kinds was not necessary to Salvation. 3. Against the Marriage of Priests. Their Marriages were declared void; such as cohabited with their wives afterwards were to suffer death as Felons: but as a stroke upon the Popish impure Celibacy, if a Priest lived carnally with any other Woman, he was upon the first conviction to forfeit his benefices, goods, and chattels, and to be imprisoned during

^a But when He (King Henry) took displeasure with certain Bishops, as they term them, of the new learning, because they would not give their consent in the parliament, that the King should have all abby lands to his own use: but only such lands as were given by his Ancestors, Kings of England, and that the residue of those lands should have been bestowed to augment the number of learned men in the Universities: to the founding also of Grammar Schools in every shire of England, where children (most apt to learning) should have been brought up freely, and without great cost to their friends and kinsfolk: to the founding of Hospitals, where poor and impotent people should have been sufficiently provided for with Physicians and Surgeons, which should have ministered both physick and surgery freely, not only to them, but also to all other poor folk within this realm: and also in every shire, town, and other market towns where should be thought most meet and fit, to set up divers occupations (most profitable for the commonwealth) where all valiant and sturdy beggars, should have been set to work, and if they refused to labor, then to force them thereto by whipping, stocking, and hunger; and the residue of the abby lands above these, should have been reserved in the common treasuries, to aid the King in his wars or other affairs of his realm, and thereby to have favored and eased the more his subjects, in taxes, subsidies, fifteenths, and loans, and such other like things. King Henry, as I said before, upon the displeasure taken, and by the incitation of the old Popish Bishops, shortly after (by the consent of the same, or the most part of them who were makers of the first book of Religion (*the Bishop's book above-mentioned*) set forth by open parliament and convocation the six Articles, as well agreeing with the former parliament and the word of God, as black with white, light with darkness, Christ with Belial, or with Antichrist. Preface before Cranmer's Confutation of unwritten Verities.

ring the King's pleasure ; and upon the second conviction to suffer as a Felon ; the Women offending were also to suffer forfeiture and imprisonment, and on the second conviction, as felons. 4. That Vows of Chastity ought to be observed, by the Laws of God. 5. That private Masses ought to be continued, as agreeable to God's Law, and beneficial to Men. 6. That Auricular Confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained. Those who contemned or abstained from Confession, or the Sacrament at the accustomed times, were, for the first offence, to forfeit their goods and chattels, and to be imprisoned ; and for the second were to be judged Felons. Those who preached, or obstinately disputed against the other Articles were to suffer as Felons. And those who either in word or writing spake against them, were for the first time to be Prisoners during the King's pleasure, and forfeit their goods and chattels to him ; and for the second offence to suffer as Felons.

Cranmer opposed this Act steddily for several days : but the King came into the House, and would have it pass. And as he knew of what weight the Archbishop's vote would be, though not to prevent the passing, yet to the disrepute of the Bill, the King desired him to withdraw without voting at all. But the Archbishop knew his Duty, and modestly excusing himself to the King, staid and bore his testimony against it. This was no proof of that slavish prostitution of his judgment to his Master's pleasure, with which the Popish Writers constantly affect to brand his memory. And that the King was satisfied, that he had not opposed private prejudices and personal regards to the King's Will, which is the color the same Writers give his behaviour on this occasion, appeared from the King's sending for him, and telling him, that he had heard how much, and with what learning he had argued against the Act, and therefore desired he would put all his arguments in writing, and bring them to Him. And the next day sent the
Dukes

Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Lord Cromwell to dine with him ; ordering them to assure him of the King's constant and unshaken kindness to him, and to encourage him all they could.

Winchester on the success of this Act pushed his advantage boldly on, and aimed at restoring the old rites and superstitions : but Cranmer by his late conduct had so recovered the King's favor, that he entirely defeated that design. For the Roman Zealots had prepared a Book of Ceremonies to be used by the Church of England, all running after the old Popish strain. These articles, eighty eight in all, were proposed in Convocation November 4 ; but the Archbishop answered and confuted them, and so prevented their passing ^a. Latimer and Shaxton fared not so well ; they had not only opposed the Act, but indiscreetly spoken against it after it was passed. The event was, they resigned their Bishopricks ^b, and were sent to prison, where they lay many years ; Latimer, all the rest of this King's reign, and Shaxton redeemed himself to his disgrace, but a little before the King's death.

The King sought alliance with the German Protestants, but could come to no accord, they intending no League with him, but in case of Religion ; and even on that account much difference was between them. For the Germans would not allow the King's Supremacy, lest it should infer an investing of the like authority in the Emperour ; and refused all accommodation, unless the King wholly yielded to the Augustan Confession. The deputies departed with a resolution to answer the King's arguments concerning the six articles, and to desire an abolition of them.

However, in order to bring about an accommodation with them, ^{1540.} and the better to oppose the Emperour, (who, for disinheriting the Princess Mary, it was thought would endeavour to execute the
S Pope's

^a Strype's Life of Cranmer.

^b July 1.

Pope's Sentence against the King) a Marriage was proposed by Cromwell with Ann of Cleves, whose Father's Dutchy bordered on the Emperour's Dominions in the Low Countries. The King married her on the 6th of January, but presently disliked her Person; and She, confessing a pre-contract, was in a few months divorced from him. Cromwell, just created Earl of Essex, who had projected the match, fell a sacrifice to the King's resentment upon it, and was beheaded July 28 following.

The bloody Act of the Six Articles produced some unhappy executions, with trouble and imprisonment to many others. Boner, who in the preceding October had been elected to the See of London, as soon as Cromwell fell, appeared in his natural colors, procuring many to be prosecuted for heresy. In July a clause in the statute of the Six Articles was moderated, relating to the marriage of Priests, or their incontinency with other women: by it the pains of death were changed into forfeiture of their goods and chattels, and the rent of their ecclesiastical promotions to the King.

The Divorce betwixt the King and Ann of Cleves made way for His Marriage ^b with Catharine Howard, Daughter to Edmund, third Son of Thomas first Duke of Norfolk, and Niece to the present Duke, who was Chief of the Popish faction, and who had been principal engineer in the deaths of Ann Boleyn, and Lord Cromwell. It pleased God that he should meet with a remarkable punishment; his Niece, Queen Catharine, sharing Ann Boleyn's fate, for an incontinence, not pretended, but acknowledged by herself: His Son, the Earl of Surry, lost his head in the close of Henry viiiith's reign; and himself escaped but by a very few hours, being to be beheaded January 28, which the King's death overnight prevented.

From the Dissolution of Abbies and Religious Houses were hoped and promised many excellent things for the furtherance of Religion,

^b August 8.

^c February 12, 1541.

Religion, and the profit of the Commonwealth. In the Church, as appears from the Preamble of a Bill 1539, ‘ That these (Religious) Houses, might be converted to better uses ; that God’s word might be better set forth ; Children brought up in learning ; Clerks nourished in the Universities ; old decayed Servants have sustenance ; Poor Folks alms-houses to maintain them ; Readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin have stipends, daily alms be ministered ; Highways mended ; Ministers of the Church have exhibitions : It is thought expedient and necessary, that more Bishopricks, Collegiate and Cathedral Churches shall be established, instead of those foresaid Religious Houses, within whose foundation these other Titles, before rehearsed, shall be established.’

As to the secular uses, Sir Edward Coke mentions them with this Instruction ; ‘ When any plausible project is made in Parliament to draw the Lords and Commons to assent to any Act, (especially in matters of weight and importance) if both Houses do give, upon the matter projected, their consent, it shall be most necessary, they being trusted for the Commonwealth, to have the matter projected and promised (which moved the Houses to consent) to be established in the same Act ; lest the benefit of the Act be taken, and the matter projected and promised never performed, and so the Houses of Parliament perform not the trust reposed in them ; as it fell out in the reign of Henry viii. On the King’s behalf the Members of both Houses were informed in Parliament, that if they would give unto him all the Abbies, Priories, Friaries, Nunneries, and other Monasteries, that for ever in time to come he would take order that the same should not be converted to private use : but that, 1. His Exchequer for the purposes afore said should be enriched. 2. The Kingdom strengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thousand well tried Soldiers with skilful Captains and Commanders. 3. For the benefit

‘nefit and ease of the Subject, who never afterward in any time
‘to come should be charged with Soldiers, Fifteenths, Loans, or
‘other common Aids. 4. Lest the Honor of the realm should re-
‘ceive detriment by the dissolution of the said monasteries (there
‘being twenty nine Lords of Parliament among the Abbots and
‘Priors) that the King should create a number of Nobles. The
‘said Monasteries were given to the King by authority of divers
‘Acts of Parliament : but no provision was therein made for the
‘said project, or any part thereof. The possessions were given to
‘the King, his Heirs and Successors to do, and use therewith,
‘his and their own wills, to the pleasure of Almighty God, and
‘the honor and profit of the realm.’

There was another project mentioned by Bishop Burnet, as proposed by Sir Nicholas Bacon, to found a house for the study of the Civil Law, and the purity of the Latin and French tongues, as a Seminary for Ambassadors, Envoys, Historians, and Records of Publick Acts and Monuments.

But all that was done about this time was the erecting six new Bishopricks, Westminster, soon after dissolved again ; Chester ; Gloucester ; Peterborough ; Bristol and Oxford. And the Priories at most Cathedrals, such as Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Westminster, Worcester, Carlisle, Rochester, and Ely were converted into Deaneries, and Colleges of Prebendaries. Some Schools were endowed, and some Lectures founded in the Universities.

Whatever equitable right the people may imagine they still have to some relief from their burthens, out of those revenues granted by them to the Crown, upon such promises and implied Conditions, the attempt, if it ever was set about, must be extremely difficult, if not impossible, with any justice to be executed, after the exchanges of those Lands then made, the many alienations, appropriations, and purchases on valuable considerations that have since happened. As to the Obligations that lie on Lay Impropiators,

Impropiators, I will not say to keep hospitality, (for though that was expressly made a condition, yet that obligation was discharged by James I.) but to augment poor Vicarages, and educate the Children of the Poor in those districts, considering the good pennyworths they had in their original grants and exchanges, and that they now enjoy profits purely Spiritual, without exercising any Spiritual functions; as also the obligations that lie on rich Merchants and Traders, for the lands recovered out of Mortmain, and the universal subtraction of personal tithes, not to be behind hand with their ancestors, who had not those advantages, and yet were liberal in granting exhibitions for the maintenance of poor Scholars in the Universities; and the obligations that lie on both of them to forbear making scandalous sale of those Livings that belong to their Purchases, which must in time have a fatal influence on the virtue, learning, and pastoral care in the Clergy; these are points which I hope I may leave with better prospect of success to private conscience, which yet I have no authority to direct. And hasten to take a view of Mr. Ridley through this bustling interval, which has so long delayed me.

Mr. Ridley discharged himself of his Proctor's Office about October, 1534, and then took his Batchelor's Degree in Divinity, and was chosen Chaplain of the University^a; in which office he succeeded Hethe, whose Predecessor was Latimer; all Three of them afterward Bishops. He was likewise (if it be not the same office) Publick Reader, as himself informs us^b; which Archbishop Tenison calls *Prædicator Publicus*^c. He is called in the Pembroke MS. *Magister Glomerice*. Which of the foregoing offices (if they are different ones) is meant by that Title, or whether

^a MS. in Coll. Pembroch, Lambethana,

^b Ridley's Farewell,

^c MS. in Bibl.

ther it comprehends them both, I am not able to determine. But if, as I suppose, it includes both, a MS. in Bennet College Library will inform us what his employment was^d; That tells us, that the *Magister Glomeriae* was He, who at this time is called the University Orator; whose office it was to gather the Votes in scrutinies, and declare the Majority: to examine, and reject or approve, as he found cause, the Candidates for their Master's degree, in Grammar: he was wont to be present at all congregations, and to compose the publick Epistles of the University; and always prepared to receive Foreigners, especially of eminence, with a publick Oration: to collect and preserve in a register all the notable Acts and Occurrences of the University. This office, we are there informed, as far as it relates to the Publick Epistles and Orations, had for a long time been discontinued at Cambridge; and therefore (such had been the low state of learning in England, for it would be very unjust to throw the censure on Cambridge particularly, Oxford was in no better a condition, for monkish darkness had put out the light of Learning) they used to request Foreigners to compose their speeches and letters for them; as appears from the register in Henry viith's time, when one Caius Auberinus, an Italian, was often employed in this business, and had for his customary fee twenty pence a letter, as has been before observed. I think it probable that this last part of the office never again came into the province of the *Magister Glomeriae*, but it constituted the new office of publick Orator, which was founded upon the revival of learning at Cambridge in the year 1522. Richard Crook being the first Orator, who was succeeded in 1528 by George Day, afterward Bishop of Chichester.

1536. While he was in these offices he lost his good Uncle and Friend Dr. Robert Ridley on the 12th of June, 1536. But the education, which

^d Miscell. P. pag. 194.

which the Uncle had generously bestowed, and the improvement, which the Nephew had made by his great application, soon recommended him to another and greater Patron.

For in the very next year^e, having continued till then in the offices above mentioned, and just taken his Batchelor of Divinity's degree, his great reputation as an excellent Preacher, and the best Disputant of his time, his great and ready memory, and intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures and Fathers, occasioned the Archbishop of Canterbury to desire the assistance of his Learning; for Cranmer's house was a kind of university, where many learned men were entertained, foreigners as well as natives. But Ridley was engrafted into his family, and appointed one of his Chaplains; and had an opportunity this year of enjoying much of the Archbishop's company and leisure. For about the latter end of July the plague raged so violently at Lambeth, that many people died at the Palace doors. The virulence of it drove Cranmer to his house at Ford in Kent, where he continued several months; and probably in that retirement had such a taste and experience of his new Chaplain's temper, judgment and reading, as ever after endeared him to him. 1537.

As an earnest of his favor and approbation on the 30th of April following^f, the Archbishop collated him to the Vicarage of Herne in East Kent, vacant by the death of John Warren. Here he was diligent to instruct his charge in the pure doctrines of the Gospel, as far as they were yet discovered to him, (not from the Schoolmen and Popish Doctors) except in the point of Transubstantiation, from which error God had not yet delivered him. And the good fruits of his Ministry there were seen in the effects it had, particularly on the Lady Fiennes; whom, if I take his meaning right^g, he converted to the Gospel truths. Which she afterward testified by her future exemplary life and good works. And to enliven the devotion 1538.

^e Pemb. MS.

^f Cranmer's Regist. fol. 364.

^g Ridley's Farewell.

devotion of his Parishioners, he used to have the *Te Deum* read in his Parish Church in English^h; which was afterward urged in accusation against him.

1539. In the next year came out the Act of the Six Articles, against which Ridley bore his testimony in the Pulpit; though otherwise he was in no danger from the penalties of the statute. The article of the Corporal Presence was at that time an article of his Creed. The Marriage or Uncleanneſs of Priests affected not Him, who never intended to act against the statute in the former instance, and was never charged of doing so in the latter: though Sanders names him among the apostate and lustful monks (by which he means Those who married in King Edward's days) Scory, Bird, Holdgate, Barlow, Harley, Coverdale, Ridley. Where to aggravate his supposed crime of Marriage, which was not true, he represents him as a Monk, sworn to Celibacy, which is notoriously false. Sanders indeed is not the only Writer among the Roman Catholicks who has positively charged him with being a married man; for Pierſon ſays, that Ridley bore Cranmer company in innovations in Religion, and in taking a Wife also. But where is his proof? To these careless or impudent assertions, without any truth or the shadow of it, let us oppose a very capable witness, no less than Ridley himself, in a Letter written in prison to his Chaplain Grindal, who had lived in his family with him; *Licet (ut noſti) nunquam uxorem habuerim—Although (as you know) I never was married—* Writers who asperse so blindly, and with such a total disregard to truth, deserve to be held in the utmost contempt by Readers of all Persuasions.

As to the article of Auricular Confession, he tells us towards the close of his Lifeⁱ, that he always thought Confession to the Minister might do much good. But he made a difference betwixt what he thought an useful appointment or discipline in the Church, and the pressing it on the Conscience as a point necessary to Salvation.

^h Strype's Life of Cranmer.

ⁱ Martyr's Letters.

tion. And his bearing this testimony occasioned him no small trouble, as we shall see in the next Book.

And here I shall put an end to This ; after apologizing for having mixed so much of publick affairs in which Ridley was not immediately concerned : but I judged it impossible to give a clear view of his behaviour without shewing the state of the times in which he acted. However, from henceforward I shall confine myself more to Him, and to such publick matters as he was more particularly concerned in. His Character, at this time, was that of a celebrated Disputant, a favorite Preacher, undoubting in the Article of Transubstantiation, a zealous Scripturist, and particularly well acquainted with the Fathers.

THE
LIFE
OF
Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

BOOK III. From 1540 to 1547.

RIDLEY Master of Pembroke-Hall.

The path of the Just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. PROV. iv. 18.

1540.

§. 1. Ridley made
Master of Pembroke-
Hall, and Chaplain
to the King.

I Finished the last Book at the Middle of the year 1540 ; this opens with an unfavorable aspect on the Reformers. Cranmer and his Bishops had opposed the King in taking the suppressed monasteries to his own use : and the King in resentment gave way to the Popish faction so far, as to pass the act of the Six Articles. Cranmer had resolution enough to stay in the House of Lords and bear testimony against it, contrary to

to the King's request that he would leave the House without voting^a. And although this uncourtly opposition did not lessen the King's regard for the Archbishop as an honest and faithful servant, yet his defeat gave spirit and advantage to his enemies, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Bishop of Winchester, who were the Leaders of the Popish faction. The divorce of the Protestant Queen, Ann of Cleves, and the disgust of the German Princes, first on occasion of the Act of the Six Articles, so contrary to some of their tenets, and then on occasion of this divorce, were incidents which greatly strengthened the Roman Catholick Cause. Beside this, Cromwell Earl of Essex lost his head the 28th of July this year; after which, though Cranmer held his place in the King's esteem, yet his influence could not operate so strongly, for want of a prime Minister, attached to him, to make way for it, and give it due effect. The Archbishop had likewise lost his most useful assistant Fox, Bishop of Hereford; and when he hoped to have it some way made up to him by his Successor Dr. Boner, now named to the See of London, he had the mortification to find, that in the very beginning of Cromwell's eclipse this ungrateful man deserted and railed at his old Patron, and flying from his diminished splendor courted the rising constellations, Norfolk and Winchester. To complete the triumph of the Roman party, the King made choice of the Lady Catharine Howard, Niece to the Duke of Norfolk, for his Queen, and married her on the 8th of August.

To keep their newly obtained Power in exercise, that faction caused the act of the Six Articles vigorously to be put in execution, and appointed Commissioners in every shire to search out and examine Delinquents. Latimer and Shaxton had already felt the edge of this act, being compelled for having preached against it to

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exchange

^a The Popish Writer of the Church History of Britain is not ashamed to blacken Cranmer's character, by asserting that he never was known to oppose the tyrannical proceedings of King Henry, and that he went all the lengths of the court in the six article act: assertions that contradict all History.

exchange their Bishopricks for a Prison : many were put to death upon it ; and, which occasioned great disturbance to the Reformation afterwards, several became voluntary exiles into Germany and Switzerland, among whom were Hoper and Rogers, to escape the rigor of it.

To these several disadvantages must be added the discredit which they suffered from the blasphemous and disorderly opinions of the Anabaptists, which furnished the Popish faction with an opportunity of casting an odium upon every attempt to a further Reformation, and of exasperating the King against it, by representing it as Anabaptistical. A Sect even more distant from the Christian Truth, and more subversive of good government than the errors and usurpations which he had cast off.

But the King, notwithstanding the ascendancy which the Popish faction had at Court, was no more inclined to their Religion than before, and would as little bear the bringing back discarded tenets, as introducing new ones. He endeavoured to preserve a temper between the Divines of the Old and New Learning ; and to bring them to an Agreement appointed several of the most eminent to deliberate about sundry points of Religion then in controversy, and to give in their judgments distinctly : but the King held the balance, and inclined the beam. As He and Winchester had carried the act of the Six Articles against Cranmer ; so He and Cranmer overthrew an attempt to establish the old superstitious Ceremonies projected at that time by Winchester. The reason why the Reformation proceeded so far was, because the King was better read in Divinity than Gardiner ; and the reason why it proceeded no further was, because he was less read in it than Cranmer. It is very observable that even at this time, when Gardiner's Power was greatest, the King left him out of the number of Commissioners appointed to bring the controverted points to an accord.

Wilful

Wilful and obstinate was his character ; a very unlikely one to promise much good in accommodating and reconciling.

And now came out another Edition of *The Institution of a Christian Man*, much enlarged beyond that of 1537. In which Religious instruction was carried too far to please the Papists, but fell short of what was wished for by the Reformers.

The King was willing to manifest the like indifference and impartiality in his punishments as in his institutions. If Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome were burned for innovating in religion, at the same time and place suffered Abel, Fetherstone and Powel, for owning the Pope's Supremacy. And as Bishop Burnet observes, one of each was put into a hurdle, and carried together : which every body condemned as an extravagant affectation of the shew of impartial justice.

Mr. Ridley had been two years at his Parish of Herne, getting new lights himself, by a close application to his studies of the Scriptures and the Fathers, and by friendly conference with his Patron the Archbishop ; and faithfully communicating to his people the word of God, ' not after the Popish trade, but after Christ's Gospel,' as himself testifies in his Farewell : though as yet he acknowledges that God had not revealed to him the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. His improvement in knowledge was with great injustice charged upon him as a fickle change of opinions, and a servile conformity to the times : but there never appeared any fluctuating or shifting backward and forward in his judgment, but a regular progression and advancement in the discovery of Truth ; diligently seeking it, and by God's Grace gradually finding it, without any worldly motives influencing his opinions. Of this He himself makes a very solemn declaration, and his whole life bears testimony to the truth of it. ' I have thought otherwise ' (says he to the Commissioners at Oxford) in times past than I now do : yet, (God I call to record unto my soul, I lie not) I have
' not

‘not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any
 ‘man, or laws, either for the dread of any danger in this world,
 ‘either for any hopes of commodity; but only for the love of the
 ‘truth, revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubting-
 ‘ly persuaded) in his Holy Word, and in the reading of the antient
 ‘Fathers ^a.’

While he was at Herne, if we may credit the Author of Eccle-
 siastical History epitomized ^b, who, however true he may be in the
 facts he relates, is certainly mistaken in the order of time assigned
 for them) he so well discharged his Pastoral Office, that he gained
 the general applause of the people in the adjacent parishes; who,
 neglecting their own Teachers, for many miles round would come
 to hear his Sermons.

This year, probably by the persuasion of the Archbishop, who
 was now meditating to bring his Chaplain more into the light, he
 repaired to Cambridge, and there took his Doctor's Degree in Di-
 vinity. And in the October following, the Mastership of Pem-
 broke-Hall becoming vacant, the Fellows, who well knew the
 learning, abilities, and good dispositions of their old Collegiate, in-
 vited him back again to College, to take upon him the Guardian-
 ship of their Society. A place noted from the very dawn of the
 Reformation for scripturists and encouragers of Gospel-Learning;
 and famous of old for the flourishing state of letters in it beyond any
 other society in Cambridge; as appears from the testimony of
 Henry viii's Charter, granting lands to this House, which he
 calls a ‘celebrated and very valuable College, which is, and al-
 ‘ways has been in a wonderful degree illustrious among all other
 ‘places of this University ^c.’

And

^a Fox, vol. iii. p. 62.

^b Collected by J. S. Gent. 1682.

^c Notabile et insigne, et quam pretiosum collegium inter omnia loca universitatis (prout
 certitudinaliter informamur) mirabiliter splendet et semper resplenduit.

And it lost not its credit in Ridley's time ; for Queen Elisabeth in her Visit to Cambridge paid a particular regard to that *antient and religious House*. Ridley gives this account of it in his Farewell ;
'Thou wert ever named since I knew thee, to be studious and
'well learned, and a great setter forth of God's true word. So I
'found thee, and blessed be God ! so I left thee indeed. In thy
'orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would
'bear me witness) I learned without book almost all Paul's Epistles,
'and the Canonical Epistles too, save only the Apocalypse. Of
'which study, although in time a great part did depart from me,
'yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into
'Heaven : for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life
'time ever after. And of late (whether they abide there now or
'no, I cannot tell) there were, who did the like. The Lord
'grant that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word,
'which is a key and true commentary to all Holy Scripture, may
'ever abide in that College, so long as the world shall endure.'

Notwithstanding the influence of the New Queen, and of her Friends at Court, Cranmer procured the erecting some Collegiate Churches of Deans and Prebendaries out of the dissolution and ruin of Abbies and Monasteries. In December the Town of Westminster was made a City and an Episcopal See, with all Middlesex (except Fulham) for its Diocese. The Abbot and twenty four Monks were turned into a Dean and twelve Prebendaries. The First Bishop was Dr. Thirlby, first recommended to Cranmer by Dr. Butts, as a favorer of all who favored sincere Religion ; and from an experience of his learning and good qualities recommended by the Archbishop to the King, as a Man worthy to serve him.

And about this time, according to the MS. notes of Archbishop Tenison in the Library at Lambeth, Cranmer's recommendation was of its usual weight with the King, who made Dr. Ridley one of his Chaplains. One in whom the Archbishop could place a sure confidence,

confidence, however mistaken he might be in the other; for Ridley persevered in the profession of the Truth once discovered, and in his friendship to his Patron even to death: while Thirlby returned to his abjured errors, and in communion with Boner degraded his good Friend the Archbishop, in order to prepare him for the flames.

1541.

§. 2. *Made Prebendary of Christchurch, Canterbury.*

And soon after, the Cathedral Church of Canterbury was made Collegiate, with a Dean and Twelve Prebendaries, and Six Preachers. Which being Cranmer's own Church, he found no difficulty in obtaining the fifth Prebendal Stall for the King's New Chaplain, Dr. Ridley; as appears by the Foundation Charter in Bennet College Library, dated April 8, Henrici 8^{vi} 32^o, which was in the year 1541.

The Prebendaries and Preachers were chiefly nominated by Cranmer; but it was the King's pleasure that they should be one half Preachers of the Old Learning, and the other half Preachers of the New Learning; hoping, possibly, that while his Supremacy on the one hand, and the Six Articles on the other, would be sufficient to keep them from passing to extremes, their collision in other points might strike out such light as would hereafter guide to a judicious agreement in the truth.

As Dr. Nicholas Ridley was appointed a Prebendary, his Cousin Dr. Lancelot Ridley was made one of the Six Preachers in that Cathedral, with Robert Serles, Edmund Shether, Thomas Brooke, Michael Drum, and John Scory. Lancelot and Nicholas were both Nephews to Dr. Robert, and both educated by him; Lancelot took his Doctor's degree 1539. What became of him in Queen Mary's reign I have not learned: but under Queen Elizabeth I find him restored to his Preacher's place at Canterbury September 17, 1560, whose second Son was Dr. Mark Ridley the Physician.

How

How honestly and prudently the new Prebendary behaved himself appears in good measure from his endeavours in the pulpit to set the abuses of Popery so open before the peoples eyes in his Sermons, as to provoke the Prebendaries and Preachers of the Old Learning to exhibit articles against him, at the Archbishop's Visitation this year, for preaching contrary to the statute of the Six Articles. He feared not to bear his testimony against any error he had discovered ; yet, with respect to the authority by which the Six Articles were enjoined, delivering his opinion so cautiously, as that his accusers could prove nothing but the malice of their accusation.

His subjects, and his manner of handling them, we learn from his adversaries. His subjects were chosen to recommend a sensible spirit of devotion ; maintaining, that Prayer ought to be made in a language which the people understood, and not in an unintelligible tongue, ' for so it were but babling ;' and for this end introduced in his own Parish Church at Herne a translation of that excellent Hymn of St. Ambrose, *Te Deum* ; directing at other times not to build any security upon mere Ceremonies, for that no meet-term could be given them than beggarly ceremonies : and though he had a very high opinion of the *usefulness* of Auricular Confession, as in a letter written by him in prison he declares he always had, and it was now appointed by statute, that of the Six Articles, yet he ingenuously and faithfully declared the truth in that matter, that it was but a mere positive law, and ordained as a godly mean for the Sinner to come to the Priest for counsel ; as such he recommended and wished the use of it : but then he declared, that as to the doctrine of its being absolutely *necessary* to salvation, he could not find it in scripture. These points we find urged against him by the Prebendaries and Preachers of Canterbury two years after. The manner in which he treated his subjects we learn from the acknowledgment of Winchester in a letter

Fox. to Ridley in King Edward's reign, when his authority and reputation might have emboldened him to be more dogmatical. He says, 'You declared yourself always desirous to set forth the mere Truth, with great desire of Unity, as you professed; not extending any of your asseverations beyond your knowledge: but always adding such like words, *as far as you had read, and if any man could shew you further, you would hear him*; wherein you were much to be commended.' Such was the meek and gentle spirit of Him, whom a late Popish Writer is pleased to brand for 'his virulent temper in matters of religion'.

LordHerbert.

Toward the end of this year the Archbishop was involved in a very nice and arduous affair, where imminent danger threatened him on either side. The King doted on his Queen; and her partisans were uppermost. So happy was his Majesty with her, that receiving his Maker (as the expression then was) on Allhallows day, he gave God most humble and hearty thanks for the good life he led, and trusted to lead with her: and desired his ghostly Father, the Bishop of Lincoln, to make like prayer, and to give like thanks with him. The very next day, the Archbishop found himself under a necessity of damping his joy, by discovering to him in writing, what his sorrow and confusion would not enable him to do by word of mouth, the information he had received a little before of his Queen's Incontinency; frequent before marriage, with strong presumptions of having continued it afterward, and designing to continue it on. The information had been made to the Archbishop by one Lassels, whose sister had been servant to the old Dutchess of Norfolk, under whom Queen Catharine had been brought up; she told her Brother, that the Lady Catharine had been too familiar with Derham and Mannock, two servants to the said Dutchess. This he discovered to my Lord of Canterbury while the King was in Progress. The discovery placed him in

* Church History of England, p. 377.

in a very hazardous situation ; to have concealed the information, should it afterwards be discovered, would have ruined him for ever with his Master : to open it to the King, should it not prove true, would appear so much like the malice and intrigue of faction, as must have proved no less fatal to the Archbishop, and the cause of true religion, which he was laboring to establish. Greatly perplexed with the weight and importance of this matter, he consulted with the Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Hertford, whom the King, when he went his Progress, left to reside in London, and order affairs for him there. They were no less troubled and perplexed than the good Prelate : but finally resolved that the Archbishop should revele it to the King ; which he did upon All-souls day. The King having read the Information thus delivered to him, so tenderly loved his Queen, and had such an opinion of her honesty, that he took the matter, as Cranmer feared he would, rather as a forgery, than a truth. However, he resolved secretly to sift it out ; and on the examination of Lassels, his Sister, Derham and Mannock, he found out too much for his peace ; and was so struck with the discovery, that he could not without many tears open it to his Council. Two of her Paramours, Derham and Culpeper, were indited, and acknowledged the facts : for which the latter had his head cut off, and the former was hanged on the 10th of December. And on the 12th of February following the Queen, having confessed her guilt to the Archbishop, and subscribed it with her hand, was beheaded, with the Lady Jane Rochfort, her abettor, who had been a very busy instrument in the death of Queen Ann Boleyn. With her fell in a great measure the interest of her Relations and Party.

January the 20th began a new Convocation, to consult on the decayed and decaying state of Religion. The points recommended by the Archbishop were, correcting the English Version of the Bible, assigning the several parts to certain Bishops ; composing a

1542.

St. Mem.
vol. i.

p. 371.

Book of Homilies ; translating into English and teaching the ordinary people the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles Creed ; the making some Statutes or Laws against Adulterers, perjured Persons, and Blasphemers of the name of God, that the Commands of God in those points might receive a civil sanction and vindication, as well as those of Theft and Murder ; for examining and correcting all Mass Books in the Church of England, that they should be castigated from all manner of mention of the Bishop of Rome's name, and from all Apocryphas, feigned Legends, Superstitious Prayers, Collects, Versicles and Responses. And that the names and memories of all Saints which be not mentioned in the Scriptures, or other authentick Doctors, be put away. And that after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, should be openly read to the people one Chapter of the New Testament in English without Exposition.

The Clergy then desired the Lords to move to the King's Majesty these Petitions ; I. For the Ecclesiastical Laws of this realm, to be made according to the statute in the 5th^a year of his gracious reign. II. For remedy to be provided by his Highness against the ungodly and unlawful Solemnization of Marriages, frequently used or abused, in the Chapel or Hospital of Bethlem without Bishopsgate. III. For an Act of Parliament to be made this session for the Union and Corporation of small Benefices through this realm. IV. For some good order and provision to be made by his Majesty, and established by Parliament, for due and true payment of tithes, both predial and personal, throughout this realm.

Just before came out the English Bible, in Folio, with the King's allowance. The marginal notes in a former edition were left out in this.

The mingling of Preachers in the Church of Canterbury, which was the King's device for the striking out of Truth, had produced a great ferment in much jangling, and quarrelling, and preaching
one

^a So it is in Strype : I suppose it should be the 25th.

one against another. To restrain the violence of which the Archbishop called all the Prebendaries and Preachers before him in his Consistory at Croydon, on Trinity Sunday; where he argued with them, instructed, rebuked, exhorted them, according as he saw needful for every man, with relation to the articles which had been exhibited interchangeably against one another. But it was impossible to effect a real harmony; such as were Popishly inclined were but instruments in the hands of the Faction, Bishop Gardiner's arrows, when he bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer^a; at present more covertly, till he had recovered strength enough to appear more openly, as we shall see in the following year.

In March the King entered into a League with 1543.
the Emperour against Francis, for the abolition
§. 3. Winchester in confederacy against the Archbishop and Ridley. of former injuries and a perpetual peace betwixt themselves; leaving the affair of Religion untouched, only providing that no Book written in England should be printed or sold in Germany or the Emperour's dominions, nor any Book written in Dutch should be printed or sold in England, under pain of imprisonment to the sellers and printers, and burning of the said Book. This reconciliation with the Emperour produced a temper in the King, of which the Catholicks availed themselves. If he no longer feared the resentment of Charles, and therefore ventured to procede some steps further in the Reformation; at the same time in civility to the Emperour he gave more countenance to the Catholicks, of which the Bishop of Winchester was willing to take advantage, and improve it to the utmost.

Therefore there came out this year, with many alterations and additions, another edition of the *Institution*, under this Title; *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man, set forth by the*

^a Strype's Life of Cranmer.

the King's Majesty. The Preface is a Royal Declaration addressed to all his Subjects, which will shew us the nature of the Book.

‘ HENRY the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of England,
 ‘ France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and in earth of the
 ‘ Church of England, and also of Ireland, Supreme Head; unto all
 ‘ his loving and faithful subjects sendeth greeting, for knowledge
 ‘ of the order of the matter in this Book contained, Forasmuch as
 ‘ we know not perfectly God, but by *Faith*, the declaration of
 ‘ Faith occupieth, in this Treatise, the first place. Whereunto is
 ‘ next adjoined, the declaration of the articles of our *Creed*, con-
 ‘ cerning what we should believe. And incontinently after them,
 ‘ followeth the Explication of the Seven Sacraments: wherein God
 ‘ ordinarily worketh; and whereby he participateth unto us his
 ‘ spiritual gifts and graces in this life. Which matter is so digested
 ‘ and set forth with simplicity and planeness, as the capacities and
 ‘ understandings of the multitude of the people may easily conceive
 ‘ and comprehend the same. Then followeth conveniently the de-
 ‘ claration of the *Ten Commandments*, being by God ordained the
 ‘ high way wherein each man should walk in this Life: to finish
 ‘ fruitfully his journey here, and after to rest eternally in joy with
 ‘ him. Which because we cannot do of ourselves, but have need
 ‘ always of the Grace of God: as without whom we can neither
 ‘ continue in this life, nor without his special Grace do any thing
 ‘ to his pleasure, whereby to attain the Life to come; we have
 ‘ after the declaration of the *Ten Commandments*, expounded the
 ‘ seven Petitions of our *Pater noster*: wherein be contained requests
 ‘ and suits for all things necessary to a Christian Man in this present
 ‘ life; with declaration of the *Ave Maria*: as a Prayer containing
 ‘ a joyful rehearal and magnifying God in the work of the Incarna-
 ‘ tion of Christ; which is the ground of our Salvation: wherein
 ‘ the blessed Virgin our Lady, for the abundance of Grace where-
 ‘ with

‘with God endued her, is also with this remembrance honored and
‘worshipped.

‘And forasmuch as the heads and senses of our people have been
‘busied, and in these days travailed with the understanding of
‘*Free-will, Justification, Good Works, and Praying for Souls de-*
‘*parted*; we have, by the advice of our Clergy, for the purga-
‘tion of erroneous doctrine, declared and set forth openly, planely,
‘and without ambiguity of speech, the mere and certain Truth in
‘them: so as we verily trust, that to know God, and how to live
‘after his pleasure, to the attaining everlasting life in the end, this
‘Book containeth a perfect and sufficient doctrine, grounded and
‘established in holy scriptures.’

Winchester by his Interest with the King at that time found means to foist in some points, which the Archbishop did not approve. Especially denying the liberty of reading the Bible to the greater part of the Kingdom, saying, ‘it ought to be deemed certainly, that the reading of the Old and New Testament is not so
‘necessary for all those folks, that of duty they ought to be bound
‘to read it, but as the Prince, and Policy of the realm shall think
‘convenient, so to be tolerated or taken away.’ And in Edward
vith’s time Cranmer charged Winchester with having *seduced the King* in it. Yet, because of the authority of the Parliament ratifying the Book, and the many good and useful things that were in it, the Archbishop would not allow open preaching against it. And indeed by comparing This with the Book published six years before, however short it fell of the perfection which the Archbishop hoped for, one may see what a good step the Reformation of Religion had made. In the former Book, Devotion to Images, honoring of Saints, and praying to them, Masses for the dead, and various Popish Rites and Ceremonies were commended and confirmed; in this Book they spake more dubiously and warily of them, or rejected them. And as for Purgatory, which made one
great

great article in the former Book, it is in this quite left out, and it declares, that 'the making men believe, that through the Bishop of Rome's Pardons, souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatory, and released out of the bondage of Sin, were abuses utterly to be abolished and extinguished.'

In the same Parliament Cranmer proposed a Bill to mitigate the severity of the Acts concerning Religion, with this title, *An Act for the advancement of true Religion, and abolishment of the contrary*: in which he was seconded by the Bishops of Worcester, Hereford, Chichester, and Rochester, who had promised to stick to him in it. The Popish Party opposed it with all possible earnestness; so that the timorous Bishops not only forsook Cranmer, but Hethe of Rochester, and Skyp of Hereford, were very importunate with him to stay for a better opportunity; but he generously preferred his conscience to those arts of policy, which he would never practise, and said, 'He would push it as far as it would go.' At length he prevailed with the King and the other Lords that the Bill should pass, but clogged with many provisos, which made it come much short of what he had designed. Yet the Laity were delivered by it from the hazard of burning, and the Clergy were not in danger but upon the third conviction. Both were allowed to bring witnesses for their own purgation, which was not permitted before; and no offences were to be objected, which had been committed above a year. The act of the Six Articles was declared still in force; but the King had a power of changing this act, or any provision in it, at any time hereafter, at his pleasure.

The 12th of July the King married the Lady Catharine Parr, Widow to the Lord Latimer, who rather inclined to favor the Reformers. But Winchester, vexed at the opposition which Cranmer's influence with the King gave to his designs, was working by his agents how to lessen it, and at length entirely remove the Archbishop out of his way, and such Courtiers as they suspected inclined

inclined to him. For this purpose he was now carrying on two intrigues, at the same time, at Windsor and at Canterbury: in both which the same Engineer was employed, Dr. London, 'a stout and filthy Prebendary,' as Archbishop Parker calls him. At Windsor they proceeded against Parsons, Filmer, Testwood, and Marbeck; of whom the three former were burnt to death; and were preparing Inditements against Sir Philip Hobby, and Sir Thomas Chardine, both of the Privy Council, with several Ladies and others. At Canterbury they took nearer aim at the Archbishop, levelling at him through the sides of his Favorites, particularly Dr. Nicholas Ridley the Prebendary, Dr. Lancelot Ridley, Scory and Drum, three of the Preachers.

By the instigation of Winchester, and practices of Dr. London, several of the Prebendaries, and some of the Six Preachers combined together, and were the tools employed in this business. Their first attempt was to prefer bills of accusation against the Four just mentioned, with Turner, Bland, Lancaster and others. The scheme was to prefer these articles to the Justices in Kent; and from them to the King and Council. London promising that a Commission should be obtained, and such Commissioners appointed as might effectually take order with the Preachers; designing that Parkhurst, Gardiner, and Miles, three of the Prebendaries, should be named, and the Archbishop left out. London prevailed on Dr. Willoughby, one of the King's Chaplains, to prefer these articles to the Justices: but they were unwilling to meddle in this affair. Willoughby, prompted by London, threatened them with the King's displeasure, if they suffered such preaching and contention, without doing any thing therein to stop it. At length, after intimidating the Justices, and packing a Jury, the articles were ripe to be sent up to Court.

The articles against Ridley the Prebendary were, 1. That he preached at St. Stevens in the Rogation week, and said, that Au-

ricular Confession was but a mere positive Law, and ordained as a godly mean for the sinner to come to the Priest for counsel : but he could not find it in scripture.

Witnesses, Pemblehurst, Hunt, the Vicar of St. Paul's.

2. That he preached in the said Rogation week, and said, that there was no meetter term to be given to the Ceremonies of the Church, than to call them Beggarly Ceremonies.

Witnesses, Pemblehurst, Hunt, Gardiner.

3. That *Te Deum* hath been sung commonly in English at Herne, where the said Master Doctor is Vicar.

Witnesses, William Gee, Stephen Sayer, and other Parishioners.

A Book against the Archbishop was to accompany it, stuffed with hearsays and reports. For this purpose some of the Prebendaries were employed to pick up what matters they could : the rough draughts were brought to Dr. London, and the Bishop of Winchester, whose Secretary, German Gardiner, copied them out fair ; these being signed by some of the Prebendaries, were by them in the name of the Church of Canterbury presented to the Council ; and from thence they came into the King's hands.

Parker,
Ant. Brit.
Burnet.
Strype's
Life of
Cranmer.

The King put the Book of Articles into his sleeve, and went to divert himself upon the river ; ordering the Bargemen to row towards Lambeth. The Archbishop's servants perceiving it, acquainted their Master with it ; who hastened down to the stairs to do his Duty to the King. The King calling him into his barge, lamented the growth of heresy, and the dissensions and confusions that were like to follow upon it ; and said, he intended to find out the chief encourager and favorer of these heresies, and make him an example to the rest ; asking the Archbishop his opinion upon it : who answered him, that it was a good resolution ; but entreated the King to consider well what heresy was, and not to condemn those as Hereticks who stood for the word of God against Human Inventions. ' O my Chaplain, (said the King) now I know who

' is

^a A MS. in Bennet College Library.

'is the greatest Heretick in Kent.' And shewed him the Book of Articles against Him, and his Chaplains, signed by some Prebendaries of Canterbury, and the Justices of Peace in Kent. The Archbishop, having looked them over, kneeled down to the King, and knowing both the malice and falshood of the articles, desired him to grant a Commission, to whomsoever he pleased, to try the truth of these accusations, so as from the Highest to the Lowest they might be well punished, if they had done otherwise than became them. He acknowledged as to Himself that he was still of the same mind as when he opposed the Six Articles : but that he had done nothing against them. Then the King asked him, if his Grace's Bed-chamber could stand the scrutiny of that Act? He frankly confessed he had a wife : but that he had sent her to Germany upon the passing of that Act. The King in return for his sincerity and openness told him he would grant a Commission for the trial ; but that he had such affiance and confidence in his fidelity, that he should be the chief Commissioner himself ; to whom, with two or three more, such as he should chuse, he would wholly commit the examination. The Archbishop desired to be excused, as it would not seem indifferent to make Him a Commissioner, who was a Party accused. But the King insisted upon it ; naming Dr. Bellhouse for one of the Commissioners, and leaving the rest to the Archbishop's choice : who appointed Dr. Cocks, his Vicar General ; and Anthony Hufsey, his Register ; both of them secret favorers of the Papists. The Commission was presently made out, and the Archbishop was commanded to go Himself upon it : the King requiring particularly that the Commissioners should sift out who was the first occasion of this accusation.

Accordingly the Archbishop and other Commissioners went down to Feverham, and sat three weeks, to find out the Contrivers of these Articles. The Archbishop, sending for the accusers, expostulated with them for their ingratitude and disingenuity to Him,

Him, who had been their Patron ; expressing his surprize more particularly at Sentleger and Parkhurst, two of the Prebendaries, of whom, as he told them, he had conceived a good opinion. She-ther was so affectionately argued with that he could not refrain from weeping ; but He and Serles, two of the Preachers, and chief Agents, were committed to custody.

The Archbishop left the further discovery of this mischief to the diligence of Cocks and Hufley. These sat six weeks : but from their secret inclination to favor the Conspirators every thing was colorably hid. When this was known at Court, the King dispatch-ed Dr. Leigh and Dr. Rowland Taylor, Civilians, as new Com-missioners, with instructions and a ring, which were delivered to the Archbishop on Allhallows Eve.

Dr. Leigh, who had been employed before in Ecclesiastical Vifi-tations, and in discovering the Secrets of the Monasteries, accord-ing to the King's advice, immediately upon his coming gave com-mission to nine or ten of the Archbishop's Officers and Gentlemen, such as were men of tried wit and resolution, to go and search the purses, chests, and houses of certain Prebendaries and Gentlemen, as were suspected to be of the Confederacy ; with orders to bring whatsoever letters or writings they could find to the Archbishop and Himself.

They all went about their work at the same hour ; and within four hours after, the whole Conspiracy was discovered, by finding letters, some from the Bishop of Winchester, some from Dr. Lon-don, and others : among the rest two letters came to hand, which astonished the Archbishop, one of Dr. Thornden, Suffragan of Dover, made by him Prebendary of Canterbury, whom, contrary to the custom of those days, he honored so far as to set him at his own table with the Nobility and Diocesan Bishops ; the other, from Dr. Barber, retained by the Archbishop in his family, for expedi-tion of matters in suit before him, and as a Counsellor to him in the Law, when need required. The Archbishop taking them apart,

apart, shewed them their letters; and casting up his hands to heaven, applied himself to God, thanking him, 'that he had, in the
'midst of so many enemies and false friends, vouchsafed one Great
'Friend and Master, without whose protection he was not able to
'live securely one day.' He added, 'That now he perceived there
'was no fidelity nor truth among men; and that he was brought
'to that point, that he was afraid his Left hand would accuse his
'Right.' They fell down on their knees, and with many tears begged his pardon; acknowledging that they had been a year ago tempted to do what they had done. He prayed God to make them good men, and bad them ask God forgiveness, seeing he had never deserved such usage at their hands. Not thinking it fit to trust them any more, he discharged them from his service: but he dismissed them with gentle and comfortable words. And it was observed, that there never after appeared, either in his countenance or his words, any remembrance of the injury.

The seized papers were put into a chest, and brought up to Lambeth, the King being desirous to peruse them, and to punish the Principals. Divers of the chief were committed to prison. Abiding there some time under affliction, their spirits began to mollify; and then, by supplicatory letters to the Archbishop, they begged his pardon, made their confessions, and desired their liberty: which by a General Pardon they at length obtained.

Nevertheless, all did not escape punishment, whatever mercy they met with from the Archbishop; for Heywood, who was a chief witness in this affair, and German Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester's Secretary, deeply concerned in it, were, about a year after, both condemned as Traitors, for denying the King's Supremacy. The former indeed, making a recantation, had his life spared: but Gardiner was hanged, drawn, and quartered. And Dr. London, the chief Instrument in this Plot, was detected about the same time, I mean the end of this year, in his other intrigue
against

Herbert.

against Sir Philip Hobby, and others at Windsor; and by intercepting some letters intended for my Lord of Winchester, was convicted before the Council of perjury, and sentenced to ride through Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, where he had done most mischief, with his face towards his horse's tail, and a paper upon his head declaring his crime; and to stand in the pillory in each of those Towns. After which he was sent to the Fleet, and not long after with shame and vexation died there. The malicious Author, Contriver, and Encourager of the whole, the Bishop of Winchester, lost his Master's favor and good opinion for ever after.

Strype's
Life of
Cranmer.

After this I meet with no other attempts against Dr. Ridley, any further than as he would of course be involved in the ruin of his Patron and Supporter the good Archbishop. In this plot they struck at Ridley to wound the Archbishop: in the next which followed soon after, they aimed directly at the Archbishop, whose fall must have drawn all his Dependants after him. The Duke of Norfolk accused him grievously to the King, 'that He and his
' Learned Men had so infected the whole realm with their unfa-
' vory Doctrine, that it was likely to produce such commotions
' and uproars as were sprung up in Germany; desiring that he
' might be committed to the Tower; and then men would be bold
' to tell the truth and say their consciences.' The Event was, the King gave way a little, the better to find them out, then revoked the cause into his own hands, convinced of the Bishop's integrity, and the malice of his enemies. And as in testimony of such conviction, he altered Cranmer's Paternal Coat of Arms from *Three Cranes Sable* to *Three Pelicans*, signifying that He, like those birds, was ready to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the Faith of Christ. 'For, said the King, you are likely to be tasted,
' if you stand to your tackling at length.'

November 1. The General Council, so long promised and so long delayed, was opened at Trent: but with so few Bishops, that
the

the Papal Legates said it was not convenient to begin a General Council with so small a number. Nothing was concluded, and the Council broke up.

In the next year the King took another Domestick from Cambridge, the ingenious Sir John Cheke, as Tutor to his Son Prince Edward; celebrated for his skill in the Greek Tongue, and who introduced the method now used, of giving each vowel and diphthong their distinct and several sounds. But Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who was then Chancellor of that University, interposed his authority, and from his aversion to all reformation (which he opposed under the name of Novelty, though the Defenders of it proved it more antient than the corruptions they were willing to reform) inhibited under penalties Cheke's pronunciation, and enjoined the old confusion to be religiously observed, by a publick edict. Cheke, in defence of himself, said he did it in vindication of Truth. But the angry Chancellor cried out, *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit VERI quærendi fames? What does not the itch of seeking out TRUTH compel men to do?* And bad Cheke not be the Author of removing 'an evil well placed.' This was about two years before. Which I mention to shew the disposition of Winchester; and how little the King seemed to regard this Idolater of old evils, at this time when he chose Cheke as Preceptor to the Prince. Cheke took Grindal into his service, who went into Orders now; Ridley, as Master of Pembroke-Hall, signing his Testimonial to Bird the first Bishop of Chester. So that the King's Household had now Three celebrated Reformers added to it; Dr. Ridley, Domestick Chaplain; Sir John Cheke, Tutor to the Prince; and Dr. Grindal, his Assistant. And a great friendship was contracted between them; which doubtless was a mean of giving the Prince a more intimate acquaintance with them, and a personal regard for each.

1544.

Strype's
Memoirs,
vol. i.

In

Herbert.

In the Parliament in the beginning of this year, the King in amity with the Emperour, intending to war in person against the French King, thought it convenient to settle the succession to his Crown. In the 28th year of his reign, he had made his Issue by Donna Catharine, of Arragon, and also that by Lady Ann Boleyn, illegitimate, and not inheritable: that the Issue of him by Queen Jane should be his lawful Children, and the Male Heir inherit the Imperial Crown of this realm: in default, the Heirs male of any other future Queen: in default, the female Heirs first of Queen Jane, and in failure there, of any other future Queen: and in default of all these, he might limit the Crown to any person or persons, by his Letters patent under the Great Seal, or by his last Will signed with his hand. Making it High Treason to call the Lady Mary, or the Lady Elizabeth Legitimate. Now in this 35th year of his reign, to oblige the Emperour, he gave his Daughter Mary a distant prospect of succeeding to the Crown: but yet without legitimating her; as he likewise did the Princess Elizabeth. Therefore in case he had no Issue by his present Queen Catharine Parr, and that the King's Majesty, and his only Son Prince Edward, should decease without Heirs of either of their bodies lawfully begotten, so that there be no such Heir, Male or Female, of any of their two bodies, it was enacted, that then the Imperial Crown shall be to the Lady Mary the King's Highness Daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, with such conditions as his Highness shall limit; and in default of such Issue, the said Imperial Crown shall be to the Lady Elizabeth, the King's second Daughter, and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, on like conditions. But if the King's Majesty do not by his Letters Patent, or last will, limit any conditions, then the said Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth shall enjoy such interest and remainder in the said Imperial Crown without any manner of condition. And if such Heirs should fail, the King shall have full power and authority

authority to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare, and limit by his Gracious Letters Patent under his Great Seal, or else by his last will made in writing, and signed by his own hand, at his only pleasure, the Imperial Crown of this realm.

In this Parliament some Laws were passed, which gave still more encouragement and assistance to the Reformation. One of which was the further blunting the edge of the Six Article Act. No offender against it was to be put upon his trial but by the oath of twelve men, before Commissioners authorised; and the presentment to be within a year after the offence committed. And, what Burnet. was probably the good effect produced by the malicious prosecution of Dr. Ridley, and the others at Canterbury, to prevent such long concerted schemes of mischief, if any Preacher or Reader shall speak any thing in his sermon or reading, contrary to any matter contained in the Six Articles, he shall be accused or indicted thereof within forty days, or else shall be discharged of the said offence.

Another was, that as the King was declared Supreme Governor in earth of the Church in England, there should be some known Laws by which he might rule, therefore the Parliament gave the King authority during his life, to name two and thirty persons, sixteen spiritual, and sixteen temporal, to examine all Canons, Constitutions and Ordinances, Provincial and Synodal; and to establish all such Laws Ecclesiastical as shall be thought by the King and them convenient to be used in all Spiritual Courts.

In which business the Archbishop made so good progress, that the System of Ecclesiastical Laws was framed; and Cranmer, after they were concluded, waited on the King at Hampton-Court, to remind him of these Laws, and urged him to ratify them. The King bad him send him the names of the persons employed in compiling them, which had been chiefly left to Cranmer's election, and the Book he had made. Who the persons then employed

were I do not recollect to have seen mentioned: but we may presume, from his being commissioned afterward to this Province in 1551, that Dr. Ridley was concerned in it. The Archbishop had gone so far, as to draw out a letter ready for the King's signing, to give them authority, directed to all his subjects of every degree; and informing them that in the room of the corrupt Laws, Decrees and Statutes that proceeded from the Bishops of Rome, which were all abolished, he had put forth by his authority another set of Ecclesiastical Laws, which he required to be observed, under pain of his indignation. Whether the King's illness, or what other reason prevented the completing this design, I know not: but the King dying soon after, this attempt died with him for a time. But this indeed was more than two years after the authority given him by this Parliament to frame such a body of Laws.

Burnet,
Strype's
Cranmer.

As the King was engaged in a war with France, before he went on that expedition, he set out an Order to this effect; God alone being able to restore peace, and unite men's hearts, therefore the King was resolved to have general Processions used in all churches, with all reverence and devotion of the people. And because the not understanding the Prayers and Suffrages formerly used, caused that the people came but slackly to the Processions; therefore the King now had published certain Prayers in our Native Tongue. In July and August other Orders came from the Privy Council for Processions in the English Tongue, to send his Highness victorious success. Thus by little and little English Prayer was introduced; and the people by understanding part became desirous of having their whole service rendered intelligible.

1545.

§. 5. Ridley freed
from the error of
transubstantiation, and
made a Prebendary of
Westminster.

In the following year a most important advance was made in the Reformation, though yet in private. Dr. Ridley spent great part of this year in retirement at his vicarage of Herne, whither he carried with him such strong impressions of the sufferings

sufferings and arguments of the more serious Sacramentaries, as prevailed on him to give their cause a more patient examination.

He had been an unsuspecting Believer of Transubstantiation. The generally received Doctrine, the Decrees of Popes, and Decisions of Councils, had implanted this Faith in him; the rhetorical expressions of the Fathers, and the Letter of Scripture confirmed and strengthened him in this opinion: the blasphemies of the Anabaptists, who were at first the principal impugnors of this doctrine, and the irreverence and indecency of some other Sacramentaries, barred for a long time the way to his free inquiry, and better information.

As this is so material a part of the Reformation, it may not be improper to review what the Popish doctrine was in this point, and what alterations had been made in it in other Churches.

The Roman Church taught that the bread and wine in the Sacrament of the Altar were converted into the very natural body and blood of Christ, and ceased to be any longer bread and wine. Luther taught, with the Roman Church, that the very natural body and blood of Christ were in the Sacrament, not by converting the bread and wine into them, but by being introduced into the bread and wine, with the substance of which it was miraculously mixed. Zuinglius, who for five years had joined Luther in preaching against several Popish abuses at Zurick, in the year 1524, published his opinion in this point, holding with the Roman Church and with Luther, that there was a Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, but differing from both in these four particulars;

1. That the words of Christ, *This is my body*, must be understood figuratively.
2. That the body and blood of Christ were not received by the mouth, but only by faith.
3. That Christ's natural body was locally present in heaven, and not diffused every where, as his Divine nature was.
- And 4. That the wicked receive

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not

not the very body of Christ, only the symbols of his body and blood.

Zuinglius, and Oecolampadius and their followers were indeed generally represented as mere Figurists, who acknowledged nothing more in the Eucharist than barely the representation or memorial of Christ's body and blood : but in their exceptions to the Ausburg Confession, they admitted, that together with the bread and wine were verily exhibited the true body and blood of Christ to the faithful receiver spiritually vouchsafed, that they might thereby have communion with him^a. And in their accord with Calvin in the year 1549, they say, ' although we distinguish, as we ought, betwixt ' the signs and the things signified by them, yet we mean not to ' separate the *reality* from the *signs* : but believe that all, who embrace the promises then offered to them, by faith, do spiritually & receive Christ, with his spiritual gifts^b.'

This doctrine published by Zuinglius at Zurick, and by Oecolampadius at Basil, raised great commotions among the Reformed in Germany ; the Saxons and Lower Germany following Luther, the Zurickers and several towns of Upper Germany holding with Zuinglius and Oecolampadius. But inveterate prejudice and the publick discredit, for Papists and Lutherans joined in clamors against this *new* doctrine, as they called it, intimidated many from embracing it, and made them profess to believe, what they could not possibly understand, for fear of censure. Which made Zuinglius compare them to some Great Men who had been imposed on by a bold impostor in painting, who undertook to ornament their chapels with most exquisite works of the pencil, but which could be

^a Dum enim ministri sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi distribuunt, Christus ipse se impartit spiritualiter fruendum, ut pii communionem cum ipso habeant, et in ipso vivant.

^b Quare etsi distinguimus, ut par est, inter signa et res signatas, tamen non disjungimus a signis veritatem, quin omnes qui fide amplectuntur oblatas illic promissiones, Christum spiritualiter cum spiritualibus ejus donis recipere.

be seen by none whose births were owing to stolen embraces. The dread of scandalising themselves and their mothers made the employers profess to see and admire those wonderful pictures which were never there^a.

Cranmer's connections with Osiander and the Lutherans might be the reason why the truth came so late into England, with a prejudice not usual with him he rejected with warmth the treatise of Joachim Vadianus, of San Gal in Switzerland, recommending the figurative interpretation, about the year 1538. He had taken it for granted that the Christian Church through all ages had held the contrary: and it is likely he would never have opened his eyes, if Ridley had not awakened him.

Strype's
Cranmer.

In the year 1544 Luther had written with great heat against this doctrine, calling the Zuinglians hereticks, and assigning them over to eternal damnation. The Zurickers replied in the beginning of the following year, when they published their Apology, in which they explained their doctrine and faith; purged themselves of the guilt of heresy; and stated Luther's and their doctrine, so that the world might judge where the truth lay.

The coincidence of time makes me believe that Ridley meeting with this book, which we are told was greedily read at that time by all parties, carried it with him to employ his retirement at Herne this summer; and was inclined by it to give the question a fair examination. So he certainly did, by whatever means induced. And procured likewise a little treatise, written seven hundred years before, by Ratramus or Bertram, a monk of Corbey, at the request of the Emperour Charles the Bald, about the year 840: which had been published at Cologne in 1532, and then sent by the Zurickers to Albert Marquis of Brandenburg, to vindicate their doctrine from the charge of novelty^b.

From

^a Epist. Zuingl. ad Esslingenses, Germanice.

^b Lavater, de origine et progressu controversiæ sacramentariæ de cœna Domini.

From this Book Ridley learned, that the determination of the Church for Transubstantiation had not been so early and general as he had before supposed; for that Bertram, a Catholick Doctor, so late as 840, held contrary to the present Decrees, and that the Faithful at that time, without either of them being condemned as Hereticks, were divided in their opinions on this subject; some (of the Faithful) affirming, that the Body and Blood of Christ, in the Sacrament, is done under no figure, and under no veil or cover at all, but performed under the naked manifestation and shew of the truth itself: others (of the Faithful) that they were contained under a figure, and that it is *one thing* which appears to our bodily senses, and *another thing* that our Faith looketh upon.

This at once razed that foundation of *authority* on which Ridley had so confidently built, and left him more open to consider the *Reasonings* of this author; who establishes his doctrine of the Figurative and Mysterious Body and Blood, by the evidence of sense, and the nature and analogy of sacraments. Every change he observes, is either in *deed*, or in *figure*. A change in *deed*, is either by creation, annihilation, or alteration; yet neither of these are known to be here, for nothing could be more absurd than to take bread to be flesh, and to affirm that wine is blood: neither in that case would the sacrament be an object of Faith. Therefore the change that is, is in *figure*; the matter of the sacrament being in *substance* bread and wine, but in *mystery, power and efficacy* the body and blood of Christ. And as in the sacrament of Baptism, the water is in its own property a corruptible humor or liquor, but in mystery and spiritual meaning a wholesome and healthful power: so the body and blood of Christ, being outwardly considered, is a creature subject to change and corruption, yet in the power and virtue of the mystery it is Life indeed, giving Immortality to the partakers. Therefore the things *seen*, and the things *believed*, are not all one: as *seen*, they feed the corruptible body, being themselves

selves corruptible : as *believed*, they feed our immortal souls, themselves being immortal.

This author proceeds to confirm his doctrine by scripture ; for when Christ said of the bread, *This is MY Body*, and of the cup, *This is MY Blood*, he had not yet suffered : nevertheless he made them the mystery of his body and blood ; for we think truly no faithful man believes that the bread *then* became Christ's Body, or the cup his blood. And if the express words *This is MY body*, or, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man*, create any doubt, he reminds us of our Saviour's own explication, *Does this offend you ? What if you shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before ?* Think not so grossly, as that I will give my substantial flesh and blood to be eaten and drank by you (which indeed were a wicked and ungodly act for you to do) for that shall ascend up to heaven ; and even could you eat and drink this flesh and blood substantially, it would be of no benefit to you ; *for the flesh profiteth nothing* : but you shall eat and drink it in the mystery, in virtue, power and efficacy, *it is the Spirit that giveth life*.

After this he proceeds to shew that the Fathers of the Church before him understood this sacrament in the same manner ; and quotes some passages from Augustin, Ambrose, Isidore, Jerome, and Fulgentius, who define, that ' sacraments have a certain similitude and likeness of those things of which they are sacraments ; in respect of which likeness they take the very names of the things themselves '. And that ' they are therefore called sacraments because under the veil and coverture of bodily things, God's divine power and virtue doth secretly work the efficacy or power of the said sacrament '. And teach us to discern the Lord's body in the sacrament from the natural body. They body and flesh of Christ is ' understood two manner of ways ; 1. That spiritual and

^a Augustin, Epist. ad Bonif.

^b Isidor. Origin. lib. vi.

‘ and divine flesh and blood of which he himself saith, *my flesh is*
‘ *meat indeed*. Or else, 2. that flesh that was crucified, and that
‘ blood which was shed with the soldier’s spear ‘. And again,
‘ Verily that is the true flesh of Christ, which was crucified, and which
‘ was buried : and therefore this mystery must be indeed the *sacra-*
‘ *ment* of that flesh. Which thing the Lord himself publisheth and
‘ proclaimeth, saying, *This is my body* ‘. They likewise compare
it with the sacrifices under the Old Testament, ‘ in which there
‘ was a signification of Christ’s flesh, which even he himself should
‘ offer for our sins, and of his blood also which he should shed for
‘ the forgiveness of our sins : so in this sacrifice of bread and wine
‘ there is a Thanksgiving for, and a Remembrance of that flesh of
‘ Christ which he offered up for us, and of that blood which he
‘ shed for us ‘.—— According to which plane explications and dis-
tinctions, precisely determining the sense of these writers, and of
the church, it is manifest we must interpret and learn to understand
those rhetorical expressions which may be found in the Fathers,
where, to raise the gratitude of our hearts, and the devotion of our
souls, they give to the Sign the names, titles, characters and pro-
perties of the thing signified.

Lastly, this author shews that this was the primitive and general
opinion of the church, from her publick office in the administra-
tion of this sacrament : which he proves from two passages that he
produces ; ‘ We that do take or receive the FLEDGE of everlasting
‘ life, do humbly beseech thee to grant, that we may with a ma-
‘ nifest and plane partaking, receive that which we touch in the
‘ IMAGE OF REPRESENTATION of the sacrament’. And again,

‘ We beseech thee, Lord, to grant that thy sacraments may work
‘ that in us, which they do contain ; that what now we administer
‘ and receive in FORM (that is, in shew or similitude) we may also
‘ receive it in the truth of the things.’

I hope

‘ Hieronym. Epist. ad Eph.

‘ Ambros. Sacra, lib. v. ‘ Fulgent. de fide.

I hope I shall be excused for giving this short account of a Book to which we owe so much. Few have drawn after it such salutary consequences as this has done. This first opened Ridley's eyes, and determined him more accurately to search the scriptures in this article, and the doctrine of the Primitive Fathers, who lived before the time of this controversy betwixt Bertram and Paschasius. And how zealous soever Cranmer might be for Transubstantiation, and how dangerous soever it might be to doubt of that article, yet Ridley very honestly communicated his discoveries and scruples to his good Friend and Patron the Archbishop; who knowing the sincerity of the man, and his cool judgment, gave a more open ear to him, than he had formerly done to Joachim Vadianus, when he wrote to him on this subject from Germany; and was prevailed upon to examine this doctrine with the utmost care. The event was the conviction of both of them. This was the great and important point of the Reformation in doctrine: this was laying the Axe to the root of the Tree; for as Cranmer expresses himself, 'the taking away of Beads, Pilgrimages, Pardons, and such like Popery, was but the lopping a few branches; which would soon spring up again, unless the roots of the tree, which were Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass were pulled up'. And this he acknowledges was owing to conference with Dr. Ridley, 'who by sundry persuasions and authorities of Doctors drew him quite from his old opinion'. And in the following year, by Cranmer's means, old Latimer was brought to a conviction of the same truth. But however instrumental Ridley might have been in leading the Archbishop into this enquiry, he always disclaimed the honor of being Cranmer's instructor; professing himself to be 'but the young scholar to his master in comparison of him.' Always, with an exceeding modesty, refusing the due praises which even his adversaries gave him, not assuming to himself the glory of his own

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improvements,

^f Preface to Cranmer's Treatise on the Sacrament.

^g Fox.

improvements, but gratefully referring them to the means and opportunities of acquiring them; and therefore acknowledges himself a debtor to his vicarage of Herne for the doctrine of the Lord's Supper; 'which at that time (says he) I acknowledge God had not reveled unto me.' And before the Commissioners he gives the following account of Bertram and his Book; 'Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for these seven hundred years until our age. His treatise whoever shall read and weigh, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of antient Fathers, and his manifest and most grounded arguments, I cannot, (doubtless) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can with good conscience speak against him in this matter of the Sacrament. This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical Fathers in this matter.'

The Papists themselves have sufficiently declared how much this book hurts them, by the manner in which they have treated it. One while they rejected it entirely as spurious, and the forgery of Oecolampadius^b: but this wild assertion was soon refuted. Then it was written by a Follower of Berengarius^c. Then by Joannes Scotus Erigena, whose treatise on this subject had been condemned by the synods of Vercelli, Paris, and Rome. And this last opinion prevailed amongst them till Father Mabillon in 1680 did clearly convince the Roman Chatholicks of their prejudice in this case; and that Bertram was the Author, upon the authority of antient MSS. which he had seen^d. Those who supposed the Book written by another

^b Possévinus, et Sixtus Senensis.

^c Parsons 3 Convers. part. 2. cap. 10. Sanders de visib. Monarch. Eccles. lib. 7. Gregory de valentia.

^d Du Pin.

another person allow Bertram to have lived and died a sound Catholic, and that in his time no such doctrine was ever read or known¹. Others tell us that about that time, Bertram began to be mad; that he wrote of the Sacrament suspiciously; that he first brought in question the Real Presence, but that Paschasius wrote a very learned book in refutation of him^m. Whereas Du Pin informs us the fact was just contrary; that Paschasius gave offence by his Book, in which he affirmed that the same Body which was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered, was buried, and sits at the right hand of the Father, is received in the sacrament: that others attacked Paschasius in the same century, such as Scotus Erigena, and that many of Bertram's contemporaries speak of the sacrament in the manner that Bertram does; as did also Alfricus Archbishop of Canterbury one hundred and fifty years after him. In a letter of the same Alfric's in Bennet College Library, I find there is the following passage, which in another copy has been erased; 'yet
' this sacrifice does not become his body which was sacrificed for
' us, nor his blood which was shed for us, but is spiritually made
' his body and bloodⁿ.' And in the same Library a form of consecrating Bishops, judged to be older than the Norman Conquest, 'O
' Lord, who after the typical Passover, when thou hadst eaten the
' flesh of the Lamb, didst vouchsafe to take bread out of the plate
' into a comparison (or representation) of thy own body, and distribute
' it to thy disciples, we devoutly beseech thee that whosoever shall
' in his mouth receive the consecrated bread out of this dish may in
' their heart desire and receive thee the living and true bread, and

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' be

¹ Parsons and Sanders.

^m Garesius et Bellarmine de Script. Eccles. tom. vii.

ⁿ Non fit tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, nec sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit: sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis. L. xii. 156.

‘ be worthy to partake of everlasting benediction through thee our
 ‘ Lord Jesus Christ °.’

As the Papists have not agreed who the author was, nor what the merits or opinions of Bertram were, so neither have they agreed even about the merits of the Book itself. The authority of the Council of Trent, and Pope Clement viii. reject it as heretical : yet the University of Douay, without regard to Pope or Council, determine in a very different manner ; ‘ Although we care not
 ‘ greatly for this Book of Bertram’s, whether it be extant or no,
 ‘ yet because it is often printed, and read of many, and the Here-
 ‘ ticks know by a catalogue of forbidden books that he was a Ca-
 ‘ tholick Priest, and dear unto Charles the Great ; and because we
 ‘ comment upon other writers of the same age, and extenuate their
 ‘ errors oftentimes by a favorable construction of them, by the
 ‘ same reason we may allow Bertram, and acknowledge him, for
 ‘ there is nothing worthy of reprehension in him, setting aside a lit-
 ‘ tle obscurity in his style, and his ignorance in using some dark
 ‘ words and sentences, which, with marginal notes affixed, may
 ‘ manifest the true sense and meaning of the author P.’ But in or-
 der to reconcile his opinions with theirs, they are forced to declare his meaning to be quite contrary to his words, therefore they ex-
 plane *visible* by *invisible*, and tell us that when he says *substance*,
 he means *accidents*. By such chymistry they make Bertram’s Book
 Papistical : but the Protestants, who are strangers to the Douay
 arts of interpretation, are apt to take Bertram at his word, and to
 set him down accordingly as a writer planely of their opinion in
 this article.

Thus

° Domine, qui post typicum Pascha et esis agni carnibus panem ex catino sumere in pro-
 prii comparatione corporis, et discipulis distribuere dignatus es, Te supplici devotione de-
 poscimus, ut quicumque ex hac patina ore panem sacratum perceperint, Te vivum et ve-
 rum panem corde concupiscant et capiant, et benedictionem mereantur percipere sempiter-
 num per Te Domine Jesu Christe. L. i. pag. 114.

P Index Expurgat. Belgic. p. 5. Antw. 1571.

Thus happily at length by means of this Book Ridley arrived at this important truth, and communicated it to Cranmer, having gradually disengaged himself from the tyranny of Rome, and her decrees, and discovered many of her errors and superstitions by a diligent application to the scriptures, and carefully examining the doctrines of the Primitive Church. It was indeed late before he discovered his error in this point of Transubstantiation ; which I suppose makes Bale describe him as coming very late, even at the eleventh hour, into the Lord's vineyard, yet not before he was effectually called ; and that from his first engagement he was found a most faithful laborer in it ; and from his great learning, very formidable to the enemies of truth.

This change of opinion happened to Ridley in 1545, and towards the close of it, as I suppose, or in the beginning of the next year, he communicated it to Cranmer, and put him upon a further enquiry ; for Cranmer says it was but a little before he published the Catechism (which was in 1547) that he embraced that opinion. Whether his conviction was early enough for Henry to receive any benefit from it, I cannot say : but it appears that in the last year of his reign there was a design of abolishing the Mass, and changing it into a Communion ; that the French King concurred with Henry in this resolution, and that both Princes meant to exhort the Emperour to do the like in Flanders, or else to break with him ; and that Henry particularly had willed the Archbishop to pen a Form to be sent to the French King to consider : this must have administered an opportunity of communicating his new opinion to the King : but this happened in the following year.

I must therefore go back to the close of the year 1545, when the Archbishop made further provision for his Chaplain Dr. Ridley, by procuring for him the eighth stall in the Church of Westminster, in the room of Francis Turpin, on the 15th of November. The Archbishop, the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, with
some:

some others of the King's Chaplains and learned men, were now employed by his Majesty to peruse certain Books of Service, wherein were many superstitions fit to be amended ; such as the Vigil and ringing of Bells all the night upon Allhallows, and the covering of Images in the time of Lent, with the lifting up the veil that covereth the Cross upon Palm-Sunday, with the kneeling to the Cross at the same time, and creeping to it, which by the Ordinal is appointed to be worshipped^a. These abuses were hereafter to cease and be abolished. And to make the more easy way for such alteration, the Archbishop advised the King, that some Doctrine should be set forth, declaring the cause of the abolishing those usages for the satisfaction of the consciences of the people, who, without some exposition, would think the honor of Christ was taken away, when the honoring of the Cross was prohibited. To effect the removal of these superstitions, it was concerted betwixt the King and the Archbishop, that Cranmer should frame Two Letters to be signed by the King, directed to the Two Archbishops, enjoining them to see those enormities reformed in their respective provinces. But when the Letters were prepared and sent to Sir Anthony Denny to be presented to the King for his signing, the King delayed, having received advices from Winchester, who was now abroad soliciting a League between the Emperour, and the French King, and Henry. Suspecting that advantage might be taken of his absence to extirpate the old superstitions, Gardiner artfully wrote to the King that his business was in good train ; but beseeched him not to suffer any innovations in Religion or Ceremonies, for if he did, there would be no hopes of his succeeding with the Emperour. Thus Winchester's invention abroad served him better than his influence and interest at home would have done.

In November the Parliament gave to the King the Colleges, Chapels, Chantries, Hospitals, and Fraternities throughout the Kingdom,

^a Ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi a Populo adoretur : et procedant Clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus.

Kingdom, consisting of Secular Priests, who enjoyed pensions for saying mass for the souls of those who had endowed them ; empowering him at any time of his life to issue out Commissions for seizing on these Foundations. Many were accordingly seized on in several counties ; and the Two Universities began to tremble for themselves.

Ever since the fall of abbies the schools were deserted ; many fair aims for their ambition were removed, and the total ruin of learning apprehended. So that at Cambridge there was a general decay of students, few colleges having more scholars in them than barely those of the foundation. The volunteers were fled, and only persons, pressed in a manner by their places to reside, were left : but now, the very foundations shook. From Oxford, Dr. Cox, Tutor to the Prince, represents to the King, the great want of Schools, Preachers, and Houses for Orphans ; that beggary would drive the Clergy to flattery, superstition, and the old idolatry : there were, as he said, ravenous wolves about the King, that would devour University, Cathedrals, and Chantries, and a thousand times as much. Both Universities applied to the King, that they might not be included within the general words in the Act of Dissolution of Colleges and Fraternities. And if Cox was earnest for the safety of Oxford, it is not to be supposed that Ridley was backward to make use of what interest or influence he had at Court for Cambridge, and his own College there.

But the King soon made the Universities easy : 1546.

§. 6. Winchester and though at Cambridge he seized into his hands
attempts to destroy *King's Hall*, the best landed foundation in that
Q. Catharine Parr. University ; and *Michael House* ; together with
Fistewicke's Hostel, an house unendowed ; yet he
did it only to erect out of them one fair and ample College, which
he largely endowed, and dedicated to the Holy Undivided Trinity.

About

About the same time the Archbishop complained to the King of the plunder that was made of the lands belonging to the Church of Canterbury. The Courtiers would often engage the King, nay often use his name without his knowledge, to require the Church to make over to him a portion of land, and then by Gift, or for some trifling consideration, it was conveyed to them from the King. The Archbishop desired that such alienations might not be made at other men's pleasures, but only to his Majesty's use : and that when his Majesty was minded to have any of their lands, that they might have some Letters from him, to declare his pleasure, without which no alienation might be made.

This was a very reasonable stand : though not so bold a one as Ridley afterward made in justice to Clare-Hall in Cambridge, and to his own Cathedral Church of London.

The Reformers had by this time great numbers and influence at Court, so that the supporters of the old superstitions began to fear for themselves and their cause. Winchester indeed had diverted the King from making some alterations by a temporary expedient : but effectually to prevent any further attempts, and revive his waning interest in the Council, he thought it necessary to thin the King's Court of the Gospellers ; and for this purpose his faction laid their traps. They had observed that a disbelief of Transubstantiation prevailed more and more among private persons ; though to speak any thing against it was yet contrary to the statute. And as this disbelief had been introduced and propagated by the Anabaptists, who treated the sacrament with great indecency, their blasphemies and absurdities brought all the Sacramentaries into publick disgrace and danger. Here therefore they began their Crusade.

Winchester returned from the Emperour in Flanders about January, and the Emperour prepared to go into Germany to attend to the Diet to be holden at Ratisbon, and the Council now sitting
at

at Trent; but secretly he was preparing for war against the Protestants, which the Protestants endeavoured to provide against by sending over Philip Count Palatine, Nephew to the Elector Frederick, to negotiate a Confederation betwixt Them and our King. He came over in March. And, perhaps, to prevent a coalition betwixt the German and English Protestants, the Popish faction were very severe in executing the Six Article Act, to which the Germans had strongly objected. They began as early as March with Mrs. Ann Ayfcough, Sister to Sir Francis Ayfcough, of Lincolnshire, a Lady of very exemplary piety and unblemished life, as her very accusers acknowledged, of a very sharp and ready wit, and better education than was ordinary in those of her sex. They had further views in falling upon her; for they hoped to have drawn out of her confessions some matters against the Dutchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Suffex, the Countess of Hertford, the Lady Denny, the Lady Fitzwilliams, and some of the Council. And when her art eluded their cunning, they proceeded to extort from her what they wanted by the rack: for which, when the usual tortures were insufficient, they ordered the Lieutenant of the Tower to put her on the rack again; which his humanity refused: but the Lord Chancellor and Sir Richard Rich, throwing off their gowns, turned executioners, more relentless than the Gaoler exercised in the business, and tortured her as long as life could support it. And when they found they could not obtain the end they aimed at, they contented themselves for the present with burning the poor Lady^a; and with her three others for the same crime; which was for speaking against the Corporal Presence, in disobedience to the Six Articles.

What grief must the Archbishop and his Chaplain conceive at these cruel proceedings, when one of them certainly, and probably

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by

^a In June.

by this time both of them, were of the same opinion? unable to protect her against the malice of the Faction and the Letter of the Statute; and even themselves in danger of sharing her fate, if they stepped incautiously, before Cranmer could prepare the King?

The aims of the Papists were at some of the Council, and even higher persons still: but they were afraid of adventuring too far. However, they had the boldness to commit Sir George Blage, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, to Newgate, on the Sunday before Mrs. Ayfcough suffered, and condemned him to the fire on the Wednesday following. But the King hearing of it, was greatly offended with the Lord Chancellor, for coming so near him, even to his Privy Chamber, and commanded him immediately to draw out his pardon. As soon as Sir George was released, and came into the presence, the King cried out, as he was wont to call him, 'Ah, my Pig!' 'Yes, says Sir George. If your Majesty had not been better to me than your Bishops, your Pig had been roasted ere this time.'

But, disappointed as they were in having made no further discoveries by racking Mrs. Ayfcough, and offended as the King was at their boldness in seizing those so near his person, they were not entirely discouraged from pressing on their main point, which was the removing from the King's affection and presence the great Favorers of the Reformation.

Queen Catharine was much given to reading and studying the Holy Scriptures; and for that purpose had retained several learned men to instruct her in spiritual matters. These Chaplains usually, but more especially in Lent, for an hour every day in the afternoon, preached to Her, and her Ladies, and Gentlewomen, and others that were disposed to hear, in her Privy Chamber. In which sermons they often touched such abuses as were common in the Church. This practice was not unknown to the King, who seemed at first to approve of it, permitting the Queen to confer with him.

him on religious points, when she would often wish, exhort and persuade the King to perfect and finish the purging his Church of England from the superstitions which yet remained.

The King was now grown very corpulent and diseased; and his illness made him more impatient than usual: though contradiction was what he could never bear with temper, from any one but his present Queen. During his illness and confinement she was used, when she thought it would be agreeable to the King, at some convenient season of the day, to visit him in his chamber: whom the King always received with great kindness, and indulged the freedom of her conversation without displeasure. But one day she came into his chamber, when the Bishop of Winchester, with others of that faction, were with the King, and she falling upon her old topick of perfecting the reformation, the King shewed some tokens of dislike contrary to his customary behaviour to her, and breaking off the discourse talked of other matters. When the Queen was retired, the King brake out into this expression, ‘ A good hearing it is, when women become such clerks! and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife!’

Winchester failed not to improve the opportunity, and to aggravate the Queen’s insolence in disputing with his Majesty, whose great learning and depth in Divinity he flatteringly extolled; and inferred, that those who would contradict him in words, wanted not the will, but power only, to overthrow him in deeds: representing her religion, according to their constant craft, as anabaptistical, teaching the people that all things should be in common, which was such a subversion of Government, that had the greatest subject in the kingdom spoken the words she spake, he had justly deserved death by the law. And then insinuated that he and his friends could make great discoveries of their own knowledge, relating to the Queen; but her faction was so powerful, that they

could not do their duty to their Prince, with safety to themselves : but if the King would take upon him to be their Protector and Buckler, they could within short time disclose such treason, cloked with this cloke of heresy, that his Majesty should easily perceive how perilous a matter it was to cherish a serpent in his bosom. At length the King gave them warrant and commandment to consult together about the drawing certain articles against the Queen, whereby her life might be touched.

Upon this warrant they first determined to seize some Ladies, who were the Queen's nearest Relations and chief Confidants, and to indite them on the Act of the Six Articles ; these were the Lady Herbert, Sister to the Queen, the Lady Lane, and Lady Tyrwhit, all of her Privy Chamber : and upon seizing them, they intended to search their closets and coffers, that somewhat might have been found, whereby the Queen might be charged. The articles were prepared, and signed by the King : for without that it was not safe for any to impeach the Queen. The very day, and even the hour was appointed, and made known to the King, when they were to be seized. But the Lord Chancellor carelessly dropped the Bill of Articles ; which being taken up by one of the Queen's friends, was carried to her. She seeing the contents, and the King's hand set to them, had reason to think herself lost. This threw her into a violent disorder, which her physicians could not reach : till Dr. Wendy, having been privately informed by the King of the design, with a strict injunction of secrecy, declared to him that her malady was in the mind ; and so became a mean of bringing the King to visit her, when he behaved with great tenderness. This seasonable kindness greatly abated the violence of her disorder ; and when she was a little recovered, by the advice of Dr. Wendy, who was her Friend as well as Physician, she went to wait upon the King ; who received her kindly, and on purpose set on a discourse about religion. She had been prepared by Dr. Wendy, and therefore answered,

swered, ' that women by their creation at first were made subject
' to men; that They, being made after the image of God, as the
' women were after Their image, ought to instruct their wives,
' who were to learn of them. And She much more was to be
' taught of his Majesty, who was a Prince of such excellent learn-
' ing and wisdom.' ' Not so, by St. Mary, said the King, you
' are become a Doctor, Kate, able to instruct us; and not to be
' instructed by us.' To which she replied, ' That it seemed he
' had much mistaken the freedom she had taken to argue with
' him; since she did it to engage him in discourse, that being in-
' tent he might with the less grief pass over this painful time of
' his infirmity; and that she at the same time might receive profit
' by his Majesty's learned discourse: in which last point she had
' not missed of her aim, always referring herself in these matters,
' as she ought to do, to his Majesty.' ' And is it even so, Sweet
' Heart? said the King; then are we perfect Friends again.' And
embracing her, expressed great joy at this declaration of hers: dis-
missing her, after other pleasant discourse, with tender assurances of
his constant love.

The very next day had been appointed for carrying her, and the
Ladies beforementioned to the Tower. The day being fine, the
King went to take a little air in the garden, and sent for the Queen;
who came attended with the Three Ladies of her Privy Chamber
to bear him company. As they were together, the hour (which
the King knew) being come, the Lord Chancellor, who was ig-
norant of the reconciliation, with about Forty of the Guard enter-
ed the garden to arrest the Queen. But the King stepped aside to
him, and after a little discourse, was heard to call him ' Knave,
' aye errant Knave, a Fool, and Beast; and bid him presently
avaunt out of his sight. The Queen, not knowing on what errand
they came, with gentle words endeavoured to qualify the King's
displeasure, in behalf of the Lord Chancellor, whom he seemed to
be

be offended with ; saying, that though she knew not what just cause his Majesty had at that time to be offended with him ; yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error. And made humble suit to his Majesty so to take it. ‘ Ah, poor soul, said the King, thou little knowest how ill he deserves this grace at thy hands. On my word, Sweetheart, he hath been towards thee an errant knave. And so let him go.’ This was the last effort made in this reign against the Reformers ; for their defeat at this time absolutely disheartened the Papists, and totally alienated the King from them : particularly from the Bishop of Winchester, whose presence he could never after endure : but the vain man would shuffle himself in among the counsellors, and proceed with them to the Antichamber, and then down with them again, to preserve the appearance of still retaining his Master’s confidence, and of having a share in publick business. But it was over with him. And he had soon after the mortification of being forced to make his submission to the King, which still stands upon record, says my Lord Herbert ; though for what cause is not known, whether on This, or for his being concerned with the Duke of Norfolk, who was also in disgrace, and committed to the Tower in December.

The King, finding himself decline in his health, was desirous of leaving the affairs of religion and his kingdom more settled than they were at that time. For this purpose he made a peace with Francis, whose Ambassadour came over here for his ratification of it in August ; when the King entertained him magnificently, at Hampton Court, and had a long conference with him and the Archbishop about the establishment of sincere religion in both their kingdoms. Both the Kings were within half a year after to have changed the Mass into a Communion, and have utterly extirpated the Bishop of Rome and his usurped power out of their respective realms and dominions. Nay to join in an application to the Emperour

perour to do the same in Flanders, and other countries belonging to him. And Cranmer was ordered to draw up a form of such Communion, to be sent to the French King to consider of it. But Henry died before the half year expired, on the 28th of January following, and Francis presently after. Had Henry survived but a few months, as Cranmer reports, it had been past my Lord of Winchester's power to have deceived him any more.

Before the Duke of Saxony's Ambassadour returned to his Master, which was in November, though the League with the Emperour would not permit King Henry to enter into a Confederation with the German Protestants for all the purposes they desired, yet he dismissed him with this assurance, that in cases where religion only was concerned, if the Duke would stand strongly to it, our King would take his part, and bid him not fear.

His strength still decaying, he ordered his will to be again copied, and to leave out the name of the Bishop of Winchester, whom he had left one of his executors before. The Bishop's Friend, Sir Anthony Browne, mentioned this omission to the King, as a negligence he supposed of the Secretary; and then reminded him of the Bishop's great deservings and abilities. 'Hold your peace, said the King: I remembered him well enough; and of good purpose have left him out. For surely, if he were in my Testament, he would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. Therefore talk no more of him to me in his behalf.' And when in discharge of his friendship to the Bishop, he afterwards moved the King to appoint Gardiner one of his executors, the King threatened to strike Sir Anthony too out of his will, if he did not cease his importunity in that matter.

But his affection for the Archbishop and his Friends encreased, as was evident from the regard he shewed him to his last moment; and the additional strength he gave him by the new Bishops lately made: all real or pretended friends to the Reformation. Holgate,
Archbishop

Archbishop of York, a steady friend ; and Kitchin of Landaff, who veered with every wind ; Hethe, yet his friend, translated to Worcester ; and Holbeach and Day, who inclined to the Reformation, promoted to the sees of Rochester and Chichester. In what degree of favor Ridley was both with the King and Archbishop, appears in good measure from the general consent of the historians, (though upon what authority they speak it, I find not) who affirm that the King designed him for the Bishoprick of Rochester. But Holbeach had been advanced to that see not long before, and there was no likelihood of its being soon vacant, unless the great age and infirmities of Longland made them think of opening Rochester, by translating Holbeach to Lincoln. That he was designed to be the next Bishop seems to be very probable, as the Executors in the next reign affected to govern themselves in great measure by the knowledge they had, as Privy Counsellors, of the late King's intentions. Wherefore we find him immediately a man of the first esteem and character ; and soon after succeeding to the Bishoprick, which, they say, King Henry intended for him.

§. 7. *Review of the state of religion at the death of Henry viii. and defence of Ridley from the aspersions of Pierson.*

Let us now at the close of this reign take a short review of the state of Religion at the death of King Henry the Eighth.

That Prince's immediate quarrel with the Pope with relation to his Divorce led him to vindicate the Regal Authority, so long usurped by the Bishop of Rome : which restored to the King a supremacy in his own dominions over the Clergy as well as Laity, and in spiritual causes as well as temporal, where the outward discipline and government of the Church was concerned. He claimed no power from his supremacy to alter Doctrines. The Parliament indeed in the 31st of his reign granted to him *personally*, not as a privilege or power belonging to the supremacy, that all determinations, decrees, definitions,

tions, resolutions and ordinances by the King's advice and confirmation, in matters of Christian faith, and lawful rites and ceremonies, should by the people be believed and obeyed : but this was rather in support of the old doctrines, than to introduce new ones ; for he had then no doubts concerning them, and was chiefly under the influence of the Papists.

With the Pope's authority must necessarily fall his Decrees, Laws, Courts, and Officers : instead of which were substituted a Vicar General, and particular Commissions from the King, but a system of Ecclesiastical Laws was wanting. This indeed by the King's order was provided : but his death prevented the signing it.

It was soon found that some errors in Doctrine lay at the root of part of the Discipline ; wherefore it became necessary to examine and reform them. The appeal in these cases was ordered to lie to the Holy Scriptures, and the consenting interpretation of the Fathers and Councils of the six first centuries ; to be discussed by the Divines in Convocation, and afterwards confirmed by the Two Houses of Parliament and the King. This in time weeded out the belief of the value of *Pardons*, *Indulgences*, and *Pilgrimages* ; and *Purgatory* at last fell with them.

This led to a study and better knowledge of the Scriptures, and to Translations of the Bible into English : but the fear of indulging wild and injudicious conclusions by the ignorant and illiterate, occasioned that the reading it was restrained from the lower people. However this by degrees brought their Publick Devotions to be in great measure in their own tongue.

The factious spirit, the formidable numbers, the busy intrigues, and the great revenues of the Monks and Friars, to omit the scandal of their lives, were found inconsistent with the security of that Regal Power which the King had recovered ; this army therefore was soon disbanded : but the support of the poor, the education of youth, and the encouragement of learning, were in a great mea-

sure involved in the ruin of these houses. In aid of this inconvenience, were six new Bishopricks erected, several Fraternities of Deans and Prebendaries founded, with schools adjoined, and some hospitals for the relief of the poor endowed: and many other great and good designs were projected and promised, which came to nothing. In remedy of the regret which may arise from the disappointment of such fair designs, let it be considered, whether the exchange of those lands upon easy terms to the nobility, was not the best security at that time against the restoration of the Papal Power? If so; then we have only purchased the Reformation with the lands of the monasteries. And with respect to the uses intended, let it be further considered, whether the vast tracts of lands then recovered out of mortmain, and rendered alienable, have not encouraged trade to such a degree, and spread property among multitudes, and with it its attendant Liberty, as to have encreased the abilities of the Publick for the encouragement of learning, arts and sciences, and to defend ourselves against our enemies more than if the intended appropriation of those revenues had taken place? If so, then all the ends have not been disappointed, though the methods have been changed: nor is it to be doubted but many of those, who enjoy such advantages and encreased abilities, will look upon the want of more schools, and liberal assistances towards a learned education, of better encouragements to excite ambition, a comfortable retirement to the aged and infirm, a considerable relief of poor Vicars in market towns, and of the Widows and Orphans of the poorer Clergy, as proper occasions to invite the exercise of their humanity, justice, and publick spirit.

With the Abbies and Monasteries, the guilty scenes of the greatest delusions and impositions, were in a great measure taken away the idolatrous adoration and abuse of Images; though the use was still continued: Auricular Confession was enjoined as convenient for the benefit of counsel from the priest; but not as absolutely necessary to salvation: the Mass was still appointed by statute,

statute, but the execution of that act was greatly suspended towards the close of this reign; and a design was formed of changing it into a Communion: Transubstantiation continued to be the public belief; but the light of truth in that point began to dawn, chiefly by the studies and labors of Dr. Ridley.

Before we view him in his more exalted character, travailing for the reformation and establishment of pure Religion under Edward the Sixth, it may be expected from me to clear the way through the rubbish which Father Peirson has laid to interrupt us, in his account of Bishop Ridley. The specimen which the Reader has had already of Popish sincerity in the inconsistent behaviour of his Holiness in the affair of the Divorce; the bloody intrigues of the faction against Queen Catharine Parr, Cranmer, many others of the Court, and the Canterbury Preachers; their contradictory judgments, assertions, and decrees with respect to Bertram and his Treachery; while they will lessen his surprise at the rashness and falseness of the following representation made by Peirson, will at the same time teach him what candor, truth, and justice he is to expect in the conferences, dealings, or writings of a Papalin.

We will at present attend him no further than to the end of King Henry's reign. He begins with informing us, 'that 'He 'was born in Northamptonshire, according to Fox, bred up in 'Newcastle, and studied in Cambridge.' This is contrary both to Fox, and Ridley's own account: but let it pass for carelessness only. 'And there was made Priest, travelled over the sea to Paris, and 'returning again became King Henry Eighth's Chaplain.' Many years passed between these two events. His studies at Paris and Louvain must be before the year 1530; because he was supported in his travels abroad by his Uncle Dr. Robert Ridley, who died in 1536, and from the year 1530 to 1537 we find him resident in the University, and discharging the publick offices there: nor does

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^a N. D. alias Pierfon's Three Conversions, vol. iii. p. 204.

it appear that Cranmer recommended him to the King as his Chaplain, till after he was chosen Master of his College, which was late in 1540. This might pass for another inaccuracy only, did there not appear a design in it to bring him forward in life than the truth will bear, that it might be possible for him to be concerned in some facts in which he really could have no part; 'and by him' 'was made Bishop of Rochester; in which state he remained when' 'the said King died.' But Holbeach was Bishop of Rochester when King Henry died, and so continued till May following, when he was translated to Lincoln; and in September Ridley succeeded him in the See of Rochester. 'And was as forward to favor the' 'said King's proceedings and will in all things, and to burn Hereticks while he lived, as was Cranmer, or any other Bishop else.' We now see the reason of his hastening Ridley to Court, and giving him influence with the King, and a Bishoprick sooner than History will warrant, that he might have an opportunity to represent him, contrary to fact, as a servile flatterer of the King, favoring heresies, or burning hereticks, as his Master's humor varied. The truth is, Ridley came too late to the acquaintance of Henry to be capable of behaving in this manner, had he a spirit base enough to do so. And although his learning, character, and manner of preaching made him stand high enough in his Master's esteem to intend him for the next vacant See, yet he never was possessed of that See in Henry's reign; and therefore could not, as a Bishop, be engaged in burning or prosecuting Hereticks in his Diocese, having at that time none: nor is there any evidence of his complying with the King's zeal in burning them, for I know of no disputations or proceedings against them in that reign in which Ridley was concerned. It is allowed he was no friend to Hereticks, either in this reign, or any other. He abhorred the blasphemies of Anabaptists, the indecencies of the Sacramentaries, the intemperance of rash and conceited

conceited Reformers. He acted up to his knowledge and light; not so bigotted to old opinions as to refuse yielding them up to truth, nor so fond of new ones as to embrace them without conviction: he was earnest against unnecessary innovations, but disdained to compliment an old error when discovered to be such.

DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

BOOK IV. From 1544 to 1550.

RIDLEY Bishop of Rochester.

Heard the flock of God which is among you, taking the weight of
of, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a pure
of mind. And when I have thus endeavored, with a clear conscience
Member of being loved even God's blessing, but being unprofitable
the flock, a P. v. 2. g. of the flock, and of the flock, and of the flock.

THE
the more than nine years old. His father therefore by his will
too young to hold the reins of government himself, being then
foreigner, and even his enemies confessed: but
a very promising genius and great aptitude,
ment, attached to the crown: a Prince
son by his self beloved Queen Jane the
In the death of King Henry, Edward the
1547.

THE LIFE

OF

Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

BOOK IV. From 1547 to 1550.

RIDLEY Bishop of Rochester.

Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly: not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.

Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. 2 Pet. v. 2, 3.

1547.

§. 1. Edward vi.
crowned; affairs at
Court.

ON the death of King Henry, Edward his Son by his best beloved Queen, Jane Seimour, succeeded to the crown: a Prince of a very promising genius and great application, as foreigners, and even his enemies confessed: but too young to hold the reins of government himself, being but little more than nine years old. His Father therefore by his last will appointed sixteen Executors, who should be Governours of his Son and

and the Kingdom, till the young King came to eighteen years of age. The Executors were

The Archbishop of Canterbury ;
Lord Chancellor Wriothesly ;
Lord St. John, Great Master ;
Lord Ruffel, Privy Seal ;
The Earl of Hertford, Lord Great Chamberlain ;
Viscount Lisle, Lord Admiral ;
The Bishop of Durham ;
Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse ;
Sir William Paget, Secretary of State ;
Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations.
Sir Edward Montague, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas ;
Judge Bromley ;
Sir Anthony Denny ;
Sir William Herbert, Chief Gentleman of the Privy Chamber ;
Sir Edward Wotton, Treasurer of Calais ;
Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York.

These, or the major part of them, were to execute his will, and to administer the affairs of the kingdom. If any of them should die, the survivors were to administer without substituting others. By their *advice* the young King was to be disposed of in marriage : but *without their consent* the Ladies Mary and Elifabeth were not to marry on forfeiture of their right of succession ; the late King having been empowered, by an act in the 35th of his reign, to leave the crown to them, who had never yet been declared legitimate, with what limitations he should think fit. The Executors were charged in the will to pay the King's debts and legacies ; and to perfect any grants he had began ; and to make good every thing he had promised. The King added by his will a Privy Council to be assisting to the Executors, who were

The Earls of Arundel and Essex ;

Sir

Sir Thomas Cheney, Treasurer of the Household ;
Sir John Gage, Comptroller ;
Sir Anthony Wingfield, Vice-Chamberlain ;
Sir William Petre, Secretary of State ;
Sir Richard Rich ;
Sir John Baker ;
Sir Ralph Sadler ;
Sir Thomas Seimour ;
Sir Richard Southwell ; and
Sir Edmond Peckham.

It had been a rare felicity indeed, if among so many admitted to such great power and influence, none should be found more studious of their own interest, than the welfare of their Prince or their Country. An almost nine years minority, before the King came of age ; the succession, if he died without issue, so particularly circumstanced, that plausible reasons might have been urged either for establishing or setting it aside ; with respect to the Princesses, they were both unmarried ; both illegitimate by Parliament ; both put into the succession by the King's will under limitations of the Executors consent to their marriage. All these circumstances opened so large a field for ambition to plan her schemes in, that the Reader will not be surpris'd if he finds this a very intriguing reign.

The unsettled state of the kingdom, with respect to Religion, would naturally direct the intriguers to gather partisans from that division, and recommend to them an attachment to the Old or New Learning, as the best cover under which they might cloke their ambition. The late King hoped to have guarded against these intrigues, by leaving out such as he knew were Busy-bodies and Meddlers ; mixing men of both opinions in the administration ; giving no one a superiority of power over his Fellows ; and subjecting each to the majority of the whole.

The

The first and most obvious division of the Executors and Counsellors would be into the Favorers of the Old and New Learning. At the head of the former was the Lord Chancellor Wriothesly, whose office gave him place next to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and he persuaded himself, that the good Archbishop, declining matters of state, would leave him Chief in the administration; which would, if properly managed, draw after it the chief influence and sway in the government. Beside his friends among the Council, he had the countenance of the Lady Mary, and the assistance of the Bishop of Winchester; who stomaching the affront of being left out of the list of the Executors and Counsellors by the late King, was believed to attach himself vehemently to the Popish interest, more from resentment than any considerations of piety or religion^a.

At the head of the Reformers, (beside Cranmer, who very little engaged himself in state matters where Religion was not concerned) was the Earl of Hertford, Uncle to the King by the mother's side. His near relation to the King, and incapacity of succeeding in case of the King's death, gave him a particular interest in his welfare, and made him expect a deference to his judgment from the other Executors, and a superior authority among them. He had behaved under the late King with great commendation: his advice in the Council, and conduct in the Field were always fortunate. His success seemed to give him only the complacency of an honest servant, who had done his duty, without kindling any blameable ambition in him. So that he was neither haughty nor contemptuous to his inferiors, nor servile to those above him: but behaved with a proper temper betwixt stubbornness and flattery^b. So pious and regular in his life, that he was commonly called the *Good Duke*; yet perhaps more inclining to the excesses with which

C c

Cranmer

^a Parker's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

^b Hayward.

Cranmer has been charged with respect to the derivation of spiritual powers, than to those of a more correct judgment. In short he had that kind of genius that fitted him to behave excellently in a circumscribed province : but had not strength enough to bear the giddy eminence of state, and address himself cool and recollected to every occurrence in the infinite maze of government.

Sir Thomas Seimour, being his younger Brother, and not an Executor, only a Counsellor, could not yet expect to be chief in the administration, but hoped to effect it in time ; at least to have his share in the government of his Nephew, with his elder Brother the Earl of Hertford : he therefore, though really of no religion, seemed rather to personate a Reformer.

Dudley Lord Viscount Lisle, at that time Lord Admiral, and probably some others, waited for an opportunity to make the most they could of this conjuncture ; falling into train as their present views persuaded them, and adding weight to the scale of which they hoped to be partakers. Lord Lisle, with as little religion as Sir Thomas Seimour, profest himself a Reformer : but at the same time kept fair with the Popish faction, who looked upon him as their own.

1547. January 31 the new King was proclaimed, and the Executors were sworn to the due execution of the will : but the only article of it, to which they seemed unanimously to pay any regard, was the making good every thing that the late King had promised. In obedience to this injunction, and on the testimony of Secretary Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, Chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, declaring the King's mind in this case, Lord Wriothesly was created Earl of Southampton ; the Earl of Hertford, Duke of Somerset ; Parr Earl of Essex, Brother to the Queen Dowager, Marquis of Northampton ; Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick ; Sir Thomas Seimour, Baron Sudley ; and several of the Executors, Council, and others, were created Barons. And
among

among the persons intended by the late King to be promoted, it is probable that his Chaplain Dr. Ridley was mentioned as designed by him to be the next new Bishop; for the Historians in general represent him as appointed for one by King Henry, though he was not elected to any particular see till some months after that King's death.

Beside the new honors for the Executors and Council, there was an assignment of considerable sums of money to several of them: but an apprehension of war with France and the Emperour, made them think it not prudent to take those sums out of the King's Treasury. Which put them afterward on selling the Chantry Lands, and opened a door to let in several hungry spoilers upon the revenues of the Church.

Some of the Regents moved^a, that for the expediting of business, one should be chosen President, under the title of *Protector*; as it would be attended with great inconvenience, if people, especially foreign ministers, were to apply to Sixteen Persons of equal authority. No additional power was to be conveyed by this appointment; such President continuing incapable of doing any thing without the consent of the major part of the Executors.

The Lord Chancellor strenuously opposed this motion, which he knew was not made in favor of Him, but tended to disappoint his ambition: for he expected from his office, and Cranmer's neglect of state-affairs, to be in effect that President, which they were now proposing to make for the sake of some one else: but the motion was soon carried against him, and the Duke of Somerset declared Protector of the King's realms, and the Governour of his person. His Brother the Lord Sudley, and the Earl of Warwick readily concurring in this promotion, which they meant as the scaffolding to their own fortunes.

^a February 2.

An earnest of which they immediately received ; for the attainer of the Duke of Norfolk in the last reign vacated the offices of Lord Treasurer and Earl Marshal, which were conferred on the Protector : while His post of Great Lord Chamberlain was given to the Earl of Warwick ; and the office of High Admiral vacated by the Earl of Warwick, was bestowed on Lord Sudley^a.

The very next day after these changes and promotions had taken place, the Lord Chancellor determining not to be a cypher in the Council, put the Great Seal to a Commission directed to Sir Richard Southwell, Master of the Rolls, and Three Others, to hear causes in Chancery, and execute the Lord Chancellor's office in that court, that he might be at leisure to attend the affairs of state. This, being done without warrant from the Protector, or the Executors, was resented by them. The Judges were consulted^b ; who delivered in their opinions, that the Lord Chancellor ought not, without warrant from them, to have set the seal to any Commission ; and that by having set it without such warrant, by the Common Law he had forfeited his place to the King, and was liable to fine and imprisonment at the King's pleasure.

On communicating the Judges opinion to the Chancellor^c, he behaved with great heat and insolence to the Judges, Council, Regents, and Protector : but was humbled by their resolution to take the seals from him. That they might do this with as little disgrace as possible, they permitted him to attend the Council, and Sermon, it being Sunday, and to return with the Seal to his house ; but that after supper they would send for it. So far they were agreed they had power to do for the correction of his fault : but to strike him out of the Regency appeared to be a step beyond their authority. However, to get rid of his troublesome interruption in the Council-Chamber, he was confined Prisoner to his own house.

^a February 17.^b February 28.^c March 6.

house till further orders, where he continued till the 29th of June following.

A few days after, by consent, the Duke of Somerset obtained Letters Patent under the Great Seal (then in the hands of the Lord St. John) establishing him Protector of the Realm, and Governour of the King, with full authority to do every thing as he in his wisdom should think for the honor, good, and prosperity of the King's Person and Realm; appointing him a Council (composed of the Executors and Council jointly, only leaving out the Earl of Southampton, without distinguishing their powers;) who, or so many of them as he should think proper to call, were restrained to act only by the Protector's advice and consent.

By this unjustifiable resolution of the Executors and Council the late King's will was entirely frustrated; and the whole power, which he prudently intended should be divided among sixteen, heaped together upon one man, the weight of which overwhelmed him. Rapin supposes the Protector used some fraud on this occasion: but it is hard to suppose so many wise Counsellors would carelessly let a Patent pass without examination, or submit to the lessening of their power by virtue of a fraudulent Patent, to which they had never consented. It appears to me more likely that the real friends of the Protector imagined that he would not make an ill use of his power, and that therefore the more he had, it would be the better for the kingdom: Cranmer probably, and such as wished well to the Reformation, believed he would be a more effectual friend and promoter of true religion: designing Courtiers cared not how much power was conveyed to an office into which they secretly aimed to work themselves: and if these made a majority, the few who might wish his power less would learn in prudence to hold their tongues. But these are only conjectures; and the facts being related, every Reader may assign what motives he thinks most probable.

The

The Duke was sensible of the difficulties of his charge, as appears from his devout prayer for the divine direction and assistance in it, and his request to Secretary Paget for his friendly counsel and advice. What advice that Lord gave him appears by a schedule enclosed in a Letter to the Protector the next new year's day.

'Deliberate maturely in all things. Execute quickly the determinations. Do justice without respect. Make assured and staid men ministers under you. Maintain the ministers in their office. Punish the disobedient according to their deserts. In the King's causes give Commissions in the King's name. Reward the King's worthy servants liberally and quickly. Give your own to your own, and the King's to the King's, frankly. Dispatch suitors shortly. Be affable to the Good, and severe to the Evil. Follow advice in Council. Take fee or reward of the King only. Keep your ministers about you uncorrupt. Thus God will prosper you, the King favor you, and all men love you. W. P.'

Very good advice at any time; but then the more seasonable, as the Duke began to lose his temper, grew hasty and passionate, snapping up the Counsellors, and answering too sharply those who had business with him; nay his very best Friends. To which change of temper, not only the multiplicity and intricacies of publick affairs, but domestick uneasinesses from the intrigues of his Brother the Lord Admiral, and the petulancy of the Dutchess of Somerset, greatly contributed.

The Lord Admiral married the Queen Dowager, and so soon after the King's death, that she might have had a child, that would have perplexed the succession, as doubtful whether the King or the Lord Admiral was its Father: this greatly offended the Protector. The same marriage gave the Admiral an opportunity of entertaining the Lady Elisabeth, and the Lady Jane Gray at his house, under the inspection of the Queen, which might create to him a power of managing those Ladies, and disposing of them as he

he thought proper. For this purpose he obtained a promise from the Duke of Dorset, not to marry his Daughter the Lady Jane without the Admiral's consent. And at the same time was so familiar with the Lady Elisabeth, beyond the decencies due to a Lady's Bed-chamber, that he created jealousies in the Queen, and a more than common regard from the Princess^a. The same marriage offended the pride of the Protector's Lady, the Dutchess of Somerset, beyond all possibility of pardon; for she was now to give place to the wife of her Husband's younger brother; whose influence over the Lady Jane disconcerted her views for the marriage of her eldest Son, the Earl of Wiltshire, with her. And lastly, by means of this marriage, he had an opportunity of ingratiating himself with the young King in private, when he visited the Queen; and by means of the Lady Jane's Beauty hoped to win him to love and frequent his house; yet not intending any marriage there should take place, for that would have disconcerted the plan of his vast ambition, but to get the King more into his power. For this end he also supplied him with money, and artfully set him against his Brother the Lord Protector; whom we will at present leave in the full administration of his power, to see what influence it had on the affairs of Religion.

The friends of Rome had no other hopes than
 §. 2. Dr. Ridley to keep things at a stand as King Henry left them;
 a celebrated Preacher. urging the prudence of conforming to the wisdom
 of the late King during the minority of the present, till he was of age to govern for himself.

The Reformers paid no less compliment to the late King's wisdom: but knowing many points in which he intended a further Reformation, they urged his intention as warrant for their proceeding to
 give

^a Cecil's State Papers.

give the discipline of the Church that perfection which Henry designed.

Orders had been given in the late reign for removing Images, which had been abused to idolatry and superstition. Dr. Ridley being appointed to preach before the King on Ashwednesday, after having confuted the Bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government and usurped power, and in pardons, he took occasion to discourse touching the abuses of Images in churches, and ceremonies, and especially Holy Water for the driving away Divils.

Among his auditors was the Bishop of Winchester, who, not altogether relishing his doctrine, favored him with a Letter on the Monday following. The substance of which I shall transcribe from Fox, as it will serve to give us a picture of both the men.

‘ Master Ridley, after right hearty commendations, it chanced
‘ me upon Wednesday last past to be present at your Sermon in the
‘ Court, wherein I heard you confirm the doctrine in Religion, set
‘ forth by our late Sovereign Lord and Master, whose soul God
‘ pardon, admonishing your audience that you would specially tra-
‘ vail in the confutation of the Bishop of Rome's pretended autho-
‘ rity in government and usurped power, and in pardons, whereby
‘ he hath abused himself in heaven and earth. Which two mat-
‘ ters I note to be plain, and here without controversy.

‘ In the other two you speak of, touching Images and Ceremo-
‘ nies, specially for Holy Water to drive away Divils, inasmuch
‘ that you declared yourself desirous to set forth the mere truth,
‘ with great desire of unity as you professed, not extending any of
‘ your asseverations beyond your knowledge, but always adding such
‘ like words (as far as you had read) and (if any man will shew you
‘ further, you would hear him ;) wherein you were much to be
‘ commended : upon these considerations, and for the desire I have
‘ to unity, I have thought myself bound to communicate to you that
‘ which I have read in the matter of Images, and Holy Water, to
‘ the

‘ the intent you may by yourself consider it, and so weigh, before
‘ that you will speak in these two points, as you may (retaining
‘ your own principles) affirm still that you would affirm, and may
‘ indeed be affirmed and maintained; wherein I have seen other
‘ forget themselves.

‘ First I send unto you herewith (which I am sure you have read)
‘ that Eusebius writeth of Images, whereby it appeareth that Ima-
‘ ges have been of great antiquity in Christ’s Church; and to say
‘ we may have Images, or to call on them when they represent
‘ Christ or his Saints, are over gross opinions to enter into your
‘ learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle.

A little after he says, ‘ All the matter to be feared is excess in
‘ worshipping, wherein the Church of Rome has been very pre-
‘ cise.’ Then quotes from Gregory that ‘ he commended the for-
‘ bidding Images to be worshipped, but blames the breaking them :
‘ saying that a picture to the illiterate was instead of a book.’ And
produces a decree in which it was ordained that ‘ they should not
‘ be called Gods, or worshipped as such, that men should neither
‘ trust in them or fear them, but honor them as remembrances of
‘ primitive Saints : but no religious worship to be paid to them,
‘ or to any creature.’

On the subject of Holy Water, he ascribes the efficacy of driving
away Divils to the invocation of God’s name, and gives the Holy
Water only the office and ministry of a vehicle to convey that vir-
tue, ‘ as the special gift of curation ministered by the Kings of
‘ this realm, not of their own strength, but by invocation of the
‘ name of God, hath been used to be distributed in rings of gold
‘ and silver. If the strength of the invocation of the name
‘ of God to drive away the divils cannot be distributed by
‘ water, why can it be distributed in silver to drive away
‘ diseases, and the dangerous one of the Falling Evil? But
‘ the Rings hallowed by the Holy Church may do so; there-

D d

‘ fore

‘fore the water hallowed by the Church may do like service. These arguments I trust may be conveniently used to such as would never make an end of talk, but take up every thing which their dull sight cannot penetrate. Wherein methought you spake effectually, when you said, Men must receive the determination of the particular church, and obey, where God’s Law repugneth not expressly.’

‘This realm (saith he presently after) hath learning in it, and you a good portion thereof; according whereunto I doubt not but you will weigh this matter, *non ad popularem trutinam, sed ad artificis stateram*; I mean that artificer that teacheth the church our mother to give nourishment unto us. In which point speaking of the church, although you touched an unknown church to us, and known unto God only, yet you declared the union of that church in the permixt church, which God ordereth men to complain unto, and to hear again; wherein the absurdity is taken away of them that would have no church known, but every man believe as he were inwardly taught himself, whereupon followeth that old proverb, *Σοι μὲν πάντα δοκῶντι ἐστὶ, ἐμοὶ δὲ ταῦτα*. Which is far from the unity you so earnestly wished for; whereof (as methought) you said pride was the let, as it is undoubtedly: which fault God amend, and give you grace so to fashion your words, as you may agree with them in speech, with whom you be inclined to agree in opinion. For that is the way to relieve the world. And albeit there hath been between you and me no familiarity, but contrariwise a little disagreement (which I did not hide from you) yet considering the fervent zeal you professed to teach Peter’s true doctrine, that is to say, Christ’s true doctrine, whereunto you thought the doctrine of Images and Holy Water to put away devils agreed not, I have willingly spent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) planely as it is, whereupon you may have occasion the more substantially, fully, and

‘and planely to open these matters for the relief of such as be faln
‘from the faith, and confirmation of those that receive and fol-
‘low it.’

This Letter he inclosed in one to the Protector^a, with another to Bishop Barlow, who preached at Court on the Friday; and the Protector communicated to him both their answers, which are nowhere preserved, that I know of. It is sufficient to observe, that before the state took order in this affair, the hasty populace were guilty of some riotous demolishing of Images, which was complained of: at length, as they had been the occasion of much idolatry and superstition to some, and as great offence had been taken at them by others, the Royal Visitors this year had instructions that such Images as had been superstitiously abused should be removed; yet not by the people, but by the Curate only. Afterward, as it was difficult to say which had not been so abused, and still harder which would not be so abused, there came out an order for the total removal of Images out of all churches. To the Bishop of Winchester’s argument for retaining them, that Pictures and Images were the Laymen’s Books, the Protector answered, that if the misinterpretation of the best book in the world, the Bible, had been judged reason sufficient for taking it away from the people, which had been done by the Popish Bishops, the gross abuse of Images was as justifiable a reason for taking them away from the people.

In the Act of Parliament, which gave force and authority to the late King’s Proclamations, a Proviso was added, that his Son’s Counsellors, while he should be under age, might set out Proclamations of the same authority with those which were set out by himself. By this authority a Royal Visitation was resolved on through the Kingdom, divided into six circuits, by Visitors respectively chosen for each circuit, to be attended by some eminent Preacher, who should instruct the nation in the principles of Religion.

D d 2

^a February 28.

gion. The Northern Circuit containing the dioceses of York, Durham, Carlisle, and Chester was committed to Dr. Boston, Dean of Westminster, and Sir John Horfeley Knight, with Dr. Ridley for their Preacher.

The shortest abstract of their Injunctions is given us by Bishop Burnet, (who refers those who would consider them more carefully to Sparrow's Collection) in the following words ;

All the orders about renouncing the Pope's Power, and asserting the King's Supremacy, about preaching, teaching the elements of religion in the vulgar tongue, about the benefices of the Clergy, and the taxes on them for the poor, for scholars, and their mansion houses, with the other injunctions for the strictness of churchmen's lives, and against Superstitions, Pilgrimages, Images, or other Rites of that kind, and for registered books, were renewed. And to these many others were added ; as, That Curates should take down such Images as they knew were abused by Pilgrimages, or offerings to them : but that private persons should not do it. That in the confessions in Lent they should examine all people whether they could recite the Elements of Religion in the English tongue. That at High Mass they should read the Epistle and Gospel in English, and every Sunday and Holyday they should read at Mattins one chapter out of the New Testament, and at Even Song another out of the Old in English. That the Curates should often visit the sick, and have many places of the scripture in English in readiness wherewith to comfort them. That there should be no more Processions about churches, that contention for precedence in them might be avoided. And that the Litany, formerly said in the Processions, should be said thereafter in the choir in English, as had been ordered by the late King. That the Holyday was instituted at first that men should give themselves wholly to God ; yet God was generally more dishonoured upon it than on the other days, by idleness.

‘ nefs, drunkennefs, and quarrelling, the people thinking that they
‘ fufficiently honored God by hearing Mafs and Mattins, though
‘ they understood nothing of it to their edifying; therefore there-
‘ after the Holyday ſhould be ſpent according to God’s holy will,
‘ in hearing and reading his holy word, in publick and private pray-
‘ ers, in amending their lives, receiving the Communion, viſiting the
‘ ſick, and reconciling themſelves to their neighbours: yet the Cu-
‘ rates were to declare to their people, that in harveſt time they
‘ might upon the holy and festival days labor in their harveſt. The
‘ Curates were to admit none to the Communion, who were not
‘ reconciled to their neighbours. That all dignified Clergymen
‘ ſhould preach perſonally twice a year. That the people ſhould
‘ be taught not to deſpiſe any of the ceremonies not yet abrogated,
‘ but to beware of the ſuperſtition of ſprinkling their beds with
‘ Holy Water, or the ringing of bells, or uſing of bleſſed candles,
‘ for driving away divils. That all monuments of Idolatry ſhould
‘ be removed out of the walls or windows of churches; and that
‘ there ſhould be a cheſt with a hole in it for the receiving the
‘ oblations of the people for the poor; and that the people ſhould
‘ be exhorted to almsgiving, as much more profitable than what
‘ they formerly beſtowed on ſuperſtitious Pilgrimages, Trentals,
‘ and decking of Images. That all Patrons, who diſpoſed of their
‘ Livings by ſimoniackal Paſſions ſhould forfeit their right for that
‘ vacancy to the King. That the Homilies ſhould be read. That
‘ Priests ſhould be uſed charitably and reverently for their office
‘ ſake. That no other Primer ſhould be uſed, but that ſet out by
‘ King Henry. That the Prime and the Hours ſhould be omitted
‘ where there was a ſermon or homily. That they ſhould in bid-
‘ ding the Prayers remember the King their Supreme Head, the
‘ Queen Dowager, the King’s Two Siſters, the Lord Protector,
‘ and the Council, the Clergy, and the Commons of the realm;
‘ and to pray for ſouls departed this life, that at the laſt day we
‘ with

‘ with them may rest both body and soul. All which injunctions
 ‘ were to be observed under the pain of excommunication, sequef-
 ‘ tration, or deprivation, as the ordinaries should answer it to the
 ‘ King; the Justices of Peace being required to assist them.’

Beside these, there were other injunctions given to the Bishops. That they should see the former put in execution; and should preach four times a year in their dioceses; once at their Cathedral, and three times in other Churches, unless they had a reasonable excuse for their omission. That their Chaplains should be able to preach God’s word, and should be made to labor often in it. That they should give Orders to none but such as would do the same; and if any did otherwise, that they should punish him, and recall their licence.

The injunctions mention the reading of Homilies, with which the Commissioners were provided, that they might leave a copy in the hands of every curate. The design of these, being twelve in number, was to acquaint the people with the method of salvation according to the Gospel: neither relying (with the Papists) on external works and merit; nor (with some irregular and mistaken Gospellers) on a mere inoperative Faith in Christ. These were to serve instead of sermons, or as a model and direction how to preach. And for the better understanding the scriptures of the New Testament, the Paraphrase of Erasmus was translated into English, and appointed to be had in every Parish-Church throughout England.

No more of the paraphrase was printed this year than the Gospels and Acts, which were translated by the procurement and at the charge of Queen Catharine Parr, undertaken before King Henry’s death. Mr. Strype apprehends St. Matthew was translated by the Queen herself. St. Mark was done by Thomas Key, afterwards Master of University College, who was the first that made the mistake abovementioned, that Nicholas Ridley was once an actual Member of that College. St. Luke by Nicholas Udal. And St.

John

John, in great part by the Lady Mary, and finished by her Chaplain, Dr. Mallet. The Translator of the Acts he tells us not: afterwards in 1549 came out the Epistles.

But before Erasmus's Paraphrase on the Epistles was translated, I find Dr. Launcelot Ridley, the Preacher at Canterbury, published an Exposition on the Epistle to the Colossians in 1548; and also (though without date) another on the Philippians: 'for the instruction of those that are unlearned in the tongues, gathered out of Holy Scriptures of the old Catholick Doctors of the Church, and of the best Authors that now a days do write.'

There was much opposition to the Homilies and the Paraphrase by the Bishop of Winchester, whose stubborn behaviour before the Council occasioned his confinement. But this, though it happened in the summer of this year, I shall omit till the concerns which Bishop Ridley had with him will oblige me to mention it; when I shall lay together all that relates to Gardiner in this reign.

The Fellows of Pembroke Hall presented Dr. Ridley to the Church of Soham in the Diocese of Norwich: but the Bishop imagining that the right of patronage belonged to him, gave it to Dr. Miles Spencer. On which the Earl of Worcester and Sir Nicholas Hare wrote to the Bishop, either to admit the King's Chaplain, or appear before the Council on a day appointed. At length there came a command from the King to the Bishop May 4, to remove and displace Miles Spencer. Upon which the Bishop, on the 17th of the same month, admitted Dr. Ridley, by his Proctor Nicholas Sharp, mentioning that he was authorised and empowered so to do by the King.

Three days after, a Commission was granted to the Archbishop, the Bishops of Durham, and Rochester, Dr. Ridley, and six others,

^a Aimes's Account of English Printers,

^b Registrum Norwic.

to examine a cause of the Earl of Northampton, whose Countess had been guilty of adultery. The Canon Law granted a Separation; but not the liberty of marrying again: the Pope indeed dispensed in those cases. These Commissioners were appointed to examine what was to be done upon the authority of the scriptures, and judgment of the primitive Christians. They were unwilling to be hasty and precipitate in a point of this consequence; and took more time than agreed with the Earl's impatience for a second marriage: he therefore ventured to take another wife, before his cause was determined. His rashness and precipitancy gave offence; the Council separated him from his new wife, and delivering her to the care of the Queen Dowager, obliged the Earl to wait the sentence of the Commissioners. Who at length, though not till the beginning of the next year, dissolved the former marriage entirely; and gave to both the liberty of contracting again elsewhere.

The Canon Law granted no divorce for adultery, only a separation from bed and board, the bond of wedlock still continuing. The Pope indeed could dispense: but the Pope's power being now excluded, it was necessary for the Reformers to determine, whether adultery by God's law dissolved marriage, and what was to become of the parties. Therefore they took a considerable time to sift the question. And notwithstanding the decision of the Commissioners in this case of the Earl of Northampton, there appears to have been a controversy, three years after, betwixt Hoper and Ridley on this point, which is not mentioned by the Historians, nor are the particulars of it to be found any where. But Bucer and Martyr had been consulted upon it by Hoper at the same time that he desired their opinions on that warmer question about the Habits. In their answers they wave entering upon the affair of divorce, as not necessary at that time, and because Hoper well knew what was the judgment and practice of the German Protestants at Strasbough; which was, as Bucer says, that if the adulterous person was suffered

to

to live, which yet is against God's law, every thing else should be permitted, without which they cannot live piously and holily : therefore, lest the offending party should be driven to continue a wicked course of life, the entering into a new contract should not be denied either to the man, or woman : provided that the offender was not allowed to live in the same town with the person from whom he or she was repudiated^a. In the system of ecclesiastical laws prepared by Cranmer and his assistants they dissolve the bond of marriage on account of adultery, and grant the right of marrying again to the party injured : but the offender, if the husband, was to give his wife her dowry, and half what he was worth ; if the wife, was to forfeit her right of dowry, and whatever else she might clame of her husband by law or promise ; and whether husband or wife, was to be condemned to perpetual banishment, or perpetual imprisonment. Judging the practice of the Canon Law unreasonable, and contrary to scripture, in destroying the end, duty, and comfort of marriage, but still retaining the bond and obligation of the contract. Tit. de adulteriis et divortiis, cap. 3, 4, 5, 19. A difference appears betwixt the determination of the Commissioners in the Earl of Northampton's case, and the Ecclesiastical Laws ; which may (I think) be thus reconciled : both agreed that adultery dissolves the marriage bond, whence it should follow, that the parties have a natural liberty of marrying again ; on which principle the Countess of Northampton, whom the Civil Power had not deprived of life or liberty, should, as well as the Earl, be permitted to contract a second marriage : but the Compilers of the System of Ecclesiastical Laws, hoping for the concurrence of the

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Civil

^a De conjugio permittendo, etiam repudiatis adulterii causâ, si in vivis relinquuntur, quod tamen contra legem Dei sit, puto te tenere, quid nostra Argentinensis Ecclesia senserit et servarit, ut scilicet cui vita donetur, nihil negetur, quo sine non possit piè sanctèque vivere : sed ne essent tales majori offendiculo, nulli quidem ob adulterium repudiato, vel viro, vel mulieri negatum est alteri in Domino jungi : sed non est his concessum, ut eo'em in oppido, vel vico habitarent, ubi habitabant qui hos repudiaverant. Bucer's Epist. ad Hoperum. E libro MS. quondam D. Morley Episcop. Winton. nuper Francisci Pyle de Hornchurch, nunc meo peculio.

Civil Power to restrain and punish adulteries, appointed, after recommending a reconciliation, and allowing six months or a year for Christian charity to operate toward it, if that failed, that the offending party should not have licence granted them to marry again, but should be punished by perpetual banishment or imprisonment. Tit. de Adult. et Divort. cap. 6, 7. The concurrence or nonconcurrence of the Civil Magistrate making the difference. So that the contest betwixt Hoper and Ridley might be this; that the former, according to his usual severity, was for punishing the offenders by restraining them at least from marrying again, whether the Civil Power would, or would not take notice of them: while Ridley, with his wonted charity, might think, that where the Civil Judge granted life and liberty, there the Ecclesiastical Judge ought not to lead them into sin, by denying the remedy of marriage to them.

On the 19th of June was performed the solemn Obsequy for Francis I. who died the latter end of March preceding. The new French King, Henry ii. was wholly under the influence of a Cardinal, and Family, devoted to the interests of Rome. England, who was upon ticklish terms with the Emperour, and had a war on its hands with Scotland, was desirous to pay some incense to France to keep her in good humor. For which reasons, as well as in return for the compliment paid by Francis on the death of Henry viiiith, the Council ordered a *Dirge* to be sung in all the churches of London, as also in the cathedral of St. Paul; the choir whereof was hung with black, and a sumptuous herse set up for the present ceremony. The Archbishop assisted with eight other Bishops, all in their rich mitres and pontificals, sung a mass of Requiem; and to do honor to his memory, who had been long the intimate Friend of Henry, Dr. Ridley was made choice of to preach his Funeral Sermon. The Historians constantly call him at this time, Elect of Rochester.

But in this they are a little too hasty; for the see of Rochester was not yet vacant. Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, died the 7th of May

May preceding. The Conge d'elire was not given till the 1st of August. Holbeach, Bishop of Rochester, was chosen to Lincoln on the 9th, and confirmed on the 20th of the same month.

During which time ^a the Fellows of Pembroke-Hall granted the reversion of demesne lands in Isleham to their Master's Sister, whom they call the Mother of John Twydel. This perhaps was his Sister Alice, at that time married to George Shipfides, but who had children by a former husband, whose name I cannot recover, unless from this passage I may presume it to have been Twydel ^b.

Holbeach being confirmed in the Bishoprick of Lincoln, Dr. Ridley was soon after promoted to the vacant See of Rochester; for on Sunday the 4th of September, Dr. Walter Phillippes, Dean of Rochester, and the Chapter met, and agreeably to their Conge d'elire chose him to supply the vacancy of that see. The Royal assent to their election, and mandate to the Archbishop for the consecration passed the 14th. And the Archbishop's commission to his Vicar General to confirm the election bears date the 19th. And another commission from his Grace to the Bishop of Lincoln, with the Suffragan Bishops John of Bedford, and Thomas of Sydon, to consecrate the Elect, was given September 23d. And (I presume) on Sunday the 25th of September, (though all the Historians, too hastily copying the Archbishop's Register^c, say the 5th of September) the Elect was consecrated in the Chapel belonging to Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's, by Henry Bishop of Lincoln, assisted by the suffragans abovementioned, in such form and manner as was at that time usual in the Church of England, by chrism or holy unction, and imposition of hands, after an oath renouncing the usurped

^a August 4.

^b This John Twydel (as I suppose) was afterward taken care of by Bishop Grindal, who had been Chaplain to Bishop Ridley, and collated by him to the Rectory of St. Martin's Ludgate 1567.

^c The Archbishop's Register sets it down in words at length, Die Dominica quinto die Mensis Septembris: but this neither agrees with the foregoing notes in the same Register, nor with the day of the week, the 5th of September falling that year on a Monday. The word viceesimo before quinto seems to have been carelessly omitted.

usurped jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, vested, according to ancient rites, with the robes and insignia belonging to his dignity^a.

The day which I have assigned is confirmed, not only because the statute of Henry viiith requires the consecration to be within twenty days after the Royal assent, and so before the 4th of October; but because the 25th was the only Sunday betwixt the 23^d, when the commission for consecration was granted, and the 29th, when the Register of Nicholas Ridley Bishop of Rochester begins.

I have been the more circumstantial and exact in this, to prove that Ridley was consecrated in the usual form (*More Eccles. Anglic. solito*) before the new ordinal took place, nothing different from the consecration of all the Popish bishops before him. His abjuration of the Roman Pontiff could not invalidate it without unbishoping Boner, and every Bishop after him. Nay Tonstal, Gardiner, and every one the most Popishly affected had renounced him after their consecrations. It was therefore unaccountable why Dr. Brooks in Queen Mary's days would not allow Ridley to have been a Bishop, and only degraded him from his priest's orders. But more of this hereafter.

The same day that Ridley was consecrated, the Council sent Bishop Gardiner to the Fleet, for having spoken and written in prejudice and contempt of the King's Visitation; and for refusing to set forth the homilies and injunctions.

A few days after, the new Bishop of Rochester was taken by the Archbishop, with the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Cox, and some others to confer with Gardiner at Dr. May's house. Thither Winchester was sent for, and they endeavoured to persuade him to comply with the injunctions, which recommended Erasmus his Paraphrase of the Gospels, and the new Book of Homilies.

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^a Registr. Cantuariens.

The points of the conference may be guessed at from the letters and arguments elsewhere used by the respective disputants. Winchester had political reasons for the Protector and the Council, and theological ones for the Divines. To impede the Reformation, he urged to the Protector the obligation which lay on him of regarding the late King's will; the ill consequences of changes, disturbing the state in the King's minority. To excuse to the Council his not complying with the Royal injunctions, he urged the danger in a subject to obey the King's commands in cases contrary to Act of Parliament, which he proved from many instances within his own knowledge, which had been determined in the late reign; and represented this case as similar, because, as he observed, the Paraphrase of Erasmus and the Book of Homilies were contrary to *The Erudition of a Christian Man* established by Act of Parliament. His arguments to the divines were, that the Paraphrase had many manifest errors in it; insomuch that he concurred with those who said, *Erasmus laid the eggs, and Luther hatched them*; that it even contradicted the book of Homilies enjoined to be received with it; that the Homilies themselves contained false doctrine, in teaching justification by faith alone without works, and in teaching that a *dead* faith was *no* faith: and that though the subtleties in that point might be fit for the schools, it was highly improper to disturb the common people with them.

It was represented on the other hand that the late King, as Winchester well knew, had intended a book of Homilies, to make such a stay of errors as were then by ignorant preachers spread among the people: that Cranmer well knew by whom the King had been seduced from the truth in setting forth the *Erudition*: that death prevented the late King from finishing all that he had godly designed: that no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but all was left so uncertain, that it must inevitably bring on great disorders, if God did not help them: that many could witness what regret their late Master had, when he saw he must die, before he
had

had accomplished what he intended : that as to Erasmus, though there were faults in his Paraphrase, as no book beside the scripture is without faults, yet it was the best for that use that they could find ; and that they chose rather to set out what so learned a man had written, than to make a new one, which might give occasion to more objections ; and that he was the most unprejudiced writer that they knew : moreover, that the Paraphrase was accompanied with the Homilies, which in many points corrected those errors.

As to the charge against the Homilies, the Homilies sufficiently vindicate themselves. They distinguish two acceptations of faith in scripture ; the one, which bringeth forth no good works, but is idle, barren, and unfruitful. This faith without works the scripture calleth *dead*, and is not that sure and substantial faith which saveth sinners ; and therefore is *not* properly *faith*. Another faith there is, quick and lively, *which worketh by love* ; which is not in the mouth and outward profession only, but it liveth, and stirreth inwardly in the heart ; and is not without hope and trust in God, nor without the love of God and our neighbours, nor without the fear of God, nor without the desire to hear God's word, and to follow the same in eschewing evil, and doing gladly all good works.

And they taught that this faith justified alone : not excluding the obligation of *evangelical* good works after justification (‘ for we are most bounden to serve God in doing good deeds commanded by him in his holy scripture, all the days of our life, ’) but the merit of *Papistical* good works towards justification. ‘ Such as pilgrimages to images, kneeling, kissing, and censing of them ; their hypocritical and feigned works in their *state of religion* ’.

This shews what was the true intention of the compilers of our Homilies ; not to introduce curious questions for the schools, but to instruct the people in saving faith in Christ's merits alone, which should beget Christian obedience : in opposition to the mistaken confidence

‘ Homily of Good Works, third part.

confidence which they had in superstitious works (their own, or others,) which had no merit at all in them. More than this those bishops seem not to have intended; whatever niceties might afterwards be brought in by foreigners, or Englishmen tinctured in their exile.

But there was in the injunctions cause enough to provoke Winchester; they levelled against the fundamentals of a faction, of which he had made himself the prime engine; and therefore he was extremely angry with his Brother of Durham, who had concurred in these injunctions: beside, what he could never forgive, they had been given in a council, from which he had been excluded with no slight disgrace. Cranmer knew his humor well; and let fall some words of bringing him into the Privy Council if he would concur in what they were carrying on. But whether Winchester had formed his party, and hoped by their assistance to force his way; or that he doubted the disposition of the Council in his favor; or preferred his wilfulness in opposing Them and the Reformation, he refused to comply. Cranmer attributed it to the latter cause, and plainly told him, that it proceeded not from any zeal for the truth, but perverse forwardness, approving nothing unless he did it himself, and disliking the Homily for that reason, because he was not a counsellor. So he was returned again to the Fleet, where, (probably for the same reason that Henry viiith excluded him from being an executor, that his busy and troublesome spirit might give them no interruption) they detained him till the Parliament, then going to sit, broke up; which was censured as an invasion of liberty.

§. 5. *The Bishop of Rochester against the revilers of the sacrament.*

This year Cranmer communicated to Latimer (released from his confinement, but refusing the episcopal charge, and residing with the Archbishop) those truths with regard to the Lord's supper, with which Ridley had brought him acquainted the year before. The idolatrous veneration of that sacrament in the Church

Church of Rome, in worshipping the elements, as converted into the very substantial and natural body and blood of Christ; and the *extreme reverence* paid to them by the Lutherans, as comprehending and containing in them the same substantial and natural body and blood, were now openly opposed: but the Anabaptists, who fled from Germany hither; the extravagant among ourselves, who leap from one extreme, over the truth, to the other; and some Protestants, who confounded truth and error by their scurrility, carried this opposition so far as to bring this sacrament into great contempt. Railing bills against it were fixed upon the doors of St. Paul's Cathedral, and other places, terming it *Jack in a box*, *the sacrament of the halter*, *Round Robin*, and such like irreverent terms. The new Bishop of Rochester, who was as far removed from profaneness as from superstition, set his face strenuously against this impiety; and publicly rebuked it in his sermon at Paul's Cross this November, with great earnestness asserting the dignity of the sacrament, and the Presence of Christ's body there. Reproving with great freedom those who did irreverently behave themselves with regard to it; bidding them, who esteemed the sacrament no better than a piece of bread, to depart, as unworthy to hear the mystery; as the *Pœnitentes*, *Audientes*, *Catechumeni*, and *Energumeni*, in the primitive times were not admitted when the sacrament was administered. Observing to them (as Fecknam reports) that the Devil believed better than some among them; for he believed that Christ was able *of stones to make bread*, but they would not believe that Christ's body was in the sacrament: but to the Receivers, the *Sancti*, he so explained the Presence, that he asserted, that the material substance of the bread did still remain, and that Christ called it his body, meat, and flesh, giving it the properties of the thing of which it beareth the name. Where we find the same lines of his character continue in the preacher, which were observed before in the disputant; modest in proposing his opinions to persons whose judgments

judgments only were mistaken, *meekly instructing those who were in error*: but earnest and severe wherever he discovered a fault in the will, *boldly rebuking vice*. Yet, notwithstanding all his care and caution, this sermon was afterwards very untruly and unjustly represented, as he himself complained, as if he had in it asserted the Presence of Christ's *natural* body.

The Parliament, which sate this year from November 4 to December 24, added its authority to the Bishop's reproofs, and punished by imprisonment, fine and ransom at the King's pleasure all irreverent disputers or revilers of this sacred rite. At the same time they enacted, that the sacrament should be given in both kinds, (except necessity did otherwise require it,) as more agreeable to Christ's first institution, and the practice of the church for five hundred years after. And likewise that the people should receive with the priest, and not the priest alone. An abuse which crept into the church by the indevotion of the people, and the avarice of the priests. At first, as Bishop Burnet informs us, none came to the Christian assemblies who did not stay to receive the mysteries; and in the poverty of the church, the clergy were supported by the people's oblations made there: afterward the people grew remiss in their devotions; but the priests to keep up the oblations persuaded the laity to come to the sacrament and offer, though they did not stay to receive the sacrament; and deluded them with a notion, that it was sufficient for the priest alone to receive in behalf of the whole people. And as they had changed the symbols into the very body and blood of Christ, so they changed the festival commemoration of his sacrifice into a real expiatory sacrifice. And persuaded them that the priest's consecrating and consuming the sacrament was propitiatory for the Dead and the Living. But **this** restoring the communion removed the whole trade of massing.

As soon as the Parliament was up, a Proclamation was published, December 27, (supposed by Mr. Strype to be drawn up by

Cranmer and Ridley) against the irreverent talkers of the sacrament; requiring the people to accommodate themselves rather to receive the same sacrament worthily, than rashly to enter into the discussing the high mystery thereof; forbidding curious disputations about it in publick, and in pulpits: but permitting the ignorant, willing to learn, reverently and privately to seek for further instruction in that point; and those of more talents and learning, quietly, devoutly, and reverently to teach the weak and unlearned.

In consequence of this Act, the King appointed certain grave and learned bishops and others to assemble at Windsor-Castle, there to treat and confer together; and to conclude upon, and set forth one perfect and uniform order of communion, according to the rules of scripture, and the use of the primitive church. Among which it is probable, that the Bishop of Rochester, who had been so instrumental in rescuing this sacrament from idolatrous and gross errors, and had led the way by his sermons to this very act of parliament, was principally concerned. And in this winter a Committee was appointed to examine all the offices of the church, to consider where they needed reformation, and accordingly to reform them. Of which Committee were most of the bishops, and several others of the most learned divines in the nation: which Committee prepared the new office for the communion. And that the Convocation might not be prevented from proceeding to a further reformation by the late acts, two about Lollardies, that of the Six Articles, and others explaining it, were now repealed. The Archbishop moving for such repeal in the council to forward the Reformation; and the Popishly inclined gave way to it, both to secure their present possessions of church lands, and with a view to further plunder.

What spirit of reformation influenced that parliament, appears in a bill which passed this session to give to the King all the colleges, free chapels, chantries and hospitals, fraternities or guilds, which were not in the real and actual possession of the late King, though
given

given to him by parliament in the 37th year of his reign. By which there accrued to the King all the lands, tenements, rents, and other hereditaments, which had been employed for the maintenance of any anniversary, or obit, or any light or lamp in any church or chapel. The pretence was, that the doctrine and vain opinion of Purgatory and Masses satisfactory for the dead, by nothing more was maintained and upholden than by the abuse of Trentals, Chanteries, and other provisions made for the continuance of the said blindness and ignorance. To remove which opinion, it was necessary to seize the provisions made for the maintenance of it. But then, as the converting them to the good and godly uses intended, (viz. erecting Grammar Schools for the education of youth in virtue and godliness, and for augmenting the Universities, the increase of Vicarages, and the better provision for the poor and needy,) could not in that present parliament be conveniently done, therefore in the mean time, they could not, nor ought to be committed to any other persons than to the King's Highness.

There were accounted ninety colleges within the compass of that grant (exclusive of the universities, whose foundations, though not included, were thought to shake;) and no fewer than two thousand three hundred and seventy four free chapels and chantries. Both universities applied for protection; and by favor of their friends at Court received a satisfactory answer. Heylin.

How much the declared design of this Bill was disappointed, by granting away those lands from the good uses abovementioned to courtiers and their friends, this whole reign of plunder was a scandalous testimony. Cranmer saw the secret motive, and opposed the Bill; in which he was supported by the Popish bishops: but the Court carried it against them.

The Parliament at the same time made the Conge d'elire unnecessary; the bishops hereafter being to be made by the King's Letters Patent, upon which they were to be consecrated. And the processes, which were formerly carried on in the Bishop's names,

were henceforth to be carried on in the King's name, and sealed with the King's seal : but Letters of Orders, and Collation of Benefices, were still to pass under the Bishop's seal as formerly.

What further reformation the Convocation thought necessary, appears from what passed in their several sessions this year, from November 5 to December the 17th, and their four petitions to the bishops. The first was, that, according to the statute made in the reign of the late King, there might be persons empowered for reforming the Ecclesiastical Laws. The want of such a digest was a notorious defect, as the King's supremacy in the church was expressed in the statute to be ' a power to visit, correct, repress, redress, reform, restrain, order, and amend, all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, as by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may *lawfully* be reformed.' And what might *lawfully* be reformed was rendered greatly uncertain by the statute in his 25th year, which orders only such canons to be received ' as were not contrary to the laws and customs of the realm, or to the damage or hurt of the King's prerogative.' Till a certain system of laws was compiled, the determination of the Ecclesiastical Judges would be too arbitrary, and the people be ignorant to what laws they were subject. The second was, that according to the antient custom of this nation, as they assert, the Clergy of the Lower House might associate with the Lower House of Parliament ; or else that no statutes and ordinances concerning matters of religion and causes ecclesiastical might pass without their assent. The third, that a Book of uniform Order in the Divine Service of the Church, devised by certain prelates and learned men, appointed by the commandment of Henry viii. may be perused and examined for a better expedition in Divine Service. The fourth was, That some consideration might be had for the maintenance of the Clergy, the first year they came to their livings, in which they were charged with First Fruits.

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They likewise agreed unanimously that the sacrament should be received in both kinds. And with respect to vows of celibacy to be voided, and the liberty of marriage restored to the Clergy, fifty three were affirmant, and only twenty two against it. Among the affirmants were several, neither then married, and who never used the liberty afterward, which they conscientiously vindicated to others. With whom concurred Bishop Ridley, both in opinion of the lawfulness of marriage in the Clergy, and in the practice of chaste celibacy, as most expedient when in their power and voluntary; though he is not reckoned in these numbers, as belonging to the Upper House.

After the rising of the Parliament, Winchester ^{1548.} was called before the Council January 8, and set at liberty by the King's general pardon. But the Council asked him, whether he and all his diocese would receive the Injunctions and Homilies, lately made. He said, he would conform to all, and injoin his diocese so to do: only he hesitated at the Homily of Justification by *Faith*, and not by *Works*; concerning which he desired some days to consider. And to satisfy and persuade him in this point Bishop Ridley with Cecil were sent to him. What success they had with him is not mentioned: but it appears that he went down to his diocese, receiving and obeying the book of service, and orders for religion, and all the proclamations, statutes and injunctions that were then set forth by the King's authority; as did also the ministers of his diocese.

At the same time Gardiner and Ridley were appointed to deal with two Anabaptists of Kent. Divers of that sect had fled from Germany hither, and began to infect the realm with strange and heretical opinions; and particularly spake contemptibly of the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper. Wherefore at the same time
that

that Ridley exhorted Gardiner to receive the true doctrine of justification, against which he was very refractory, he prayed him to be very diligent in confounding the Anabaptists in his diocese; and that he would be steady in defence of the sacrament against them. And this the Bishop of Winchester so reported to some in his house after Ridley was gone, as if he had approved a Carnal Presence. His opinion of a true, spiritual, efficacious Presence by grace to the faithful receiver, and abhorrence of the light indecent manner in which many treated this sacrament, were represented either maliciously or inaccurately, by those who knew not how to preserve a medium, as an avowance of gross Transubstantiation: an opinion, which, as we have seen, he had forsaken above two years before.

By the 8th of March the new Communion Book was prepared, and published with the King's Proclamation prefixt, enjoining the use of it; and advising men to content themselves with following authority, and not to run before it: lest by their rashness they should become the greatest hinderers of such things, as they, more arrogantly than godly, would seem, by their own private authority, most hotly to set forward.

Notwithstanding this provision and proclamation, various different ways of worship were used. Some according to the use of Sarum, others the use of York, some of Bangor, and some of Lincoln. Others, who liked not these Popish forms, or Latin service, used English forms according as their own fancies led them.

Wherefore to prevent this different serving of God, by which great divisions and contentions happened, the King resolved to have one Form of Prayer composed, which alone, and none other should be used throughout his realm. And that this might be drawn up after the best manner, the most learned and discrete bishops and divines were chosen to be employed in this business. The same who drew up the Communion Service; who are commonly

monly reported to have been, the Archbishop of Canterbury; six bishops, Day of Chichester, Goodrich of Ely, Skyp of Hereford, Holbeach of Lincoln, Ridley of Rochester, and Thirlby of Westminster; four Deans, May of St. Pauls, Taylor of Lincoln, Haines of Exeter, and Cox of Westminster, and Christ-Church, Oxon; with Robertson, Archdeacon of Leicester, and Dr. Redman, Master of Trinity-College, Cambridge. These accordingly met in May at Windsor, and prepared it ready to be confirmed by the parliament that sate November 24th following, and enjoined the use of it to commence at the ensuing Whitsuntide.

This Book was probably compiled by only a few of the Commissioners; discussed, and assented to by others; and when enacted, protested against by Day, Skip, and Thirlby.

It may not be disagreeable to the Reader to see what was done at that time, how it differed from the Mass Book, why so much was altered, and why no more.

The prejudices in favor of the old superstitions in some, and the indiscrete abhorrence of every thing that belonged to them in others, made the Reformers sensible of the difficulty in endeavouring to bring them to an accommodation. Those judicious men saw, and complained, that ‘the minds of men were so divers, that some
‘thought it a great matter of conscience to depart from a piece of
‘the least of their ceremonies, they were so addicted to their old
‘customs. And again on the other side, some were so new fangled,
‘that they would innovate all things, and so despise the old, that
‘nothing could like them but what was new.’ Under this difficulty they conducted themselves like sensible men, and good Christians; they ‘thought it expedient, not so much to have respect
‘how to please and satisfy either of these parties, as how to please
‘God, and profit them both.’ By correcting the superstition of
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^a Discourse of Ceremonies, placed at the end of Edward viith's first book.

^b Discourse of Ceremonies.

the one, and restraining the extravagance of the other. So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like churches, in *all things* which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, ‘ it doth
 ‘ with reverence retain those ceremonies, which do neither enda-
 ‘ mage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men :
 ‘ and only departed from them in those particular points, wherein
 ‘ they were faln, both from themselves in their antient integrity,
 ‘ and from the apostolical churches which were their first foun-
 ‘ ders. ’

Of these Ceremonies ‘ some had entered into the church by in-
 ‘ discrete devotion, and such a zeal as was without knowledge ;
 ‘ these, as unprofitable and obscuring the glory of God, were entire-
 ‘ ly rejected : others, were at the first of godly intent and purpose
 ‘ devised, yet at length, partly by the superstitious blindness of the
 ‘ rude and unlearned, and partly by the unsatiable avarice of such
 ‘ as sought more their own lucre than the glory of God, were turn-
 ‘ ed to vanity and superstition : these also it was necessary to re-
 ‘ move, because the abuses could not well be taken away, the thing
 ‘ remaining still. Others there were, which although they had
 ‘ been devised by man, yet as intended to serve to a decent order
 ‘ and godly discipline, and were apt to stir up the dull mind of
 ‘ man to the remembrance of his duty to God by some notable
 ‘ and special signification, whereby they might be edified ; these
 ‘ it was thought good to reserve still ’.

Their first care was, that all, and the whole of the offices, should be in English ; completing what the late King began in the 37th year of his reign, when he had the Primer translated into English,
 ‘ that the purport of the prayer being easy to be understood might
 ‘ beget attention, and attention might encrease devotion. Where-

as

‘ as formerly a languor, slothfulness, and averfeness to prayer was
 ‘ the usual fruit of offering it in a language not ordinarily under-
 ‘ stood ‘.

And in this point not only all the Commissioners agreed, (some of whom, on other accounts, protested against the new Liturgy;) but the reasons were so evident to all, that there was an universal consent to it throughout the kingdom. At least there appeared to be so; for Ridley in a letter to West, once his Chaplain, but relapsed under the Marian persecution, in order to prove that West and the rest of the Papists acted against conscience in using the old Latin service again, urges this instance; ‘ When I was in of-
 ‘ fice, says he, all that were esteemed learned in God’s word, agreed
 ‘ this to be a truth in God’s word written, that the Common Pray-
 ‘ er of the church should be had in the Common tongue. You
 ‘ know I have conferred with many, and I ensure you, I never
 ‘ found man (so far as I do remember) neither Old nor New, Gos-
 ‘ peller nor Papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to
 ‘ be of a contrary opinion. If *then* it were a truth of God’s word,
 ‘ think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth?
 ‘ If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confes-
 ‘ sion and maintenance of this truth received once of us all?’
 Whence I conclude Dr. Heylin mistaken, when he says, ‘ that this
 ‘ in particular gave great offence to the Roman party ‘.

The almost infinite variety and intricacies of the Breviary and Missal forbid me to attempt an exact collation; only so much of them as may serve to give a general view how the New and Old Service differed from each other.

In the daily service at Mattins the Reformers began, as the Romans did, with the Lord’s Prayer; because in this they agreed with the primitive church: but omitted the *Ave Maria*, in which

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* Preface to Henry VIIIth’s Primer.

† Martyr’s Letters.

‡ Hist. Reform. p. 66.

the Virgin Mary was desired to pray for them ; a practice unknown to the early Christians, nor introduced till about the year of Christ 470 by Peter the Fuller, Bishop of Antioch. This was followed by the Apostle's Creed in the Roman Church, which our Reformers introduced into a more convenient place, after reading the scriptures, as it is a summary of truths collected from those scriptures. All these were mumbled secretly by the Romish Priests : but what the Reformers retained they directed to be recited aloud.

Then follow in the Roman Service, to be pronounced with an audible voice, the Versicles, Gloria Patri, and Allelujah. Which, as authorised by the antient church, and neither contrary to sound doctrine, nor superstitiously abused, were retained. Only omitting the two Crossings which the priest was directed to make ; at the first versicle, to sign himself with his thumb with the sign of the cross ; and at the second, to make a large cross with his hand extended from his forehead to his breast, and from his left shoulder to his right. To this succeeded the Invitatory, which altered according to the feast or season : but in Henry VIIIth Primer it is the *Ave Maria* again, which therefore our divines expunged.

The *Venite exultemus* was retained, sung alternately according to the antient custom. To this was subjoined in the Romish Church a metrical Hymn of a more modern composition, varied according to the day ; in which variety were some good, and some very indifferent, all of which our Reformers made no scruple to reject.

Then were read the Psalms ; which, though divided into seven large portions called *Nocturns*, yet of late they were not gone through with ; a few of them only having been daily said, and the rest omitted. In Henry VIIIth's Primer the VIII. XVIII. XXIII. are appointed. This they so regulated, as that reading a convenient portion every morning and evening the whole book of Psalms might be repeted over every month. And at the end of every Psalm the *Gloria Patri* was introduced, agreeably to the second Canon of

of the Council of Narbon, Anno Domini 589. After the Psalms followed in order an Anthem, Verse, the Lord's Prayer, Absolution, and Benediction, with long and short Responds in the middle and at the end of the Lessons; which, as breaking the continual course of reading the scriptures, were judged to be more conveniently laid aside ^a.

The Lessons followed next; a practice derived from the Jewish to the Christian Church, in both which they were read in order, so as to go through the scriptures once a year; that the ministers in the congregation by often reading God's word might be stirred up to godliness themselves, and more able also to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were adversaries to the truth: and further, that the people, by daily hearing of holy scripture read in the church, might continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of his true religion. But this godly and decent order of the antient Fathers had been so altered, broken, and neglected by planting in uncertain stories, and legends, ~~with~~ multitude of responds, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations and synodals, that commonly, when any book of the bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread ^b. Our Divines therefore appointed Two Lessons, that the Old and New Testament might be orderly read through; and entirely rejected such Lessons as were not scripture, whether taken out of the Homilies of the Fathers, or those ridiculous tales which were selected out of the Roman Legends. And instead of the Respond, which in Henry VIIIth's Primer, after the First Lesson, was *God, the Son of God vouchsafe to bless and succour us*: and, after the second, *Pray for us, Holy Mother of God, that we be made worthy to attain the promises of Christ*: the Reformers inserted that noble hymn of St. Ambrose

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called

^a Concerning the Service of the Church,

^b Concerning the Service of the Church,

called *Te Deum*, after the First Lesson ; which was sometimes used instead of the Respond after the third lesson in the Roman Service : and, after the Second, they appointed the *Benedictus*, borrowed from the Lauds, which were now to follow in the Breviary, beginning with *O God make speed to save us* ; then the LXVITH Psalm, Dan. III. Psalm CXLVIII. with an anthem, and an address to the Virgin Mary as it is in Henry VIIIth's Primer, a metrical hymn, and *Benedictus*, with another anthem. Instead of all these, the *Benedictus* only was retained. And this instructive part of hymns and lessons was closed by a publick recital of the Apostles Creed ; which had formerly been used to be softly said by the officiating priest alone at the beginning of Mattins, as before observed. In the Breviary the Creed of St. Athanasius was ordinarily appointed on Sundays ; instead of which the Reformers appointed the Apostles Creed, except on the feasts of Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday.

And now applying themselves to their devotions, our divines thought it highly proper to give the preference to that prayer which Christ himself enjoined to be used. The Breviary had inserted it between the Psalms and Lessons ; and when they had three *Nocturns*, they repeted it after each ; and again at the end of the Collects. The repetition of it after the Psalms seems unnecessary, as the mind is not then addressing itself to any new duty or service. As to the placing it in the beginning, or at the close of their devotions, both are supported by the antient church. Tertullian witnesses for prefixing it^a, and Austin for subjoining it^b. Indeed it is not improbable but that they used it both *before* and *after* their other prayers ; for so the *Kaddish*, into the place of which

^a Tertull. de Orat. præmissâ legitimâ et ordinariâ oratione, quasi fundamento, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones.

^b Epist. 55 ad Paul. Ferè omnis Ecclesia Dominica Oratione concludit.

which this succedes, was used among the Jews^c. And in the Roman Breviary, though not in K. Henry's Primer, the *Kurie eleeson* and Lord's Prayer at some seasons followed the *Benedictus* immediately before the Suffrages and Collects as well as at the close of Mattins.

The suffrages or *Preces* in the Breviary were now reduced and disposed in a different order. The Two first are instead of Six to the like purpose. *Endue thy Priests with righteousness: And make thy chosen people joyful* was said before the Suffrages for the King. Then followed those for the people. Afterward came fourteen more for the congregation, the dead, the absent, and the afflicted. In the room of which the Reformers substituted, *Give peace in our time, O Lord: Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God*, borrowed from the anthem at Vespers; which they did on Account of their ill situation abroad at that time; Scotland being then in the councils of France, France itself at war with them, the Emperour very cold in his friendship, on account of religion, Germany unable to help, and the Pope an avowed enemy.

Then came the Collects, of these there had been great variety in the primitive church: those which our divines have made choice of out of the Mass Book are the oldest that have escaped the wreck of time; as most approved of when the compositions of hereticks, infusing their own leaven, occasioned a decree of the Council of Milevis, A. D. 402. that no Collects should be used in the church, but what had the approbation of a synod. After which there was a collection made of them for the use of the church; and a second review and compilation made by Gregory the Great toward the close of that century. From him the Roman church, and we from them, have derived the collects proper for the day; which Dr. Nichols,

^c Legatus Ecclesiae semper recitat *Kaddish* ante, et post omnem orationem quam in publico fundit.

Nichols, with great probability, supposes to have been composed within the interval above mentioned, when the Pelagian heresy was diligently opposed; against the poison of which these appear to have been framed, from the frequent petitions for divine grace, and from the assertions of the imbecility of human will and power.

Those appointed for Sundays were generally retained by the Reformers: but those for Saints days were many of them omitted, and the rest altered. The commemorations of saints had greatly increased since the times of Gregory, and were, most of them, comparatively, very modern compositions. Down so low as the days of St. Austin we hear of no more days peculiarly set apart than the Lord's Day, the commemoration of his birth, death, resurrection, and ascension, and the coming of the Holy Ghost. Of all these, except that of the Nativity, that Father makes mention: and that the day of the Nativity was observed before his time is plain from Nicephorus, who informs us, that Maximinus in the third century destroyed some thousands of Christians at Nicomedia, by burning the temple in which they were assembled to celebrate the Nativity of their Lord^a. And that about the year 400 this feast was translated to the 25th of December from the 6th of January, on which it used to be observed, and thence obtained the name of the Epiphany or Theophany, from Christ's appearance in the flesh, and not his manifestation to the world. The Eastern Christians altered the day about this time in compliance with the Romans, as Chrysostom witnesses. Indeed it had been a practice, earlier than this time, to meet on the anniversaries of their martyrs at their tombs, to commemorate their passion and constancy without either festival or invocation, to animate the faithful to the like Christian fortitude. Wherefore their collects ran in this frame, *Grant, O God, that we may be encouraged by Their examples, whose virtues*
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^a Lib. vii. c. 6.

we celebrate ; or, that we may imitate Their actions, whose passion we commemorate. In Constantine's days their festivals were instituted, and orations spoken in their honor : in which, rhetorical apostrophes and addresses to the deceased introduced by degrees a serious invocation of them. At first, only for their intercession : but at length, for safety, protection, and even salvation from them. Nay they proceeded to the absurdity of even invoking their relicts. For though Bellarmine says, it was never heard among Christians that divine honors were offered to the relicts of saints, yet Vasquez says, it was an indubitable truth, that they ought to be adored. Bellarmine indeed appeals to facts, and asks, whoever invoked them ? Or heard of such an address as this, O holy relicts, pray for us ? His readers may be referred to the church of Aquitain, in which the handkerchief of Christ, and the napkin on which he celebrated his last supper were invoked ; *O holy Handkerchief, pray for us. The Handkerchief of Christ from plague and death deliver us. O most holy Napkin of God, pray for us*^a. Even in England something very like it appeared, with regard to the wood of the cross, in their hymn or *sequence* on the exultation of the cross, in which they address themselves to it directly,

Thou Medicine to the Christian soul,
Heal the diseas'd, and save the whole !
What human power cannot controul,
Is in Thy name effected ^b.

These

^a Sancte sudari, ora pro nobis. Sudarium Christi liberet nos à peste et morte tristi. Sanctissima Dei mappa, ora pro nobis.

^b O Crux, signum triumphale,

Mundi vera salus, vale !

Inter ligna nullum tale,

Fronde, flore, germine,

Medicina Christiana,

Salva sanos, ægros fana,

Quod non valet vis humana

Fit in tuo nomine,

Sequentia in Missa secundum usum

Sarum in die exaltationis sanctæ crucis,

These festivals and commemorations encreased prodigiously after Pope Adrian assumed the privilege of canonizing new saints; which was about the year 880. This is very evident even in our own church in the compass of five hundred and fifty years; for in the Benedictional of Athelwood, Bishop of Winchester, about the year 970^a, there appear to have been but thirty six apostles, evangelists, martyrs and saints commemorated, except the general commemoration on All Saints day: whereas in the service *secundum usum Sarum*, besides eleven thousand virgins on the 21st of October, and All Saints, and All Souls in November, there are no less than two hundred names particularly commemorated. Our Reformers therefore provided in their service for no more festivals than those of the apostles and evangelists, with a general commemoration of All Saints. And even for these the collects were not proper, being framed in general to pray for the intercession and patronage of him whose memory they celebrated; that *through his merits and intercession God would grant us the divine protection, pardon, and everlasting felicity.*

The second collect was, ‘that we receive spiritual blessings in this life and the next, through the intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary.’ A third, for All Saints, ‘that the intercession of the Holy Mother of God, of all the heavenly powers, of the blessed Patriarchs, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, and of all God’s Elect might make us every where to rejoice, that while we celebrate their merits we might receive their protection.’ A fourth, for the whole church. And the last, for peace; which was the same with our second at evening prayer. The Reformers, omitting those idolatrous prayers, made their second collect, for peace, both at morning and evening prayer; the morning collect was taken from the post communion, and the evening one from the collect of the *Missa pro pace*. Their third collect was, in the morning, for grace; in the evening, for aid
against

^a E MS. pervetusto quondam D. Compton Episcopi Londin. peculio.

against all perils, taken from the Greek liturgies. And here their daily service ended : in the Breviary they proceeded thus, *The Lord be with you. And with thy Spirit. Let us bless the Lord. Thanks be to God. May the souls of the faithful by the mercy of God rest in peace. Amen.* Then the officiating Clerk said the Lord's Prayer secretly, and closed the service.

They, who represent our Reformers as angrily rejecting the service of the Roman Church, in which they had been educated, as pleasing men more than God, or indulging their own humor ; may see here what great regard they shewed to the Roman practice, where it was not contrary to scripture, and was agreeable to primitive antiquity. They, on the other hand, who represent them as doing little, may observe ten material differences of the Reformed Common Prayer from the Roman ; 1. The service in the language which the people know. 2. Scripture Lessons instead of Legends. 3. The scriptures orderly read through, instead of a broken and interrupted course. 4. The Creed more properly disposed. 5. The Lord's Prayer, more agreeable to Christ's appointment, before reading, and prayer. 6. Repeated aloud, instead of secretly. 7. The Ave Mary, and commemoration of the Virgin omitted. 8. The metrical Hymns rejected. 9. As also Prayers for the Dead : and, 10. Addresses to Saints : together with the superstitious consecrating and exorcising salt, water, bread, incense, candles, palms, leaves of flowers, grapes, fire, bells, images, altars, crosses, vessels, and garments.

We now procede to the reforming of the Communion Service, which is the principal part of the Christian devotion, and is properly *The Service* or Liturgy of the Church. In the Roman Order, while the priest is robing himself, was sung the *Veni Creator, Spiritus*. And then, where the Reformers begin, the collect *Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open.* To this succeeded a Psalm for an anthem, retained by our divines under the name of

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the *Introitus*. The *Kurie eleeson*, and *Pater noster* followed, which were also retained : but the *Ave Maria*, a verse out of the Psalms called the *Office*, and *Gloria Patri* were left out. As were likewise the Confession of priest and people to God, to the blessed Virgin, to all Saints, and mutually to one another, of their having sinned in thought, word, and deed, and beseeching the Holy Virgin, and all holy people of God, and one another to pray for them : together with the absolution, the priest's kissing the deacon, and subdeacon, with a petition to God that he would take from them all their iniquities, that they might be worthy with pure minds to enter the Holy of Holies ; the priest kissing the altar, signing himself in the face, blessing the incense, the deacon kissing the priest's hand, the priest kissing the incense pot, the middle and both sides of the altar, and the deacon's censuring the priest. These, as too superstitious, and contrary to the primitive practice (for Justin Martyr says expressly, ‘ We have been taught not to worship God ‘with blood, incense, and libations’^a) were all rejected.

The *Gloria in excelsis*, or Glory to God on high, with the additions by Hilary of Poitiers were next appointed by the Committee ; but not with those more modern additions of the Papists, converting the Hymn to the Glory of the Virgin Mary, who after the words, *receive our prayer*, insert, *to Mary's Glory*. And read the last clause thus, *For thou only art Holy*, making Mary Holy ; *Thou only art the Lord*, governing Mary ; *Thou only art the most High* ; crowning Mary, *O Jesus Christ with the Holy Spirit in the glory of God the Father*.

Then with *The Lord be with you*. *And with thy Spirit*. *Let us pray*, follows the collect for the day, of which enough has been observed in the order for the daily service. Instead of other collects, which out of a variety provided, were always superstitious-

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^a Ανευδὴν ἀμάλων καὶ σπονδῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν.

ly enjoined to be odd, three, five, or seven, the Reformers added to the collect for the day only one more, for the King.

After the collects the epistle for the day was read, which our divines retained; though in the Mozarabick order there was a portion of scripture out of the Old Testament or Prophets, which preceded the Epistle; and this was agreeable to the antient practice, as we see in the Apostolical Constitutions^a. But that liturgy was suppressed by Pope Hildebrand, A. D. 1080, to make way for *The Roman Order*; which our Reformers did not choose to alter by making additions, but by retrenching superfluities.

Betwixt the Epistle and Gospel were inserted in the Romish Church, 1. The Responorium, or *Gradual*, two verses of the Psalms sung alternately. 2. Either the *Tractus*, some passages of scripture mournfully sung in token of sorrow in Lent, and the Ember weeks; or *Allelujab* at other times. 3. A ridiculous *rythmical Ode* in monkish measure, whose antiquity does not rise higher than the 9th century. All these were now omitted, and immediately after the Epistle they read the Gospel: not with that pompous superstition as was practised before, censuring the altar, proceeding with the book solemnly carried to the desk, preceded by incense, wax-lights, and the cross, the priest crossing the book, and himself first in the forehead, and then on the breast. This ceremony of lighting tapers was, I believe, very antient; for we find it objected to in the days of Jerome, as impertinent: and by him defended as a symbol of joy and gladness. For which purpose they had been formerly used in the Jewish synagogues^b. Not that it appears that the privacy of the early Christian's

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^a Apostolic. Constit. Lib. XII. Tum lector stans è superiori loco aliquam scripturæ è Veteri Testamento pericopen legebat: post lectionem Hymni Davidici populo initia versuum concinente in Ecclesiâ resonabant. Hymnis dictis ex Epistolâ quâdam Novi Testamenti, vel ex Apostolorum Actibus sacer textus legebatur, et, interfertis hymnis, Evangelium.

^b Solent in his (Synagogis) accendere lucernas, honoris causâ. *Orach Chajim*. Est omnino obligatorium, ut lucerna in Sabbatho in ædibus suis accensa sit, quod pertinet ad Sabbathi

tian's worship admitted them. They seem to have been introduced after Constantine's time at the tombs and reliëts of the saints : and Jerome acknowledges a superstitious abuse of them even in his time, by some simple men and women of more zeal than knowledge. Instead of this *symbol of joy* the Reformers substituted the *reality*; requiring, after the Gospel was named, the people to give glory to God : and at the close of it to return thanks.

These scriptures were followed by a recital of the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed ; first introduced by Timothy, Patriarch of Constantinople, about the year 511 : but not brought into the Roman service till 1014.

After the Creed came an Exposition of scripture, which the Greeks called an homily, and the Latins a tract or sermon ; the use of it was to explaine or apply the scripture that had been just before read to the congregation. A practice from the Jewish synagogue transferred to the apostolical church, and from thence continued to this day. And the sermons at the Reformation, like those of the antient Fathers, instead of the legendary tales of the Romanists, or our modern desultory discourses and essays, were generally expositions of the Gospel for the day, or homilies, drawn up for less exercised preachers, stating the scripture doctrine of salvation, which had been so long corrupted by the impositions of the Church of Rome.

If there was no exhortation in the sermon to the worthy receiving the holy sacrament, then an exhortation was provided to be read for that purpose, printed in the Common Prayer Book ; in which, against the Revilers of the Elements, they are called *holy mysteries, the pledge of Christ's love, and the remembrance of his own blessed body and precious blood* ; and, against Transubstantiation, it is added, for us to feed upon *spiritually* to our endless comfort and consolation.

Sabbathi delicias. *Maimon.* Pariter in Talmude legimus accendendam esse lucernam in honorem diei festi. *Vitring. de Synag.*

consolation. And for the more worthy receiving of it by the preparation of a good life, a second exhortation informs them, that without a good life, 'neither the Absolution of the priest can any thing avale them, nor the receiving this Holy Sacrament doth any thing but encrease their damnation.' Directing the scrupulous 'to go to some discrete and learned priest, taught in God's law, and confess his sin and grief secretly, that he may receive such ghostly council, advice, and comfort, that his conscience may be relieved.' Requiring, 'such as shall be satisfied with a general confession not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confession to the priest: nor those also which think it needful or convenient for the quietness of their own consciences particularly to open their sins to the priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession to the church. But in all things to follow and keep the rule of charity, and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judging men's minds or consciences, whereas he has no warrant of God's word for the same.' This was exactly according to the opinion and judgment of the Bishop of Rochester; who, though he vindicated men's liberty as to this point of auricular confession, and insisted that it was not absolutely necessary to salvation, yet, as he declares in his letter to West (written when he was in prison) he approved it in many cases as profitable. 'Confession to the minister, which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, and wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation: and so I assure you I think even at this day'.

Next was sung one or more of the sentences during the offertory: And now the Elements are to be placed upon the table or altar; which

which is done with great ceremony by the Church of Rome, with this prayer, ‘ O Holy Trinity, receive this oblation, which I, ‘ unworthy sinner, offer to the honor of thee, and of the blessed ‘ Mary, and of all thy saints, for my sins and offences, and for the ‘ health of the living, and for the rest (peace) of all the faithful ‘ departed. In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be ‘ this new sacrifice acceptable to Almighty God.’ Where the Virgin Mary and All Saints are made partakers of the same honor as is given to the Holy Trinity. Instead of this excess, deservedly laid aside, some of us have slovenly fallen into an opposite one, by permitting the Elements to be indecently offered and placed upon the table by the clerk or sexton, contrary to our rubrick.

As to the Elements themselves, the Romans used unleavened wafers, stamped with a crucifix; and our Reformers ordered, ‘ that ‘ for avoiding all matters and occasions of dissention, it is meet that ‘ the bread prepared for the Communion be made through all this ‘ realm after one sort and fashion, that is to say, unleavened and ‘ round, as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more large and thicker than it was, that so it may be aptly ‘ divided in divers pieces.’ The wine, in the Roman Church, was to be mixt with a little water; and by the rubrick of Edw. sixth’s First Book, it was ordered to be mixt, ‘ putting thereto a little pure ‘ and clean water.’ As these were supposed to be the Elements which Christ used at the institution of his supper, when the prints and stamps were taken away, the use of them might be very innocently enjoined: and the enjoining them by our first Committee of Divines was agreeable to their general principle, particularly that of Ridley, who tells us in his letter to West, ‘ Sodain changes ‘ without substantial and necessary cause, and the heady setting ‘ forth of extremities, I did never love.’ Wherefore Renandot
speaks

speaks in the spirit of his party, rash, groundless, and intemperate in his censures, when he represents the Compilers of our Liturgy as conspirators against the Church of Rome, whose prime maxim it was to depart from their service as far as ever they possibly could^a.

The crossings, censings, and kissings, that follow in the Mass Book, were all omitted. But the *Sursum corda*, and some of the prefaces were retained, with the hymn *Therefore with angels and archangels*. Beside the five prefaces which we still retain, the Romanists may plead antiquity in favor of four more; viz. the Epiphany, the feast of the Apostles, the feast of the Cross, and in times of fasting; I mean as far back as Pelagius II. Anno Domini 577, who mentions these nine, as then observed from the practice of many ages past: but he adds, *these only* were to be observed. So that the preface in honor of the Virgin Mary was not yet framed, as she was not yet grown to be the principal object of worship in the Roman Church. The Reformers very cautiously abstained from any superstitious veneration of the creature; and honored no days with a particular preface, but such as related to the Birth, Resurrection, or Ascension of Christ, the descent of the Holy Ghost, or the Blessed Trinity.

Then followed the prayer called, according to the Eastern Church, *de omnibus & pro omnibus*; by the Romans *pro vivis & mortuis*; and by the Reformers *For the whole state of Christ's Church here on earth*. The Romanists make this Commemoration of Christ's Death a propitiatory sacrifice for the Living and the Dead; the Reformers accompanied it, like the ancients, with the prayers of charity in their behalf. While therefore the Papists by a late superstition pray for protection through the merits and intercessions of the Virgin, Apostles, and Martyrs, and recommend to God's mercy the souls of particular persons departed, that they with all others may

^a Hæc fuit prima Conjuratorum adversus Romanam Ecclesiam tessera, ut ab ejus disciplina quam longissimè recederent. Liturg. Orient. Dissert. p. 15.

may enjoy a place of refreshment, light, and peace ; misapplying these addresses to the support of the lucrative doctrine of Purgatory : our Reformers gave God ‘ most high praise and hearty thanks for ‘ the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all his saints from the ‘ beginning of the world.’ Whose examples and steadfastness in his faith, and keeping his holy commandments they beg he would grant them his grace to follow : and then, not for base lucre, to deliver souls from purgatory, but with a primitive love and charity, commending to God’s mercy all other God’s servants, which are departed hence with the sign of faith, and now rest in the sleep of peace : ‘ beseeching God to grant them everlasting peace, and that ‘ at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they that be of ‘ the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right ‘ hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come, O ye that be ‘ blessed of my Father.’

Prayers for the dead were doubtless antient ; Tertullian mentions them as a traditional custom in his time, which was in the beginning of the third century : but at first those prayers were encomiums upon the dead, and thanksgivings to God for their exemplary lives ; and offered up to God, not for the souls of the departed to benefit them, but for the profit of the living, that they might be excited to an imitation of their virtues, inflamed with a desire of their happiness, and strengthened in the faith of a resurrection and eternal rewards. For thus we learn from the forged Dionysius, who (though forged) is nevertheless a witness for the 5th age of Christianity. He asks^a, seeing the dead man hath already that which he shall have, why doth the priest pray over his corpse for his felicity ? He answers, that it may be declared to them that stand by, what God hath promised to the faithful, giving comfort and assurance to the people present, both of the resurrection, and the bestowing of eternal rewards. So that the priest therein, under

^a De Ecclesiasticâ Hierarchiâ.

der the pretence of prayer, only performs the part of God's interpreter. It must not however be denied that, even in the close of the fourth century, false opinions had obtained of the dead being benefited by the prayers of the living ; as appears from the objections of Acrius, to which Epiphanius replied ^a nearly in the same manner as Dionysius. From which objections and replies we may learn, that in prayers for the dead, as a testimony of our charity, as an excitement to virtue, as a declaration of their present existence, and happiness, and of our faith in accounting to God hereafter for our behaviour, the objectors had nothing to censure : but when offered up in confidence that the dead had their pains released or mitigated, or their felicity encreased by means of such prayers, these were excesses which even the vindicators of the practice would not defend. And it should be observed, in evidence that they presumed not that their prayers would release from pain or purgatory those whom they prayed for, that in the oldest liturgies the souls of the patriarchs, apostles, saints, martyrs, and confessors are joined in the same address with the souls of all others whom they prayed for, even the Virgin Mother herself ^b.

But this ranging all the dead, who had been baptized, in the same class with prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and to pray for their happiness, in heaven, as if they had ^{not} already attained it, disgusted St. Austin ; who thought this presumption injurious to a martyr, whose intercession for us we should rather desire, than pretend to intercede for him. For others, says he, the prayers of the church obtain remission of sin, mitigation of pain, release from punishment, access to the kingdom of God ^c. This was the second stage of this custom, and a great advance beyond the original design

^a Hæresis LXXV.

^b Horum omnium animabus dona requiem in sanctis tuis tabernaculis, in regno tuo, largiens eis promissionum tuarum bona. Liturg. Alexandr.

^c Sermo XVII. de verbis Apostol.

sign. The last stage of it was the idolatrous and oppressive abuse in the Church of Rome ; directing our prayers to Patriarchs, Apostles, Saints, Martyrs, the Virgin Mary, and even to Miscreants canonized, that their abundant merits may be transferred to us, and that purchased masses might redeme the souls of our friends and relations from purgatory. This our Reformers with a just indignation expunged, and reverted back, beyond St. Austin, to the primitive design ; praising God for the wonderful graces and virtues declared in all his saints from the beginning of the world ; and proposing them as examples for our imitation ; expressing our charity towards all others departed hence in the sign of faith, that they may enjoy mercy and everlasting peace ; and directing our faith to a future recompence.

With this is connected the Consecration Prayer ; which prayer and the order in which it is placed is warranted by the antient liturgies. From the beginning of this prayer to the time of the priest's receiving the elements there were in the Roman service a great number of crossings, no less than seven and twenty : our Reformers knowing in what high regard and esteem the Cross of Christ was from the time that he wrought our redemption upon it, and ought to be among Christians to the end of the world ; notwithstanding the great abuse, superstition and idolatry which had been occasioned by it, ventured to retain it twice, over the elements, in token, by so retaining it, that they were not ashamed of the cross of Christ : and by rejecting the so frequent use of it, as had before prevailed, testifying their dislike and fear of any superstitious abuse. They consecrated in this manner ; ' Hear us, O merciful Father, ' we beseech thee, and with thy blessed spirit and word vouchsafe ' to bl⁺ess and sanc⁺tify these thy gifts and creatures of bread ' and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy ' most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, who in the same night ' that he was betrayed took bread.' (To be said without any elevation

vation or shewing to the people.) Now, though the piety of their intent, and the practice of great antiquity might justify our Reformers in this, yet I doubt not but at the second review it was judged, that retaining the crossings just at this place would be apt to mislead the people, long accustomed to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as if these crosses were essential to consecration, and worked that stupendous effect of converting the elements into the natural body and blood of Christ. Their omitting it therefore at the second review was a good remedy against that evil: and the mind being directed, in that prayer, to meditate on the cross, and Christ's oblation of himself upon it for the sins of the whole world, and to receive the bread and wine in remembrance of his death and passion, the pious design of our Reformers is sufficiently preserved. For signs and words are meant only to excite the mind: it is a maxim mentioned in the *Cantelæ Missæ*, *magna latent in signis, majora in verbis, maxima in intentione*. *Great secret benefits are produced by signs, greater by words, but the greatest by the mind*. Wherefore he who devoutly meditates on the cross needs neither words nor signs: but he who wants to have his thoughts awakened, where signs have been superstitiously abused, may be as effectually excited by words only.

Omitting the elevation and adoration of the Cross practised in the Church of Rome, our Divines (agreeably I believe to every Christian Church down to that time) commemorated Christ's blessed Passion, mighty Resurrection, and glorious Ascension, rendering most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And then proceeded with that prayer, which is since thrown into the Post-Communion, humbly desiring God to accept this their sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; which concludes, as the Roman does, 'command these our prayers and supplications by the ministry of thy holy angels, to be brought up in-
'to thy holy tabernacle, before the sight of thy divine Majesty,

‘not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences.’ And then, (passing over the prayers for the dead) agreeably to all the primitive liturgies now extant, this whole prayer is recommended by subjoining the *Pater noster*.

Then an exhortation, confession, absolution, sentences, and the prayer, ‘We do not presume to come to this thy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness,’ introduce the Communion itself in both kinds, saying at the delivery of the respective elements, ‘The body [or blood] of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given [or shed] for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.’ While they are communicating, is appointed to be sung, ‘O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us thy peace.’

After this, are repeated several sentences out of the scripture, containing precepts and encouragements to a holy life; to which succeeds our second Collect of Thanksgiving, ‘Almighty and ever-living God, we most heartily thank thee;’ and then the congregation was dismissed with the Blessing.

The Six Collects, as in our present books, to be said after the Offertory, when there is no Communion, follow; with one for rain, and another for fair weather.

The Litany is next in order, taken from that of Gregory: but expunging the idolatrous addresses made to saints in it. Many of these indeed had been added since Gregory’s time, though some must be referred to him. Gregory gathered it from the Apostolical Constitutions, the Office of St. Ambrose, and other antient Litanies. But he is himself said to be the first among the Latins who introduced into the Litanies the invocation of saints, and particularly that of the Virgin Mary, *Sancta Mater, ora pro nobis. Holy Mother, pray for us.* So that the first publick establishers of this idolatry in the Church were Peter, Bishop of Antioch in the East,

East, A. D. 470, and Gregory in the West, about one hundred and fifty years after. In the Roman Litany after the address to the Trinity follow above threescore idolatrous supplications to the Virgin Mary, Angels, Apostles, Evangelists, Saints, Martyrs, Bishops, Confessors, Doctors, Priests, Levites, Monks, Friars, Virgins and Widows, to pray for us. This Litany was ready purged to the hands of the Committee by Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, and was published in English the year before the Common Prayer Book came out. One clause was inserted in it, 'From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord deliver us.' From the year 570 the Litanies had been chiefly used in processions: but were now restored to their primitive places, the places of religious worship; and were appointed on Wednesdays and Fridays in the mornings; as also on Sundays, when the Communion Service was to be read after it, at the altar: and even if there was no Communion as far as to the offertory, after which one or more of those collects at the end of the service were appointed to be used.

A like care was taken in the other offices, needless here to be particularly run over: only observing, that in *Baptism* exorcism was used, the infant was anointed, thrice dipped, and had the chrysom put upon it^a: in *Confirmation* the Bishop was to cross the person in the forehead: in *Matrimony*, bracelets and jewels were to be given as tokens of spousals: in *Visiting the Sick*, unction on the forehead and breast, if desired, were allowed: in the *Funeral Service* the priest was to cast earth upon the corpse, and to recommend the soul to God: at *Churching* the woman was to offer up her chrysom^a.

Ceremonies, which having much in antiquity to plead for them, to which the people had been long habituated, and in themselves indifferent, the Committee found it inconvenient, if not impracticable, to drop; for even the alterations, which the majority thought

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^a The anointed linen cloth put upon infants newly baptized.

it *necessary* to make, were protested against by some of the Commissioners; Day of Chichester particularly refusing to subscribe to the regulations. Calvin indeed by a letter to the Protector advised a more thorough reformation of the Liturgy and Offices, and would not allow of this yielding to the times: but it was much easier to dictate imperiously at a distance, than to behave with propriety in the midst of the difficulties. Cranmer therefore, knowing the man, and the temper of the nation, refused the assistance which Calvin offered in framing the Liturgy. In which neither could Peter Martyr, nor Bucer be concerned; the former not arriving here till the end of November, after the Liturgy had been printed in June, though not confirmed by Parliament: and Bucer came not till some time after. It was so prudently tempered, rejecting only what they *necessarily must*, and yielding all they *innocently could*, that even Gardiner himself in the main approved it, as Bishop Burnet reports, from a view of large notes of his sermon preached on St. Peter's day, which was soon after the Common Prayer Book was first printed. In his sermon (says Bishop Burnet) he expressed himself very fully concerning the Pope's supremacy as justly abolished, and the suppression of monasteries and chantries; he approved of the King's proceedings; he thought indeed images might have been well used, but yet they might be well taken away; he approved of the sacrament in both kinds, and the taking away that great number of masses satisfactory, and liked well the new Order for the Communion: yet asserting largely the presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament, and saying nothing of the King's authority under age, nor of the power of the Council in that case; which were the two points, that he was chiefly required to preach upon. Wherefore for this studied neglect he was again imprisoned.

There has indeed an outcry been made against the Reformation, as only a Parliamentary Religion: but having been drawn up by the bishops, and best godly learned divines in the kingdom; passed
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in Convocation; approved of by Parliament; and confirmed by the King and his Council, it had all the sanction possible. It is true the sessions of that Convocation, and of the rest in this reign, were destroyed in the fire of London: but Dr. Abbot (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) tells us, ‘that when our religion, for the ordinary exercise of it, had been collected into the Book of Common Prayer by the pains and labor of many learned Men, and of mature judgment, it was afterwards confirmed by the Upper and Lower House: yet not so but that the more material points were disputed, and debated in the Convocation by men of both parties; and might have been further discussed so long as any Popish Divine had ought reasonably to say.’

The Popish Author of the Church History of England must say something to please his party in relating this transaction. He tells us, ‘they pretended to work upon the plan of the four Rituals hitherto used in England, viz. those of Sarum, York, Bangor, and Lincoln.’ And did they not do what they pretended to do? If they did, one would think a Roman Catholick would not censure them for paying such regard to their old rituals: and that they did, this writer acknowledges by saying that ‘it (the English Liturgy) varied very little, only in certain omissions, from the Latin Liturgy.’ These omissions he intimates were chiefly in discipline and ceremonies; and that ceremonies are not things of the greatest consequence; and that of the old ones it might perhaps be imagined, even by the Popish Clergy, that there was a superfluity and abuse. If so, one would think, the Popish Clergy themselves being judges, our Reformers thus far deserved commendation. However he tells us ‘they made their exceptions; they alleged, that it was a bold undertaking to model anew the Liturgy of the Universal Church.’—What, did the Universal Church all over the world till the days of the Reformation use but one and the same Liturgy? Did the East and the West, the Greek and Latin Church, agree in using

using one common Order? Had not the Orientals several different Liturgies? Had not the Latins several Offices? Did not their Pope Gregory new model the Services that had been before him when he compiled his Sacramentary? And what was the advice which the same Gregory gave to Austin the Monk in his mission to Us; 'Your Brotherhood knows, says he, the custom of the Roman Church in which you was brought up: but I am content that whatever you can find in the Roman, Gallican, or any Church, which may best please Almighty God, you do carefully choose that, and infuse into your new converted Church of England by a special institution, what you so gather from *several* churches; for things are not to be beloved for the places sake, but places are to be beloved for the good things that are there; wherefore out of every Church choose such things as are pious, religious, and right, and gathering these into one collection, deposit them for customs in the minds of the English.'

And in England did not Osmund frame that very service, which this writer calls the Liturgy of the Universal Church, so late as 1080? Which yet was not so general even in this kingdom but that the churches of York, Bangor and Lincoln had their several usages different from it? And was it a bolder undertaking in a national synod to new model those particular Liturgies, than it was in Osmund, and the respective Bishops of those other sees to new model the Liturgies that had been in use before; especially when it is allowed that in that Liturgy of the Universal Church, as this Author calls it, now to be new modelled, there might be a superfluity and an abuse of Ceremonies?

'But the omissions (he tells us,) were suspected of a design against the Christian Sacrifice.' They were indeed intended to drop the idolatry, absurdities, and corruptions, which time had introduced into it, and which were imposed upon the people; to restore it according to its divine institution, to an eucharistical sacrifice, commemorative of the one only full, perfect,

perfect and sufficient sacrifice, Christ Jesus; purged from the absurdity of believing that bread and wine were the natural flesh and blood of Christ; from the idolatry of worshipping that bread and wine as a God; and from the dishonor done to Christ's satisfaction, once made, in offering that bread and wine to propitiate for the sins of the Living and the Dead.

Lastly, it is urged by this Author 'as a piece of presumption to affirm, as the Act specifies, that it was carried on by the aid of the Holy Ghost.' This reflection falls upon the Act of Parliament rather than the Liturgy: but surely it is no blameable presumption to rely upon Christ's promises, who tells us that when two or three are gathered together in his name, he is there in the midst of them. Therefore when the King, whose heart God disposes, committed this work to the best learned in God's law to be revised; when those learned men met to confer together on such important points as the truth of Christ's doctrine, and the purity of his worship; when the rest of the Clergy and People were required to give themselves to prayer for a blessing on that learned assembly; when their determinations were examined, debated, and approved of by a national synod; it was not sure too much to presume that they were assisted by the ordinary aids of grace. Certainly the expression is not to be objected to by one who allows it with regard to the Council of Trent; where matters were determined, not by the Divines there assembled, but by the previous decisions of the Pope, insomuch that the bigotted Spaniards themselves scrupled not to deliver it as a proverb, that the Synod of Trent was guided by the Holy Ghost sent thither from time to time in a cloke-bag from Rome. I should wish therefore that the natural born subjects of England educated in Popish errors, would exchange the superstition and idolatry established by the cloke-bag at Trent, for the reasonable service, (purged from acknowledged superfluity and abuse of Ceremonies,) enjoined by due authority of their own governours at home.

1548.

§. 7. *State af-
fairs.*

The Commissioners met for this purpose, as was before observed, in May this year, as not assisted, so neither prejudiced by foreign Protestants; who were not yet come over into England: but were soon after invited by the compassionate Archbishop, upon a mournful representation by Bucer of his own, and religion's distressed state in Germany, occasioned by the decree of the interim. Which was intended as a palliating scheme, in which Papists and Protestants were required to acquiesce till the Pope would grant a General Council to be called in Germany: that which had been called at Trent being now removed to one of the Pope's own cities, Bologna. But both parties were disgusted; the Fathers of Bologna were offended that the Emperour should take upon him to decide in matters of religion, and concede the Communion in both kinds, and the Marriage of Priests without their consent: the Protestants on the other hand were as ill satisfied that all the rest continued errant Popery. The Interim was published in the March preceding; and many Germans fled on account of it this summer, some into Switzerland, and others into England.

The Plague raged in London this year when the summer was pretty far advanced, which occasioned the King to retire to Leghes and Hatfield during the months of August, September, and October; and was the reason for proroguing the Parliament from October 15 to November 24, and also for putting off Michaelmas Term.

Just before^a, Gardiner was again committed to the Tower for obstructing the King's proceedings in his diocese, and disregarding the Protector's and Council's commands in a sermon preached on St. Peter's day: as clemency with regard to his former offence had wrought no good effect in him; and as they judged it necessary to terrify others by their proceedings with him.

I hear

^a June 30.

I hear nothing of Bishop Ridley till September, when I find him with the Archbishop at Chertsey, assisting at the consecration of that poor unhappy man, Dr. Farrar, now Bishop of St. David's; to whose memory the compassionate Reader cannot but let drop a tear. He experienced soon how inseparable trouble is from honor. He was in high esteem with the Protector, whose Chaplain he was, and by him promoted to the See of St. David's, by Letters Patent from the King, without Conge d'elire, the first, as the Register takes notice, who was so consecrated by virtue of the Act passed for that purpose in the preceding session. As soon as his patron was slain, he fell likewise, by the base ingratitude of two of his officers, secret Papists, whom he too implicitly trusted, his Chancellor and Register. These men accused him of incurring a Premunire by omitting the King's Titles in a Commission to his Chancellor to visit the Chapter of Caermarthen; which Commission he left the Chancellor himself to draw up, who, having purposely made the mistake, prosecuted his Master the good Bishop for it; and then encouraging the Tenants and Clergy to pay nothing to the Bishop, disabled him from paying the First Fruits and Tenths, by which means he was cast into prison, and lay there all the remaining part of King Edward's reign; and in Queen Mary's days was continued there for his Faith, nor was discharged from his prison till he changed it for the stake.

About this time died the good Queen Dowager; whose death made way for the ripening those intrigues which disturbed the remainder of this reign. She died in childbed of a daughter named Mary; and, as some writers say, not without suspicion of poison; but certainly, as Lady Tyrwhit and others witnessed*, with great jealousies of the Lord Admiral's affection for the Lady Elisabeth; and grieved to the heart at his taunting and imperious behaviour to her.

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The

* Haines's Collection of State Papers.

The policies of the two Brothers seem to have been, that the Duke of Somerset was willing to lift his blossoms high by twining himself round the King for his support ; while his Brother meant to supplant him, and stand in his room : the Duke of Somerset aimed at bringing the Crown into his family ; the Lord Sudly at wearing it himself. To effect his ends, the Protector, after the Scots had thrown their Queen and themselves into the hands of France, seems to have designed his Daughter for the young King ; and, probably to facilitate that marriage by removing a dangerous rival out of the way, intended to marry the accomplished Lady Jane Gray (who also was in succession to the Crown, though at a great distance) to his Son Lord Hartford. The Royal Power he now exercised as Lord Protector, and his views of continuing his influence by making *His* a *Royal* Family, probably inspired him with that severity and overbearing behaviour in the Council-Chamber, which grew upon him from this time : yet he courted the populace by siding with the Commons against the Nobility : favoring and interposing in their suits, and pardoning their offences. But his politics were consistent with the King's safety, and indeed built upon it.

While the Lord Admiral's, both in the aim and in the means, drew quite a different way. To disconcert his Brother's schemes, he got the Lady Jane into his house, and by friendship and presents obtained a promise from the Marquiss and Marchioness of Dorset, that she should never be disposed of without his consent. This would effectually bar her marriage with Lord Hartford ; for he declared that though the Marquiss and Marchioness were won over, he never would grant his consent to that match. The Lady Jane had her Mother living, beside the Ladies Mary and Elisabeth, and the Queen of Scots, who were all before her in the succession : but he hoped that the young King might be brought to set his affections on this beautiful and deserving Lady, which would be a mean of giving him

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an influence over the King for the present, and disappoint the other match intended by the Duke of Somerset for his Daughter.

These were counter-plots to his Brother : but his main design was to bring himself within probable prospect of the chief rule, by marrying the Lady Elisabeth ; who seems to have been not disinclined to the match. He therefore offered her his house this Christmas, when she intended to visit the King ; advised her to press that her Patent might be sealed, and to get it into her own hands ; and projected exchanging her lands for others near his own, that he might strengthen himself in Wales, Gloucestershire, and that neighbourhood. He likewise made a faction among the nobles against his Brother, desiring them to gain over the lower sort in their counties, who having little to lose would be easily won ; and had himself in readiness about ten thousand men, and a magazine of arms, and was supplied by the Mint Master of Bristol with money for their maintenance. And had he married the Lady Elisabeth, his ambition was so well known, that the King's danger was foreseen, and Sir Robert Tyrwhit told him of it to his face. How he intended to dispose of the Lady Mary I meet with no direct information : but I suppose he conceived that he should be able to exclude her as illegitimate, by the strength of that influence which he had as Lord Admiral, his command of the Mint at Bristol by means of the Master Sir William Sharrington, his faction among the nobles, and the power he had in readiness.

However his huge ambition was frustrated, and the Earl of Warwick siding with the Protector to remove this enterprising man out of his way, he was sent to the Tower January 19. His bill of attainder was brought into the House of Lords February 25 ; and though the Admiral was not present (a practice too frequent in those days) the evidence was so satisfactory, that they unanimously pronounced him guilty. On the 27th it was carried to the Commons, where some argued against attainders in absence : but
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on the 4th of March, when about four hundred Members were present, it was assented to, against only twelve negatives. His warrant for execution was signed on the 17th, the Lord Protector, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, giving their hands to it; and on Wednesday the 20th he was beheaded.

He protested at his death, as Heylin relates, that he had never committed, or meant any treason against the King, or Kingdom: and Sir John Hayward is very angry at Latimer, for being serviceable to great men's ends, in defiling places erected for religion and truth, by defending oppressions and factions, staining their professions by publishing odious untruths, upon report and credit of others, for representing this Lord as guilty, when both Houses of Parliament had so adjudged him; the truth of which appears plain now to us by the evidence published among the Cecil papers. That he confessed nothing, and that the people judged something hardly of the proceedings against him, is, I think, intimated by Latimer in his Lent Sermon at Court the Friday after the execution; wherein he reproves his hearers, 'Ye take upon you to judge the judgments of Judges. Charity judges the best of all men, and especially of magistrates.' Attainders in absence he spoke against, in general; yet observes, that as innocent men by regular process of law, and suffered to speak for themselves, have sometimes by the iniquity of their Judges been condemned; so guilty persons, for prudential reasons of state not permitted to harangue in publick may, by the uprightness of their Judges, have strict justice done them. That the Lord Admiral had leave, and was commanded on his allegiance to defend himself before a great many witnesses, to whom he might have added many more, if he pleased: but he would not; insisting upon doing it in open Court, where they thought his dangerous spirit was not to be trusted. The intrepidity with which he died was construed by the people as an argument of his innocence. This Latimer resolves into a seerd conscience, being

being a debauched profligate man, 'the furthest from the fear of God (says he) that ever I knew or heard of in England.' And that he disbelieved the immortality of the soul. For the same reasons his solemn declarations of innocence would amount to nothing. Latimer mentions the instance of two robbers condemned to die for the same fact; the first died protesting his innocence and ignorance of the fact: the second confessed the crime, and declared that his fellow who died just before him was his accomplice in it. And another instance at Oxford when he happened to be there, of a man denying the fact for which he was condemned, but being cut down before he was quite dead, and recovered by the fire, he confessed his guilt. 'I think ye know what I mean well enough,' says he. Nay, he says, that the Admiral had confessed so far, that he thought the King in his minority should not be kept as a Ward, under restraint and Instructors. Which I suppose Latimer glances at in another place, where he says, 'They (Kings) have clawbacks that say unto them, What Sir, what need you to trouble yourself? Take you your pleasure, hunt, hawke, dance, and dally, let us alone: we will govern and order the common weal matters well enough.' And he likewise tells us, that the Admiral, when he was ready to lay his head on the block, turned to the Lieutenant's servant, and said to him, that he should bid his servant, 'speed the thing that he wot of.' And immediately laid down and died, having received two strokes of the axe. The words happening to be overheard, the Admiral's servant was taken into examination; who confessed that they were two Letters which his Master had written in the Tower to the Ladies Mary and Elisabeth; which he had enjoined him to take his opportunity to deliver. And that he had made his pen of the aglet of a point that he plucked from his hose; and made his ink some other way as craftily, and then had caused these two papers to be sewed in the sole of a velvet shoe of his. And by these means these letters came to light.

light, and fell into the hands of the Protector and Council. These letters tended to this end, that the two sisters should conspire against the Protector; enforcing many matters against him, to make these Royal Ladies jealous of him. Both these letters Latimer says he saw; which made him say, that the Admiral 'died very 'dangerously, irksomely, horribly, and to conclude that God had 'left him to himself; and had clean forsaken him.'

Latimer had opportunity of knowing him, for at the Admiral's own request he attended him after the sentence. And it is injurious to the character of that plain good man to charge him with seeking the favor of great men. Whose integrity was so well known, that this very Parliament had moved the Council to restore him to his Bishoprick, which in Henry VIIIth's time he had conscientiously resigned; and now refused in his old age, because he would not be entangled with the cares and honors of the world.

Such being the dangerous practices of the Lord Admiral, no wonder that the Duke of Somerset, who was the King's faithful Protector, having before unsuccessfully attempted to reclaim him, having often warned him of his doings, been reconciled to him, given him eight hundred pounds a year to buy his friendship, endeavoured after his commitment to bring him to a better mind; it is no wonder, I say, that the Duke should now give him up, and testify his own abhorrence of his Brother's treasons, by signing the warrant for his execution. And beside these just provocations on the King's account, his high spirited Dutchess had owed him a grudge on account of the Queen Dowager, and was probably a secret enemy to him: and Warwick, who aimed at the ruin of both the Brothers, worked all his engines to disunite them; and by removing this formidable rival out of his way, opened a freer passage for subverting the Protector himself.

Bright-
man's
Paper.

Thus

§. 8. *A view of
the general avarice,
and its ill consequences.*

Thus fell the Lord Scimour. The Parliament this winter passed an Act injoining the Book of Service which had been prepared to be used throughout the realm from Whitsunday then next ensuing. A bill likewise passed permitting the Clergy to marry, yet recommending celibacy. In which appeared the very spirit of Bishop Ridley, who was strenuous in taking away those legal restraints, unenjoined by God, which had led the way to most shameful impurities; insomuch that it was the apothegm even of a Pope, Pius II. 'that there seemed good reason for taking away wives from Priests, but better for restoring them.' Yet, while in compassion to a weakness to which he himself was a stranger, he was diligent in vindicating this liberty to others, he approved and recommended by his own example a perpetual and chaste celibacy. To this purpose runs the Act 2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. 21. 'Although it were not only better for the estimation of Priests, and other Ministers in the Church of God, to live chaste, sole and separate from the company of women, and the bond of marriage; but also thereby they might the better intend to the administration of the Gospel, and be less intricated and troubled with the charge of household, being free and unburthened from the care and cost of finding wife and children, and that it were most to be wished, that they would willingly and of themselves endeavour to keep a perpetual chastity . . . yet forasmuch as the contrary hath rather been seen, and such uncleanness of living, and other great inconveniences, not meet to be rehearsed, have followed of compelled chastity, and of such Laws as have prohibited such persons the godly use of marriage: it were better and rather to be suffered in the Commonwealth, that those which could not contain, should after the counsel of scripture, live in holy marriage, than feignedly abuse with worse enormity

‘ enormity outward chastity or single life. Therefore all Laws positive, Canons, Constitutions and Ordinances prohibiting marriage to Spiritual Persons are abrogated and made void.’

This Bill was attended with a proper companion, one against unnatural lusts, subjecting the Guilty to the punishment of death : but when the Priests were again restrained from marrying, in Queen Mary’s reign, in the very first session of her first parliament this act was repealed,

Many other Acts passed, which the unsettledness of the times made necessary. The Old Religion was discharged, but the New one was not sufficiently digested and established : the Pope’s Laws were abrogated, but the King’s Laws Civil and Ecclesiastical were not reduced to system : and though the old mounds were thrown down, the new fences were not yet made. The few, who meant well, found the torrent of avarice too violent to stem ; they nevertheless set themselves against it with great resolution : but, in general, men rather aimed at *sacking* the Church, than *reforming* it ; and the discipline was like that of an army let loose to plunder.

The dissolution of monasteries had turned many thousands adrift. Some of these, how unworthy soever, were presented by the new Lay Patrons to Benefices, in order to save the pensions reserved for them : which filled the Cures with ignorant, idle, vicious men, who continued errant Papists notwithstanding their outward conformity. Others had no pensions paid them ; and these lived upon free booty, and occasioned the severe Act against vagabonds, which enacted ‘ that all who should any where loiter without work, or without offering themselves to work, three days together, should be seized, and whosoever should present them to a Justice of Peace was to have them adjudged to be his slaves for two years.’ The Lands granted away from the monasteries were now let at rack rents ; which discharged vast numbers of little Tenants with their families, and turned them unprovided for, upon the Publick. Inasmuch that Commissions were granted this ensuing year to redress
the

the following grievances; the decay of towns, villages, and houses of husbandry, which dropt and run to ruin by these means; converting arable into pasture, as the wool was then most beneficial, which almost depopulated many places, there being now, only a poor shepherd boy or two, in the room of many families; the heaping together of farms, which were let at rack rents, to the expulsion of the poor farmers, and driving the rich ones upon this expedient for selling very dear, holding up their own cattle at a great price, and buying up what was offered, at less, that they might be masters of the market. Rents were raised from forty to an hundred pounds per annum ^a: Farmers decreased above two thirds ^b: and the prices of things were raised near seventy per cent ^c. In prevention of which evils John Hales, Clerk of the Hanaper, brought in three bills this session to oblige Landlords to rebuild the farm-houses, which they had dropt; against regrating victuals; and for more plenty of provision, that every man for every hundred of sheep above sixscore should keep two kine; and for each of those kine one calf; and for every two kine above ten, one calf. Beside these inconveniences, which grew up after the demolition of monasteries, the original Poor of the kingdom, who were formerly maintained by those monasteries, were now deserted, although provision had been made by King Henry, that the Lords, to whom those lands were let or sold, should keep hospitality, and minister daily alms; yet they neglected their duty in this point: and the great men's neglect to keep hospitality was one complaint to be enquired into, and redressed by this Commission. The remedy for this came very late, nothing being done in it till the 5th and 6th of King Edward, when they were left to be supported, as every parishioner of his charitable devotion would give: but by the 39 Eliz. that evil was more effectually obviated by the Parish rates. However, Gentlemen's neglecting the country; not keeping open hospitality; racking their tenants; joining farms together; impoverishing

^a Latimer's Sermons.^b Hales's Charge.^c Letter from Cambridge.

poverishing the neighbourhood by the want of their succour and patronage ; and leaving the turbulence of the people's spirits to work without the awe and restraint of superiors, was never remedied in this reign.

To these vast numbers, diverted from their usual manner of support, must be added many, whom the decay of scholars in both Universities left a burthen upon the Publick. The charity of the Londoners had formerly maintained several poor scholars ; this charity now stopped : the dearness of provisions, and the little encouragement left for Learning had so reduced them, that Latimer complains in this year, that there were ten thousand fewer scholars at Cambridge, than were there twenty years before. Here therefore was a great army of necessitous persons driven out from any allotment in the society to shift for themselves.

The Great had set an example of avarice by their open plunder of Church Revenues, and oppression of the poor Tenants : and if the Rich were so selfish and grasping at more, those who were starving would not scruple to take a little to relieve their necessities. The Protector himself was now building a magnificent Palace, Somerset House, on the site of the Houses of the Bishops of Worcester, Litchfield, and Landaff, and the Parish Church. And as these materials were not sufficient to execute his plan, he demolished a stately Cloister at St. Paul's, which surrounded Pardon Church-yard, within which inclosure were two Chapels, one of them famous for a curious piece of sculpture called *The Dance of Death*. And as all these would not yet complete the magnificent design, most part of the Church of St. John's of Jerusalem near Smithfield was blown up with gunpowder to furnish stone for his buildings. Bishops, Deans, and Chapters were obliged to alienate great part of their revenues. The example spread : the church plate and vessels were seized upon by inferior Church Officers, and sold for their own use. Patrons sold their Livings : they and the Parishioners cheated the vicars of their remaining tithes ; the great-

er hardship, as the poor vicars had lost much of their incomes by the abolishing of private masses, chantries, and obits. To remedy this, two bills were passed this session, one for the just setting forth of tithes, and the other for Personal tithes in trading towns. This last remedy has proved entirely ineffectual; and the poor vicars of market-towns continue to have the most laborious Cures, and the worst maintenance of any in the kingdom. This rapine and preying one upon another went through the kingdom; the officers at court kept the poor tradesmen out of their money several months; those employed in laying out the publick money were forced to pay three hundred marks to have their bills warranted, and so their false accounts were passed. In the army, the King's full pay was received, but the numbers of the Bands were not half filled, except on a muster day, when people were hired to supply the places; and the soldiers taking example from their officers provided not themselves of horse and harness meet to serve withal. For remedy of which the King issued out a strict Proclamation, April 6. In Commerce, the mint-masters made the coin too light, and stole the savings: what chiefly passed in traffick, the testoons or shillings, were in great quantities counterfeited; which, though done abroad by foreigners, and sent hither, added greatly to the other calamities of the Poor. What coin was over-weight the Goldsmiths and Merchants would engross and melt down, leaving only the light and worn money to pass current. Against this inconvenience a Proclamation issued the 3d of April. That there should be tricks, frauds and combinations in trades and manufactories was no wonder; Latimer mentions some, and a bill passed this session against conspiracies of victuallers and craftsmen. Great complaints were made of the abounding of vice and immoralities, which the Clergy could neither restrain nor punish. Therefore a bill was put in for Ecclesiastical Laws and Jurisdiction: but the Temporal Lords, not caring to have their own vices amended, threw it out, on this pretext, that most of the Bishops and Clergy
being

See Hey-
lin from
Latimer,
p. 61.

Latimer's
Sermon,
p. 115.

King's
Proclam.

being still Papists in their hearts, they, if power was put into their hands, would probably employ it against the Reformation. The Clergy therefore, who seriously meant well, had nothing more in their power than to preach against the vices of the age; which they did with great boldness. As did Cranmer in a Fast Sermon this ensuing summer; when, in a plain and inartificial discourse, without shews of learning, or conceits of wit, he severely expostulated in the name of God with his hearers for their ill lives, their blasphemies, adulteries, mutual hatred, oppression, and contempt of the Gospel: and complained of the slackness in punishing these sins by which the government became in some sort guilty of them. He laments the scandal given by many who pretended a zeal for religion, but used it only for a cloke to disguise their other vices. He set before them the fresh example of Germany, where people generally loved to hear the gospel, but had not amended their lives upon it; for which God had now, after many years forbearance, brought them under a severe scourge, and intimated his apprehensions of some signal stroke from heaven upon the nation, if they did not amend. We shall meet with a letter from Bishop Ridley to his Diocese on the same subject in the year 1551.

I have brought these things under one view, to prepare the Reader to expect the convulsions which shook this reign from the rapine and intrigues of the Great, and the discontents and insurrections of the Commons: as also the heavy vengeance of God in withdrawing again the light of his gospel from a people who made so perverse an use of it. And further, that from a comparison of those times and our own, we may learn to be thankful in cases where we find ourselves relieved from the grievances which oppressed our ancestors; where the same continue to this time without remedy, that we endeavour, according to our stations, to obtain one; and where similar ones are growing up, that we labor, if in our power, to prevent them; at least lessen the evil by withdrawing

ing our own concurrence, and thereby endeavour to prevent a similar punishment.

§. 9. *The Bishop of Rochester, in commission to visit Cambridge, holds disputations there.*

Let us now see how prudently the Bishop^{1549.} of Rochester behaved in these difficult days, and how resolutely he opposed himself to the reigning oppression whenever he had opportunity.

The Lord Protector had a design of suppressing Clare Hall in Cambridge, and unite it with Trinity Hall, to augment the number of Fellows there to Twenty, in order to found a new college for Civilians. For this purpose a Commission was granted^a to the Bishops of Ely and Rochester, William Paget, Sir Thomas Smith, John Cheeke, Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's, and Thomas Wendy, M. D. When the Commission passed, the Bishop of Rochester was in his diocese, ignorant of the design. Thither Mr. Secretary Smith and the Dean of St. Paul's sent to acquaint him that he was in commission to visit the University of Cambridge, and that he was appointed to preach the sermon at the opening of it. Upon which the Bishop immediately dispatched a servant to London to Dr. May, desiring information to what ends the Visitation and Commission were intended, that he might frame his sermon accordingly. The Dean returned for answer, that it was only to remove some superstitious practices and rites, and to make such statutes as should be needful. The instructions themselves by which they were to procede were not shewn him till after they had acted in the Commission.

Presently after the passing of this, he was again put into Commission with the Archbishop, the Bishops of Ely, Worcester, Westminster, Chichester, and Lincoln, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr. Cox, Dr. May and others, to search after all Anabaptists

tists, Hereticks, and Contemners of the Common Prayer. For complaint had been brought to the Council^a, that, with the Strangers who were come into England, some Anabaptists were mingled, who were disseminating their errors and making Profelytes. Under this general name were comprehended men of various opinions, driven out of Germany with the more sober Protestants, who were in danger from the Emperour, for not complying with the Interim. These, as Bishop Burnet informs us, building upon Luther's principles, that scripture was to be the only Rule of Faith, rejected all deductions from it, how obvious or certain soever; and among these the Baptism of Infants was one, whom therefore, when Adults, they baptized again, and from thence were called Rebaptizers, or Anabaptists. Some were more modest and moderate, others extravagant and fierce. The opinions of the latter may be learned from some Tradesmen in London, who abjured before these Commissioners in May; such as, That a man regenerate could not sin; that though the outward man sinned, the inward man sinned not; that there was no Trinity of Persons; that Christ was only a Holy Prophet, and not God at all; that all we had by Christ was, that he taught us the way of Heaven; that he took no flesh of the Virgin; and that the Baptism of Infants was not profitable, because it goeth before Faith. Among the people who held these and such like heretical opinions was Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. She appearing before the Commissioners behaved with extreme obstinacy there, persisting in the maintenance of her error, namely, that the Son of God penetrated through the Virgin Mary as through a glass, taking no substance of her, as Latimer reports, who sat in the Commission. Her own words distinguishing betwixt *Christ* and the *word*, and betwixt the *outward* and *inward* man of the Virgin; allowing the *word* to have taken flesh by the consent of the Virgin's *inward* man, but deny-
ing

ing that *Christ* took flesh of her *outward* man, because it was sinful, are not very intelligible. She treated with scorn all the means made use of to recover her to a better mind ; and sentence passed upon her^a, pronouncing her an Heretick, and delivering her over to the secular arm. Ridley was still at Rochester, for I find only the Archbishop, Sir John Smith, William Cook, Dean of the Arch-
es, Hugh Latimer, and Richard Lyel, LL.D. named in the sentence. The King was hardly prevailed upon by Cranmer to sign the warrant for her burning : but the Archbishop distinguished betwixt errors in other points, and the open scornful rejecting an express article of the Creed, *born of the Virgin Mary* ; thinking that these latter, always esteemed Hereticks from the first establishment of Christianity^b, deserved not the lenity with which others might be treated : and represented, that it betrayed an indifference towards religion to neglect putting in execution the Laws established for maintaining God's honor, while they were diligent in those that were enacted to maintain the King's honor, and the peace or property of the subject. However, the Archbishop was not so earnest to get the warrant executed, as signed. He labored much to convince and save her from the fire. In which charitable office, Ridley when he came to London, joined ; they both of them visited her ; they severally took her home with them to their own houses, and earnestly endeavoured to recover her from her errors : but she resisted with great stubbornness and indecency all their kind pains to recover her. After their unsuccessful attempts for a whole year, she was at last burned the 2d of May 1550, persisting obstinately

^a In April.

^b Gratian and Theodosius in the year 380 define who are Hereticks, all who, secundum apostolicam disciplinam, evangelicamque doctrinam, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti unam Deitatem sub pari majestate, et sub piâ Trinitate credamus, hanc legem sequentes, Christianorum Catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti, reliquos viros dementes vesanosque judicantes hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere. Cod. Theod. Lib. xvi. de fide catholica, leg. 2.

stinately in her opinion, and behaving with great insolence to the last. The like sentence was executed upon George van Parre, a Dutchman, for denying the Divinity of our Saviour. Which I mention here, though it happened not till the 25th of April 1551; on the 6th of which month Ridley, who was a Commissioner, signed the sentence of excommunication. Mild and gentle as his nature was to every modest enquirer, though in error, he would not break the Laws in being in indulgence to obstinate Blasphemers. The reproach cast on the Reformers as enemies to all religion; and the divisions and disturbances raised in the kingdom by emissaries from the Church of Rome, under the name of Anabaptists, called for punishment; which the severity of the laws then in being determined in these cases to be by burning.

One occasion of this severity was, probably, that in the preceding winter, there had been a design of uniting the Protestants abroad, and at home under the English discipline. The churches abroad, who, not from choice, but necessity, were under the government of Presbyters (because reformed in places where all the Bishops were Papists) were very ready to come into episcopal government: and great consultations had been held, not only concerning the reformation of *this* Church, but also of the other foreign Churches in Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, and Spain, for uniting them together in one uniform doctrine. Bullinger and Calvin, with others, in a letter to King Edward, offered to make him their Defender, and to have Bishops in their churches as there were in England; with the tender of their service to assist and unite together. This alarmed the Roman Fathers, who came to the knowledge of it by some of their private intelligencers; for they verily thought that all the Hereticks (as they called them) would now unite among themselves, and become One Body, receiving the same discipline exercised in England. Whereupon they sent two of their emissaries from Rotterdam hither, who were to pretend themselves Anabaptists, and preach
 Burnet. against baptizing Infants, and recommend Rebaptizing, and inculcate

cate a Fifth Monarchy upon earth. Beside this, one D. G. authorised by these Fathers, dispatched a letter written in May 1549 from Delf in Holland to two Bishops, (of which Winchester was one) signifying the coming of these pretended Anabaptists, and that they should receive and cherish them, and take their parts, if they should receive any checks: telling them that it was left to them to assist in this cause, and to some others whom they well knew to be well affected to the mother Church. This letter was found by Sir H. Sydney in Queen Elisabeth's closet among some papers of Queen Mary's. Some knowledge or suspicion of these intrigues might occasion the using greater severity to the officious and irclamable Anabaptists, who were Hereticks in the strictest sense, than would otherwise have been exercised against them: and if Boner was the other Bishop, as none more likely, both from his zeal and situation, it may account for his and Winchester's sufferings in this reign. But if neither the bold contradicting the articles of the Creed drawn from scripture, and confirmed by the four first general Councils; nor the laws of the Country then in force; nor the reproach cast on the Reformers, as careless of the truths of Christianity, except in opposition to the Romish Church; nor the disturbances occasioned both in church and state by these real or pretended Anabaptists, can excuse the Commissioners for passing this sentence, when the facts were open and notorious, and their endeavours to reclaim the offenders were earnest and unwearied, I must be content to leave them to the censure of the Reader.

And now, sometime in May, the Bishop of Rochester repaired to Cambridge with his Fellow Commissioners to hold the Visitation for the abolishing statutes and ordinances which maintained Popery and Superstition (as he was informed;) not knowing the further end proposed, which was the suppression of Clare-Hall. He desired to see the Instructions: but was put off by his associates, who seemed afraid to shew them unto him, till they had

engaged him in the action, by opening it with a sermon, and proceeding two days in the business of it. They then ventured to shew him their Instructions ; in which he found the suppression of Clare-Hall was the thing intended, under a cover of uniting it to Trinity-Hall, and erecting there a new College of Civilians. However the Bishop might disrelish this design, he found it was his duty now to concur with the other Commissioners in laboring for two days together with the Master and Fellows *voluntarily* to surrender their College into the King's hands : but the Society could not be induced to consent to such a surrender. The Commissioners sat secretly by themselves, consulting how to procede. The majority determined that they might procede to the union of the two Colleges, by the King's absolute power, without the consent of the societies. But the Bp. of Rochester modestly opposed this counsel, and with great calmness dissented : though resolute and determined not to violate the King's honor, and his own conscience, by forcibly invading the liberties and properties of the Master and Fellows of Clare-Hall, yet not censuring his Fellows, but exhorted them to act so as to satisfy their own consciences ; and if it should be so that he could not concur, he desired leave to satisfy his own conscience, by absenting himself, or by silence to refuse his consent. This put a stop to the proceedings at present : the Commissioners acquainting the Protector with this interruption from the Bishop of Rochester, complained, that he *by his barking* hindered them from proceeding in the King's service ; imputing his dissent to a partial affection for his own countrymen, with whom at that time Clare-Hall abounded. This exasperated the Protector, who wrote a chiding letter to the Bishop : to which the Bishop immediately returned the following answer.

Right Honorable,

Burnet,
Collection
of Records.

I wish your Grace the holy and wholesome fear of God, because I am persuaded your Grace's goodness to be such unfeignedly, that
even

even wherein your Grace's Letter doth fore blame me, yet in the same the advertisement of the truth shall not displease your Grace : and also perceiving that the cause of your Grace's discontention was wrong information, therefore I shall beseech your Grace to give me leave to shew your Grace wherein it appeareth to me that your Grace is wrong informed.

Your Grace's Letters blame me, because I did not (at the first before the Visitation began, having knowledge of the matter) shew my mind. The truth is, before God, I never had, nor could get any foreknowledge of the matter, of the uniting the two colleges, before we had begun and had entered two days in the Visitation ; and that your Grace may planely thus well perceive.

A little before Easter, I being at Rochester, received Letters from Mr. Secretary Smith, and the Dean of St. Paul's, to come to the visitation of the University, and to make a Sermon at the beginning thereof. Whereupon I sent immediately a servant up to London to the Dean of Paul's, desiring of him to have had some knowledge of things there to be done ; because I thought it meet that my Sermon should somewhat have savoured of the same. From Mr. Dean I received a letter instructing me only, that the cause of the Visitation was to abolish statutes and ordinances, which maintained Papistry, superstition, blindness and ignorance ; and to establish and set forth such as might further God's word and good learning : and else, the truth is, he would shew me nothing, but bad me be careless, and said, there were informations how all things were to be done. The which, I take God to witness, I did never see, nor could get knowledge what they were, before we were entered in the visitation two days, although I desired to have seen them in the beginning.

Now when I had seen the Instructions, the truth is, I thought peradventure the Master and Company would have surrendered up their

their College: but when their consent, after labor and travail taken therein two days, could not be obtained, then we began secretly to consult, (all the Commissioners thinking it best, that every man should say his mind plainly, that in execution there might appear but one way to be taken of all.) There, when it was seen to some, that without the consent of the present Incumbents, by the King's absolute power, we might procede to the uniting the two Colleges, I did, in my course, simply and plainly declare my conscience; and that there only, secretly among ourselves alone, with all kind of softness, so that no man could justly be offended. Also, I perceive by your Grace's Letters, I have been noted of some for *my barking* there: and yet *to bark*, lest God should be offended, I cannot deny, but indeed it is a part of my Profession; for God's word condemneth the dumb dogs that will not *bark*, and give warning of God's displeasure.

As for that, that was suggested to your Grace, that by my afore-said barking, I should dishonor the King's Majesty, and dissuade others from the execution of the King's Commission, God is my judge, I intended, according to my duty to God and the King, the maintenance and defence of his Highness's Royal Honor and Dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true, which the Prophet saith, *Honor regis judicium diligit*, (*The King's power loveth judgment*;) and as the Commissioners must needs, and I am sure will all testify, that I dissuaded no man, but contrariwise, exhorted every man (with the quiet of other) to satisfy his own conscience; desiring only, that if it should otherwise be seen unto them, that I might either by my absence or silence, satisfy mine. The which my plainness, when some, otherwise than according to my expectation, did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the good opinion I had, and yet have, in your Grace's goodness; and also especially because your Grace had commanded me so to do) to open my mind, by my private letters freely to your Grace.

And

And thus I trust your Grace perceiveth now, both that anon, after knowlege had, I did utter my conscience, and also that the matter was not opened unto me before the visitation was two days begun.

If in this I did amiss, that before the knowledge of the Instructions, I was ready to grant to the execution of the Commission; truly, I had rather herein acknowledge my fault, and submit myself to your Grace's correction, than after knowledge had, wittingly and willingly commit that thing whereunto my conscience doth not agree, for fear of God's displeasure.

It is a godly wish that is wished in your Grace's Letters, that flesh, and blood, and country might not more weigh with some men than godliness and reason: but the truth is, country in this matter (whatsoever some men do suggest unto your Grace) shall not move me. And that your Grace shall well perceive, for I shall be as ready as any other, first thence to expel some of my own country, if the report which is made of them, can be tried true.

And as for that your Grace saith of flesh and blood, that is, the favor or fear of mortal man: yea, marry Sir, that is a matter of weight indeed; and the truth is, (alas! my own feebleness) of that I am afraid: but I beseech your Grace, yet once again, give me good leave, wherein here I fear my own frailty, to confess the truth.

Before God, there is no man this day (leaving the King's Majesty for the honor only excepted) whose favor or displeasure I do either seek or fear, as your Grace's favor or displeasure; for of God, both your Grace's authority, and my bound duty for your Grace's benefits bind me so to do. So that if the desire of any man's favor, or fear of displeasure, should weigh more with me than godliness and reason, truly, if I may be bold to say the truth, I must needs say, that I am most in danger to offend herein, either for desire of your Grace's favor, or for fear of your Grace's displeasure. And

yet:

yet I shall not cease (God willing) daily to pray to God so to stay and strengthen my frailty with holy fear, that I do not commit the thing for favor or fear of any mortal man, whereby my conscience may threaten me with the loss of the favor of the living God: but that it may please him of his gracious goodness (howsoever the world goes) to blow this in the ears of my heart, *Deus dissipavit ossa eorum qui hominibus placuerint.* (God hath broken the bones of them that please men.) And this, *horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis.* (It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.) And again, *Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus.* (Fear not those who kill the body.)

Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Grace for God's love not to be offended with me, for renewing of this my suit unto your Grace; which is, that wherein my conscience can not well agree, if any such thing chance in this visitation, I may, with your Grace's favor have licence, either by mine absence or silence, or other like means, to keep my conscience quiet. I wish your Grace, in God, honor and endless felicity.

Your Grace's humble and daily Orator,
Nicholas Roffen.

From Pembroke-Hall, in
Cambridge, June 1, 1549.

The Protector was at that time with the King at Richmond. And on the receipt of the Bishop of Rochester's letter, he conferred with the Archbishop, who was Ridley's chief intimate, to discover the secret motives, if any he had, why the Bishop disliked the proceedings at the visitation. And in a little more than a week the Protector returned the following answer;

Burnet,
Collecti-
on of Re-
cords.

After our right hearty commendations to you. We have received your letters of the first of June, again replying to those
which

which we last sent unto you. And as it appeareth, you yet remaining in your former request, desire, if things do occur so, that according to your conscience, you cannot do them, that you might absent yourself, or otherwise keep silence. We would be loth any thing should be done by the King's Majesty's Visitors, otherwise than right and conscience might allow, and approve : and visitation is to direct things to the better, not to the worse ; to ease consciences, not to clog them. Marry, we would wish the executors thereof should not be scrupulous in conscience, otherwise than reason would. Against your conscience it is not our will to move you, as we would not gladly do, or move any man to that which is against right and conscience ; and we trust the King's Majesty hath not in this matter. And we think in this you do much wrong, and much discredit the other Visitors, that you should seem to think and suppose, that they would do things against conscience. We take them to be men of that honor and honesty, that they will not. My Lord of Canterbury hath declared unto us, that maketh partly a conscience unto you, that Divines should be diminished. That can be no cause ; for first, the same was met before in the late King's time, to unite the two Colleges together ; as we are sure you have heard, and Sir Edward North can tell : and for that cause, all such as were students of the Law, out of the new-erected Cathedral Church, were disappointed of their livings, only reserved to have been in that Civil College. The King's Hall being in a manner all Lawyers, Canonists were turned and joined to Michael-House, and made a College of Divines, wherewith the number of Divines was much augmented, Civilians diminished. Now at this present also, if in all other Colleges, where Lawyers be by the statutes, or the King's injunctions, you do convert them, or the more part of them, to Divines, ye shall rather have more Divines upon this change than ye had before. The King's College should have six Lawyers ; Jesus College, some ; the Queen's College, and other, one or two
N n apiece,

apiece. And as we are informed by the late King's Injunctions every College in Cambridge, one at the least : all these together do make a greater number than the Fellows of Clare-Hall be, and they now made Divines, and the statutes in that reformed, Divinity shall not be diminished in number of students, but encreased, as appeareth, although these two Colleges be so united. And we are sure you are not ignorant, how necessary a study that study of Civil Law is to all Treaties with foreign Princes and Strangers, and how few there be at this present to do the King's Majesty's service therein. For we would the encrease of Divines, as well as you. Marry, necessity compelleth us also to maintain the science; and we require you, my Lord, to have consideration how much you do hinder the King's Majesty's proceedings in that visitation, if now you, who are one of the Visitors, should thus draw back, and discourage the other, you should much hinder the whole doings; and peradventure, that thing known, maketh the Master and Fellows of Clare-Hall to stand the more obstinate. Wherefore we require you to have regard of the King's Majesty's honor, and the quiet performings of that visitation, most to the glory of God, and benefit of that University: the which thing is only meant in your Instructions. To the performing of that, and in that manner, we can be content you use your doings as you think best, for the quieting of your conscience. Thus we bid you heartily farewell. From Richmond the 10th of June, 1549.

Your loving Friend,

E. Somerset.

By which Letter it appears how earnest the Protector was to persuade, or intimidate this worthy Prelate to countenance the proceedings by his concurrence. The reigning vice of the age was *spoliation*; from which the Duke of Somerset was not free; as appears not only from his Palace of Somerset House, as was before taken

taken notice of, but one of the articles against him was, ' that he ' did dispose offices of the King's Gift for money, and made sale of ' the King's Lands.' This perhaps will give us to guess at the secret of this visitation; while the establishing a College of Civilians, by uniting two Colleges together, was the pretence for demolishing Clare-Hall, the sale of the Lands belonging to that Society was probably the leading motive. The other Visitors, who were privy to the design, durst not acquaint Ridley with it, but industriously concealed the instructions from him, till they had engaged him to preach on the occasion, and proceeded some time in the business of the visitation, when they hoped they should entangle him so far, that for fear or shame he could not recede. But he boldly risked the displeasure of the Protector, who was now grown very imperious and arbitrary, rather than concur in such unjust measures. The affair dropt: the Protector had his attention immediately drawn off to suppress several insurrections raised by the discontented Commons almost through the kingdom. The Visitors, especially the Bishop of Rochester, had another Commission to execute, which was to preside at a Publick Disputation appointed to be held at Cambridge, as there had been one a little before at Oxford, relating to the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Two Positions were appointed to be the subjects of this Publick Disputation; and after they had been sufficiently ventilated, a determination of the matters debated was to be made by the Bishop of Rochester. The two Positions were,

1. *Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of scripture, nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the consents of the antient Fathers for these one thousand years past.*

2. *In the Lord's supper is none other oblation or sacrifice, than one only remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving.*

The first Disputation was on Thursday the 20th of June, Dr. Madew of Clare-Hall, Respondent, maintaining the above Positions : Dr. Glyn, Master Langdale, Sedgwick and Young, Opponents. The second Disputation was held on Monday the 24th, Dr. Glyn, Respondent, maintaining the contrary Positions : Master Perne, Grindal, Gest and Pilkington, Opponents. The third was on Thursday the 27th of June, Master Perne, Respondent, maintaining the Positions : Master Parker, (not Matthew, who was afterward Archbishop of Canterbury) Pollard, Vavafor, and Young, Opponents. There is one difference observed between the Disputations at Oxford and at Cambridge : Peter Martyr admitted a change in the elements ; and Langdale, one of the opponents, the first day at Cambridge, asked, supposing a change admitted, ‘ Whether that change was wrought in the substance, or in the accidents, or else in both, or in nothing ? ’ When Ridley interposed and answered, ‘ There is no change, either of the substances or of the accidents ; but in very deed there do come unto the bread other accidents, inasmuch, that whereas the bread and wine were not sanctified before, nor holy, yet afterward they be sanctified, and so do receive then another sort or kind of virtue, which they had not before.’

After the Disputations were finished, the Bishop determined,

I. Against Transubstantiation, on these five principal grounds ;

1. The authority, majesty, and verity of Holy Scripture :

I will not drink hereafter of the fruit of the vine. St. Paul and St. Luke call it Bread after consecration. They speak of *breaking*, which agrees with bread, not with Christ’s Body. It was to be done *in remembrance* of him. *This is the bread that came down from heaven ;* but Christ’s Body came not down from Heaven. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.*

2. The most certain testimonies of the antient Catholick Fathers, who (after my judgment) do sufficiently declare this matter.

Here he produced many Fathers, Dionysius, Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Theodoret, Gelasius, Austin, Cyril,

Cyril, Ifychius and Bertram, who call it bread after consecration, sacramental bread, the figure of Christ's body : and expressly declare that bread still continues after consecration, and that the elements cease not to be the substance of bread and wine still.

3. The nature of a Sacrament. In which he supposes natural symbols to represent like spiritual effects, which in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper are unity, nutrition, and conversion. They who take away the union of the grains making one bread, of which partaking we become one mystical body of Christ ; or they who deny the nutrition, or substance of those grains, by which our bodies being nourished is represented the nourishment of our souls by the Body of Christ, these take away the similitude between the bread and the Body of Christ, and destroy the nature of a sacrament. As neither is there any thing to signify our being turned into Christ's body, if there be no conversion of the bread into the substance of our bodies.

The 4th ground was, that Transubstantiation destroys one of the natures in Christ.

They which say that Christ is carnally present in the Eucharist, do take from him the verity of man's nature. Eutyches granted the divine nature in Christ, but his Human nature he denied. So they that defend Transubstantiation, ascribe that to the Human nature, which only belongeth to the Divine nature.

The 5th ground is the most sure belief of the article of our Faith, *He ascended into heaven.*

He quotes from St. Austin on St. John, ' The Lord is above, even to the end of the world : but yet the verity of the Lord is here also. For his body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place, but his verity is spread abroad every where.'

By verity he means an essential divine presence by his invisible and unspeakable grace, as he distinguishes on Matth. xxviii. ' As touching his majesty, his providence, his invisible and unspeakable
grace,

‘ grace, these words are fulfilled, which he spake, *I am with you*
‘ *unto the end of the world* : but according to the flesh which he
‘ took upon him, *so ye shall not have me always with you*. And
‘ why ? because as concerning his flesh he went up into heaven,
‘ and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of the Father : and
‘ yet concerning the presence of his Divine majesty he is not de-
‘ parted hence.’ And from Vigilius he quoted, ‘ Concerning his
‘ flesh we look for him from heaven ; whom, as concerning the
‘ WORD (or Divine nature) we believe to be with us in earth.’
And again, ‘ the course of scripture must be searched of us, and
‘ many testimonies must be gathered, to shew planely what a wick-
‘ edness and sacrilege it is, to refer those things to the property of
‘ the Divine nature, which do only belong to the nature of the
‘ flesh : and contrariwise, to apply those things to the nature of the
‘ flesh, which do properly belong to the Divine nature.’ Which
he observes the Transubstantiators do, who affirm Christ’s Body
not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe that to his hu-
manity, which properly belongs to his Divinity.

II. Against the oblation of Christ in the Lord’s Supper he deter-
mined on these two grounds.

1. Scripture ; as Paul saith, Hebrews ix. *Christ being become an*
High Priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect ta-
bernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this building : neither
by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, entered once in-
to the Holy Place, and obtained eternal redemption for us. And,
now in the end of the world he hath appeared ONCE to put away sin
by the sacrifice of Himself. And again, *Christ was ONCE offered to*
take away the sins of many. Moreover he saith, *With ONE offering*
hath he made perfect for ever those that are sanctified. These scrip-
tures do persuade me to believe that there is no other oblation of
Christ (albeit I am not ignorant that there are many sacrifices) but
that which was ONCE made on the cross.

2. The

2. The testimonies of the antient Fathers. Austin ad Bonif. Epist. 23. Again, in his Book of forty three questions, question 41. contra Transubstan. lib. 20. cap. 21, 28. where he writes, how the Christians keep a memorial of the sacrifice past, with an oblation, and participation of the Body and Blood of Christ. Fulgentius in his book de Fide, calls the same oblation a commemoration. And these things are sufficient at this time for a scholastick determination of these matters.

Yet this was more than a mere scholastick exercise; the occasion of appointing this Disputation arose at Oxford, where Dr. Smith, taking offence at Peter Martyr's exposition of scripture, challenged Martyr to a publick disputation. Which Martyr declared himself ready to engage in, but not without the King's leave. The Privy Council gave leave, but Smith ran away from his Challenge. Then Martyr challenged all the Roman Catholics in that university to maintain their Transubstantiation and the Privy Council appointed Delegates to hear and preside at the Disputation. And like Disputations were appointed at Cambridge, that the Papists there might likewise have an opportunity of defending their opinions, if they could.

Langdale, one of the Disputants, and for his zeal made Archdeacon of Chichester by Queen Mary, composed a pretended refutation of Bishop Ridley's Determination: but with this suspicion of unfairness in his account of managing the Dispute, that though he had the King's Licence for printing it, at Paris, February 1553; yet it was not printed till three years after, when Langdale was secure that Ridley could make no reply. However, Pilkington, another of the Disputants, afterward Bishop of Durham, says, that the Bishop made all things so clear in his Determination, and the auditors were so convinced, that some of them would have turned Archbishop Cranmer's book on that subject into Latin.

Strype's
Mem. 11.
p. 210.

June

June the 9th being Whitsunday was appointed for the uniform use of the New Service. The Protector and Council knowing how averse the Lady Mary was to it, sent to her, requiring her to conform to King Edward's Laws, and to observe in her Family the new Book of Common Prayer, now by Parliament commanded, the use whereof was to commence at Pentecost ; and also to send unto them her Comptroller, and Dr. Hopton, her Chaplain. But in her answer, June 22, from Keninghall, she refused to do either, saying, that she could not spare her Comptroller, and her Chaplain had been sick : that the Law made by Parliament [enjoining the Common Prayer] was not worthy the name of a Law : that King Henry's executors were sworn to *his* Laws : that her House was her flock : that she deferred her obedience to the King's Laws, till he was of sufficient years : and that she was subject to none of the Council. However, at last Dr. Hopton came before the Council ; and to them he professed that he allowed the Communion Book. They bad him declare this his conscience to her, and dispatched him back with answers to the several parts of her Letter, dated from Richmond, July 7.

Encouraged by her example, and the connivance of some of the Bishops, and misled by Papistical Priests, there were many places in which this Book so strictly enjoined, was either not known at all, or not used ; or at least very seldom, and irreverently. Wherefore the King sent Letters ^a to the Bishops, reprimanding their negligence, and charging them on their allegiance to do their duty herein.

But none at this time felt their displeasure so much as the Bishop of London. He was soon after ^b called before the Council, where
his

^a July 23.

^b August 11.

his remissness was complained of; and particularly, that whereas he was wont formerly on all high festivals to officiate himself, yet he had seldom or never done it, since the New Service was set out: as also, that adultery was openly practised in his diocese, which he took no care, according to his pastoral office, to restrain, or punish; therefore he was strictly charged to see these things reformed. He was also ordered to preach that day three weeks at Paul's Cross: and that he should preach there once a quarter for the future, and be present at every sermon made there, except he was sick: that he should officiate at St. Paul's on every high festival, and give the Communion: that he should procede against all who did not frequent the Common Prayer, nor receive the Sacrament once a year; and those that went to Mass: that he should take care of the reparation of churches, and paying tithes in his diocese; and should keep his residence in his house in London.

He had before protested against the King's Injunctions in 1547, and although upon being better advised he revoked that protest, yet by it he had sufficiently shewed the color of his mind. And now the state was shook with inward convulsions from rebellious insurrections in almost every quarter, occasioned doubtless from the great numbers turned adrift unprovided for, as was before touched upon; who rose in May, June, and July, chiefly in places most remote, as Cornwall, Norfolk, and Yorkshire; and also in many intermediate counties. Some pretended to fight for the Old Religion, and others, against the oppression of the Great, on a levelling principle: both in reality for want of employment and bread. However, as many Priests were amongst them, the suspected Bishops were watched; Winchester was now in the Tower, and Boner was required to purge himself in his sermon at St. Paul's. The points were given him, which he was to handle; the heinousness of Rebellion, that true religion consisted not in ceremonies, yet in the use of them men were to obey the magistrate, and join true
O O devotion

devotion with them ; and principally, against a common Tenet of the Popish faction, he was to teach that the King was no less King, and the People no less bound to obey when he was in minority, than when he was of full age.

It is not easy to imagine how such the contrary opinion could enter into their heads, as Laws are made by the wisdom of Parliament with the King's consent, and not by the personal wisdom and determination of the King. Indeed there had been a Law in the last reign, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8. that Proclamations made by the King and the greater part of his Council should be of equal force with an act of Parliament. And that any of his Successors (by 28 Hen. VIII. c. 17.) under the age of twenty-four years, might annul any Law made in his minority, by Letters Patent, after he came to that age. These extraordinary Laws indeed implied a minority and maturity in the prudence of the Laws, which the English constitution knows nothing of : yet those very Laws bound the subject till the King, after he should attain the age of twenty-four, should cancel their obligation by his Letters Patent.

Before the 1st of September, which was the day Boner was to preach, all the rebellions were suppressed. The most dangerous were in the West, and in Norfolk ; the first was repressed by the Lord Privy Seal and Sir William Herbert ; and the latter, after an unsuccessful attempt by the Earl of Northampton, was completely quelled by the victorious Earl of Warwick, and a Thanksgiving for it was made the 25th of August.

When the 1st of September came, St. Paul's was full to hear how the Bishop of London would acquit himself. He touched upon the points that were enjoined him, excepting that about the King's age, of which he said not one word : instead of which he diverted his discourse to another subject, the manner of Christ's Presence in the sacrament, asserting the gross corporal Presence, which he did with many sharp reflections on those who were of another mind.

There

There were present, among others, William Latimer, and John Hoper, soon after Bishop of Gloucester, who came and informed against him; that as he had wholly omitted that about the King's age, so he had touched the other points but slightly; and advanced many other things, which tended to stir up disorder and dissention.

On this information a Commission issued to the Archbishop and the Bishop of Rochester, with the two Secretaries Sir William Petre and Sir Thomas Smith, and Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's, empowering them, or any four, three (or two, says the draught of it now in the Paper Office) of them, 'to call before you, as well
'the denouncers of the said fault, as also the said Bishop, and with
'due examination and proofs according to law and justice to hear
'the said matters summarily, and *de plano*, or otherwise as to your
'discretions shall be thought most meet. And if so be that you
'find the said Bishop through his demerits and offence to be wor-
'thy of suspension from his office for a time, or deprivation utter-
'ly, or otherwise more or less pain or mulct, according to the quali-
'ty of the fault proved before you; or else as not guilty to be ab-
'solved clearly: we will that ye procede according to justice and
'equity in that behalf, and give therein a determinate sentence, any
'Law, Statute, Act or Ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding'. This latter clause of the commission I have copied from a draught of it now in the Paper Office, because it differs something from that published by Fox. (p. 674.) Seven sessions were held on several days, from Wednesday the 11th of September to Tuesday the 1st of October, at Lambeth; in all which he carried himself very disdainfully, abusing the witnesses, and the audience, and protesting first against Sir Thomas Smith, and then against all the other of the King's Commissioners, endeavouring to divert them to a disputation on the Corporal Presence, and at last appealing from them to the King. The principal part of the charge against him, I mean his not preaching up the King's authority while he was a minor,

he confessed in the excuse he made ; which was, that he had prepared notes to that purpose, but that not being used to preach his memory failed him, being disturbed by a message from the Lords informing him of the King's victory over the Rebels, and that his book fell from him. His indecent behaviour was extraordinary, swearing at Sir Thomas Smith, and giving him the lie, and defying him. His outrageous contempt of the King's Commissioners, calling them pretended, and suspect, and injurious, occasioned his being committed Prisoner to the Marshalsea ; and his continued contumacy and refusing to make further answer, or submit to their jurisdiction, made them to procede to sentence of Deprivation. He appealed to the King as a shift, if possible, to elude the sentence ; on which evasion the Bishop of Rochester quoted a text of St. John, *He that doeth evil hateth the light*. The dangerous rebellious temper he manifested occasioned his being sent back to the Marshalsea.

While this Commission was executing with regard to the Bishop of London, a matter of greater importance was carrying on in the Council Chamber by the Popish faction. They opposed the Protector in every thing, with a view either to disconcert his measures, or drive him upon acting without their consents, to which he was now prone, and had disgusted many of the Lords by too great an imitation of the late King's behaviour : which was the more unbecoming in the Duke of Somerset, as it grew not out of his natural temper, nor was suited to his place ; which was only a precedence among Equals, voluntarily conceded to him. His trusty friend Sir William Paget wrote to him on this impolitick carriage, in the preceding May. ' Of late your Grace is grown in great cholerick
' fashions, whensoever you are contraried in that which you have
' conceived in your head. A King, which shall give men occasion
' of discourage to say their opinions frankly, receiveth thereby
' great hurt and peril to his realm. But a subject in great authori-
' ty,

‘ty, as your Grace is, using such fashion, is like to fall into great
‘danger and peril of his own person, beside that to the Common-
‘weal. Which for the very love I bear to your Grace, I beseech
‘you, and for God’s sake, consider and weigh well.’ It is not un-
likely but that the Earl of Warwick had blown him up to this
height for the purpose; and by an affected submission, and laying
at his feet his new won laurels in Norfolk, encreased his arrogance
so much, as provoked the Popish faction, which was now working
against the Duke under the Earl of Southampton, to make over-
tures to him: which accordingly was done by Southampton, who
represented to the Earl of Warwick, that HE had really got all
these victories, for which the Protector triumphed. HE had won
the field of Pinkey near Musselburgh, and had subdued the Rebels
in Norfolk. It was below HIM to be second to any. The Invi-
tation coming from them, to whom he artfully gave secret assuran-
ces of his inclinations to the Old Religion, made him sure of their
assistance in his schemes: in which, if he failed, he hoped to make
his peace, by throwing the blame on them; if he succeeded, he
could favor the Old or New Opinions, use or refuse the Instru-
ments by which he had effected so much, as occurrences should at
that time persuade. Accordingly he engages against the Protec-
tor, opposes him in every thing; and all the month of September
was spent in heats, which threatened to burst out into a flame.
The chief point was the affair of Bologne, a place we held from the
French King; who, taking occasion of our tumults at home, had
besieged it this September. Indeed he was driven off by the
plague breaking out in the French camp: but he left the siege to
be carried on under the command of Chatilion; the exhausted ex-
chequer; men wanted, on occasion of the mutinies at home; the
Emperour not inclined to assist us; the distressed affairs of the Pro-
testants in Germany, whom France offered to assist, if Bologne was
given up; and the short time unexpired before that place was to
be

be surrendered by a former treaty, inclined the Protector rather to receive a sum of money for the delivery of a place, which he could not keep, and make a friend of the French King, than to incur unnecessary expences in defence of a place, which could not long hold out. His dilemma was, that the selling it was unpopular, and the keeping it impracticable. The odiousness of the first served the faction to displace the Protector; soon after whose Fall the new Governours yielded to the necessity of a surrender.

The King and the Protector were at Hampton Court, to whom the Archbishop repaired immediately after the deprivation of Boner, which was in the beginning of October. By the 6th of this month the Protector had discovered the conspiracy, as he writes in a letter to Lord Ruffel, Lord Privy Seal, requiring him to repair to the defence of the King's Majesty at Windsor, to which place they removed the next day. The seceders met at Ely House, and were eighteen in number, Lord St. John, President, Lord Chancellor Rich, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Warwick, Arundel, Southampton, and Salisbury, Goodrich Bishop of Ely, Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir John Gage, Sir Edward North, Lord Chief Justice Montague, Sir Ralph Sadeler, Sir John Baker, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edmund Pecham, Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton: and Secretary Petre being sent on the 6th in the King's name to ask what they met for, joined himself to them; leaving none with the Protector but the faithful Archbishop, his old Friend Paget, and Secretary Smith. So deserted, and the Tower of London in the seceders hands, the Council desiring to be admitted to the King's Presence to do their duties about him, and promising to use the Duke of Somerset with as much moderation and favor, as in honor they could, Cranmer and Paget persuaded both the King and the Protector to yield to the Council. So that on the 12th of October the whole Council met at Windsor: where the Protector was charged (as King Edward sets down in his Journal)

‘ with

‘ with ambition, vain-glory, entering into rash wars in my youth,
‘ negligent looking on New Haven, enriching himself of my trea-
‘ sures, following his own opinion, and doing all by his own au-
‘ thority.’ Sir Thomas Smith, as chief Instrument in all his wil-
ful proceedings, was removed from his place of Secretary, and sent
to the Tower ; as the Duke of Somerset was the next day, October
13. and a revocation made by Letters Patent of the authority of
Governour of the King’s Person, and Protectorship, granted to him
December 24, 1 Edw. vi. He was likewise deprived of the offi-
ces of Earl Marshal, and Lord Treasurer ; as Paget was of that of
Comptroller of the King’s House. This fall of honors gave good
hopes to the principal Conspirators, that they should be amply re-
warded.

No sooner was the Duke in the Tower, than the Papists lifted
up their heads ; their Champion the Earl of Southampton had
succeeded against the Protector. Warwick, as Thuanus reports,
had given them secret assurances ; whereupon Winchester writes
a contratulatory letter to the Earl of Warwick from his prison, re-
joicing that the late tyranny was now at an end ; and desiring that
when he had leisure from the great affairs, some regard might be
had of him. Boner also, seeing his angry Commissioner, Smith,
was slain, together with the Protector, whom he looked on as his
chief enemies, and Cranmer in no good terms with the Earl of War-
wick, sent a petition to the Council, with whom he thought it
would appear meritorious to have been a sufferer and injuriously
treated by the Protector and his Creature Sir Thomas Smith. In
which manner he represented his case, depending on the preva-
lence of the Popish faction, craving therefore that his appeal might
be received, and his process reviewed. Many also fell off from
going to the English Service, or the Communion, it being gene-
rally said, that now the Old Service should come in again.

Warwick

Warwick warily kept off from intangling himself too far, till he had examined which way his path lay. Who finding the King so zealously addicted to the carrying on the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any one so much to him as the promoting it further would do, soon forsook the Popish party, and was seemingly the most earnest for a further Reformation. So that Winchester still continued unregarded in the Tower. And December 25 a General Letter was drawn up to all the Bishops of England, letting them understand, 'that there was no intention of bringing in again Latin service, conjured bread, and water, nor any such abrogated ceremonies. And that the abolishing these, and the setting forth the Book of Common Prayer were done by the whole state of the realm. And that the Bishops should see that all antiphoners, missals, and other books of the Popish service, should be brought in, that they may be defaced and abolished.' As to Boner, who had petitioned to have his appeal accepted, in the end of October, he was so far indulged, as that they appointed a new Court of Delegates to review the process against him. This Court consisted of four Civilians and four Common Lawyers, who having examined it, reported that the process had been legally carried on, and the sentence justly given, and that there was no good reason why the appeal should be received, and therefore they rejected it. This being reported to the Council, they sent for Bishop Boner in the beginning of February, and declared to him that his appeal was rejected, and the sentence against him was in full force.

His adversary Sir Thomas Smith, at whose fall and commitment to the Tower he so greatly rejoiced, made his peace, by acknowledging himself debtor to the King three thousand pounds. Nay, the Duke of Somerset, having submitted himself entirely, was released from the Tower the 6th of February, had his pardon granted ten days after, and on the tenth of April following was restored to favor, and sworn of the Privy Council.

In

In the disposition of honors the Earl of Warwick took care to disappoint the chief Conspirators, who had invited him to this enterprise, and for whom he found he had no further service. The Earl himself succeeded to the Duke of Somerset in the office of Lord Great Master; his own office of Lord High Chamberlain was given to the Marquess of Northampton; the place of Lord Treasurer, which the Duke had, and the Earl of Southampton hoped for, was conferred on the Lord President St. John; Sir Anthony Wingfield was Comptroller of the King's Household, in the room of Sir William Paget; who for his fidelity to his late Master was made a Baron, and soon after Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

What then was the reward which the Earl of Warwick bestowed on the Conspirators, who had helped him to the chief rule? The principal of them, Wriothesly Earl of Southampton retired disgusted, and either poisoned himself, or died of grief at his disappointments by the July following: the Earl of Arundel, for pulling down locks and bolts at Westminster, and giving away the King's stuff, was sequestered to his house in January, and submitted himself to a fine of twelve thousand pounds, to be paid in twelve years: and Southwell, another chief instrument, was soon after put into the Fleet, for dispersing some seditious bills: what became at last of the Earl of Warwick himself is well known, and will fall within the course of this History to be again remembered.

In the Parliament, which sat this year from November 4 to February 1, it was thought fit to renew the design that was formed in the preceding reign, of authorising Two and thirty Persons to compile a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws; for which purpose an act passed, empowering the King to name Sixteen Persons of the Spirituality, of whom Four should be Bishops, and Sixteen of the Temporality, of whom Four should be Common Lawyers; who within three years should compile a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws,

and those, being nothing contrary to the Common and Statute Laws of the Land, should be published by the King's warrant, under the Great Seal, and have the force of laws in the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Archbishop and Bishop of Rochester were two of the Bishops named for this purpose.

A Bill likewise passed for the Form of ordaining Ministers, which had been committed to twelve persons (probably the same who compiled the Common Prayer, though) Hethe, Bishop of Worcester, refused to be concerned, and was committed to prison; the Bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Chichester, and Westminster, protested against it.

While the Parliament sate, November 10, died Pope Paul III. in the 82d year of his age. Cardinal Pole was chosen to succede him: but when the Cardinals came to adore him, and make him Pope, as the custom was, he received the honor with coldness, saying, that it was night, and that God loved light rather than darkness; and therefore desired to delay the ceremony till day came. On this his friends shrunk from him; and after some intrigues, chose the Cardinal de Monte, now Pope Julius III. who gave a strange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own Hat, according to the custom of the Popes, who bestow their Hats before they go out of Conclave, on a mean servant of his, who had the charge of a monkey that he kept: and being asked what he observed in him to make him a Cardinal, Burnet. he answered, as much as the Cardinals had seen in him to make him a Pope. But it was commonly said, that the secret of this promotion was an unnatural affection to him.

Upon the confirmation of the sentence against Bishop Boner the Council were not unprovided with a proper person to fill the important see of London. Ridley, says Bishop Burnet, being esteemed both the most learned, and most thoroughly zealous for the Reformation, was pitched on to be the man. On the 21st of February

ry he was sent for ; though it is not unlikely that he was designed for it more than a month before ; for on the 16th of January I find Thomas Broke collated by the Archbishop to the vicarage of Herne, which Ridley had held in commendam with his Bishoprick of Rochester. It was also thought needless to have two Bishopricks so near together as London and Westminster ; the latter therefore it was now resolved should be suppressed, and united to the see of London. For this purpose Thirlby, the present Bishop, was to be provided for ; which was done by removing him to Norwich to succede Dr. William Repps.

Registr.
Cranmer.

The new Bishop of London was to have one thousand pounds per annum of the rents of the Bishoprick, and for his further supply was dispensed with to hold, as he had done before, a Prebend of Canterbury, and another of Westminster. The former of these he resigned the year after, for Thomas Willoughby succeeded him in it July 23, 1551, by the free resignation of Bishop Ridley. Bishop Thirlby resigned his Bishoprick, March 29, which three days after was suppressed, and the diocese reunited to London, as appears by the last note in that Register. Many of the lands of this Bishoprick were given in exchange for others belonging to the Bishoprick of London. He had also the Convicts prison, and an house between the West end of the Abbey and the Gate-house. His Prebend in this church he held as long as King Edward lived, and then was succeeded in the eighth stall by Hugh Griffith, July 4, 1553.

And now being to take our leave of him as Bishop of Rochester, and having given such a view of him as the truth of History, his Contemporaries, and Records still extant demand, justice seems to require that we hear what his Adversaries, the Roman Catholick Writers, have to object against him. N. D.

§. 11. Ridley vindicated from the aspersions of Pierfon.

alias Pierſon, proceeds thus in his character of him from the Death of Henry VIII. ' When Henry the VIIIth was dead, and his Son Edward the Child came to the crown, conſidering with himſelf that the Protector Lord Seimour, and other that bare the ſway, were inclined to innovations in religion, and that Cranmer, partly by his own natural levity, and partly for the free uſe of his woman, was ſwaying alſo that way, Ridley thought good to take part, and bear him company both in that innovation, and taking a wife alſo, hoping thereby to get himſelf a better Biſhoprick, through the favor of the time, and deprivation of ſome others, that were more ſcrupulous and conſtant in catholick religion than himſelf; as namely Dr. Boner and Dr. Gardener, Biſhops of London and Wincheſter: againſt whom Cranmer and he procured themſelves to be made Viſitors and Judges, as before you have heard, and by the help and accusations of Hoper and Latimer, and others, deprived them at length of their Biſhopricks; and Ridley got for his reward the Biſhoprick of London, for that it firſt fell void before the other.'

Here he is repreſented as embracing his opinions from a ſervile compliance with the Protector and the Archbiſhop. On the contrary, we have ſeen that it was the effect of a progreſſive light from a diligent ſearching the Scriptures and the antient Fathers; which light he communicated to Cranmer, inſtead of being biaſſed to his opinions by Cranmer: and with reſpect to the Protector, we ſee that Ridley had a conſcience of his own, which he maintained againſt the Protector, in ſpite of his great diſpleaſure, at the very time when his impatience of contradiction and arbitrary ſpirit were at their higheſt pitch.

But he is repreſented not only as believing complaiſantly with Cranmer, but as taking a wife alſo, in imitation of the Archbiſhop. And at the cloſe of his account of Ridley, he ſays, ' that none of Fox's ſaints ſhould have this gift to contain, but that ALL of them

' them yielded to the passion of the flesh, is a very base matter, if
 ' it be well considered, and it is well worth the considering.' Poor
 Pierſon could not have been more unlucky in the choice of a ran-
 dom charge againſt Ridley than here; for had Ridley been married,
 was not the marriage of the Clergy proved to be agreeable to ſcrip-
 ture, and now made lawful in England? And how would it ap-
 pear that he took a wife to bear Cranmer company? Why not in
 imitation of St. Peter? Why not in obedience to the counſel of
 St. Paul, that it was *better to marry than to burn*? But as ill luck
 will have it for this raſh calumniator Ridley was never married at
 all; but preſerved an unrepachable chaſtity to his death. Let
 thoſe of this Writer's communion conſider well, for it is well worth
 the conſideration, the compariſon betwixt the moſt eminent Pre-
 lates of their church, and this Biſhop of ours. If compariſon be
 made betwixt him and this Writer's boated Biſhops, who were
 ' more ſcrupulous and conſtant in Catholick religion than himſelf,
 ' Dr. Boner and Dr. Gardener, Biſhops of London and Wincheſ-
 ' ter,' conſider what Bale, (who indeed is but a coarſe writer, yet)
 relates as notorious facts, in his *Declaration of Boner's Articles*, un-
 der the xxixth article, enquiring whether the Curates *viſited* their
 Pariſhioners in the time of ſickneſs and need; where, after men-
 tioning many ſhocking lewd enormities of the Popiſh Priests under
 this color of *viſitation*, eſpecially in the dioceſe of Wincheſter, he
 adds, ' Their pratling patriarch Gardiner, ſhould ſeem by his
 ' large encrease, whom I know by an old familiar of his, now con-
 ' verted to repentance, to have been a good *viſitor* alſo, Miſtreſs
 ' Godſalve not remembered. Laſt of all cometh buttock-faced
 ' Boner, and he ſheweth what he hath been in that behalf, by one
 ' which is both his ſon and a ſteward of his lands, which beareth
 ' his mother's ſurname, as he himſelf doth, to keep all cloſe, and
 ' by other *ſpiritual fruits* of his beſides. I ſpare theſe good ſtories
 ' alſo with D. Darbyſhire, and the fruits that he had by Ann Cau-
 ' del

‘del, for my aforeſaid [Book of] Votaries.’ Thus much for Pierſon’s elect ſaints at home. If we take a ſpecimen abroad, confining ourſelves to the very times we have now under view, we find the Archbiſhop of Benevento, in teſtimony of the chaſtity of the Romiſh clergy, and as angry as Dorman (or Pierſon) at the free uſe of the woman, not aſhamed to publiſh a Book in defence of Sodomy. Nay his HOLINESS himſelf, who died November 10 in this year 1549, was charged with as great an averſion to matrimony as this writer could wiſh Him, or any Biſhop to have. In a little book which came out not long before the Pope’s death, under the name of Bernardine Ochin, but, as it was thought, written by another hand, we have the following picture drawn of Paul III.

‘ In the time of Pope Innocent, moſt wicked Prelate, thou waſt
 ‘ caſt into priſon for two murders and one parricide thou commit-
 ‘ tedſt, in poiſoning thy own mother and a nephew, that all the in-
 ‘ heritance might fall to thee. Being afterward ſet at liberty, thou
 ‘ didſt not ſcruple to put in for the Purple Hat : but thou waſt
 ‘ thrice rejected by the College, and it was thy Siſter Julia Farnefe
 ‘ who at length prevailed for thee ; for ſhe threatening that his Ho-
 ‘ LINESS ſhould have no more to do with her, Pope Alexander VI.
 ‘ fearing her anger and diſpleaſure, thruſt thee into the congrega-
 ‘ tion of Cardinals. You alſo poiſoned another ſiſter for her incon-
 ‘ tinence, the common fault of your Family. When you were Le-
 ‘ gate of Ancona, in the time of Julius II. you baſely overreached
 ‘ a maid of that city ; for diſſembling what you were, and making
 ‘ her believe you were one of the Legate’s Gentlemen, you prevailed
 ‘ with her and deflowered her : which villany, the Cardinal of An-
 ‘ cona, the Maid’s Uncle, after the city was taken, charged you
 ‘ home with in moſt ſevere manner before Pope Clement, who
 ‘ then was priſoner. Nicholas Quercy ſurprized you lying with
 ‘ his Wife Laura Farnefe, your own Niece, and gave you a wound
 ‘ with a ſtiletto of which you ſtill bear the ſcar. What need I
 ‘ ſpeak

'speak of your Daughter Constantina, with whom you have lain
 'so often? For that you might the more freely enjoy her, you
 'poisoned her Husband Bosio Sfortia, who having perceived your
 'naughtiness with her, conceived such inward grief at it, that he
 'was never seen to look merry afterward. You certainly excede
 'Commodus and Heliogabalus in filthy lust, and that planely ap-
 'pears by the many Bastards you have. Lot lay with his Daughters
 'indeed, but then he was drunk, and knew not what he did: but
 'you, being sober, have lain not only with your Niece, but with
 'your own Sister, and Daughter also.'

Sleiden,
 B. XXI.
 p. 487.

And now let the indignant Reader judge, whether any one of
 these, or Ridley, was more worthy to be a Teacher of the Gospel
 and a Christian Bishop; these, who under solemn oaths and vows
 of chastity, spent their lives in the lewedst and most unnatural
 scenes of lust; or he, who generously vindicated a liberty from
 those oaths, which experience shews us were rashly taken, and
 infamously broken, and then by a superior virtue voluntarily em-
 braced that strictness and severity of life, which the Romish Priests
 violate, though sworn to observe.

The motive also assigned for his compliance with the Protector,
 (whom he remarkably withstood) and for imitating the Archbishop
 in marrying, (which he never did) is very absurdly assigned, viz:
 the prospect of a better Bishoprick; for at King Henry's death,
 when this motive is assigned, he had no Bishoprick at all, and there-
 fore could have no view to a better; and that having the Bishoprick
 of Rochester he hoped to get a better, by the deprivation of others,
 of whom he procured himself to be made Visitor and Judge, is spo-
 ken without any proof, and contrary to appearance. For when he
 was put into Commission to examine Boner, he had so very lately
 offended the Protector by acting conscientiously in a former Com-
 mission, that it was not likely he should desire to be employed
 again; and if employed, and Boner should be found worthy of de-
 privation,

privation, he could not imagine his interest was so great with the Protector as to succede him in the see of London. And that he got this Bishoprick for his reward, as if in consequence of his views and schemes, is most improbable, because betwixt his appointment in the Commission to examine Boner, and his Promotion to the vacant see, there had happened so great a revolution at Court in the ministry, that it was not likely that Ridley should be promoted by the Earl of Warwick, in consequence of a scheme concerted betwixt Ridley and the late Protector.

In short his opinions were owing to the light of the Gospel, and his continence to the Grace of God : and although he disobliged the Protector by scruples, which the Protector thought needless, yet his integrity of behaviour in that opposition, might convince him that he was very fit to be again employed : and if his known integrity and great character made it not improbable, that upon Boner's deprivation the Duke of Somerset had designed that Ridley should succede him, so, when the Duke fell, and his Rival and Enemy the Earl of Warwick, after long fluctuating, found it prudent to carry on the Reformation, he concurred with his Predecessor in opinion, that no one was so worthy to fill up a see of that consequence as Dr. Ridley.

THE

THE
L I F E
O F
Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

BOOK V. From 1550 to 1553.

RIDLEY Bishop of London.

*Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee Ruler
over many things. MATTH. XXV. 21.*

THIS interval begins with Ridley's promo-
tion to the See of London, for which he
took his oath, April 3, and on Saturday,
April 12, was installed and enthroned by his proxy
Richard Wilkes, Clerk, before William May, Dean of St. Paul's,
John Cardmaker (alias Taylor) present, who was now Vicar of
St. Bride's, and one of the Commissioners for this purpose.

1550.
K. Edw.
Journal.
St. Mem.
v. II.
p. 217.

After Installation, was performed the *Te Deum* in English, with
organs playing, and the choir singing; and then the Dean said
this Collect in English;

Regist.
Ridley.

*O Lord, Almighty God, we beseech thee to grant to thy servant
NICHOLAS, our Bishop, that by preaching and doing those things
which*

which be godly, he may both instruct the minds of his Diocesans with true faith and example of good works: and finally receive of the most merciful Pastor the reward of eternal life, who liveth with Thee and the Holy Ghost world without end. Amen.

Coll. p. 11.
b. 4. pag.
218.

His Patent, as Bishop Burnet tells us, was *during life*: but Mr. Collier infers from the same learned Author, both in his Records and in the body of his history, that the Bishops through the whole course of King Edward's reign were *upon good behaviour* for their office, and had the express clause of *quamdiu se bene gesserint* put in their patents. It is true that Cranmer craved leave to exercise his power, and by his example led the other Bishops to take out Commissions, or a Faculty for the exercise of Episcopal Jurisdiction, *ad nostrum beneplacitum tantum duraturam, to continue only during our pleasure*: and by a Commission of Queen Mary to some of her Bishops to examine three of King Edward's Bishops, Taylor, Hoper, and Harley, it appears that they held their Bishopricks with the express clause of *quamdiu se bene gesserint, their good behaviour*. Notwithstanding this, it is certain by the exemplification of King Edward's Patent to Ridley, in the Register of London, that he was to hold his Bishoprick *during life*. 'For the singular learn-

Registr.
Lond.
Ridley.

'ing in the sacred scriptures, and most approved manners with which the said Nicholas, late Bishop of Rochester, is endued, and because, according to the commendation of our Saviour, we judge *Him* above all others worthy to be put over many things, who hath been found faithful over few, we of our grace and meer motion grant to him the Bishoprick of London to have, hold, and occupy *durante vitâ suâ naturali, during the term of his natural life*.'

In this high station his behaviour was with great dignity; for it was benevolent, useful, and exemplary. With respect to his Predecessor, he was very careful to do him no injury in his goods, taking not one pennyworth of his moveables, which he found in
the

the Palace, but gave him liberty to remove whatever was his ; and what he knew to be his, though not taken away according to this leave, he carefully preserved for Boner's use. Boner had bought a quantity of lead for the repairs of his House and Church, which Ridley employed to the uses designed, but paid Boner for it. And that none might suffer innocently by his promotion, he paid fifty three or fifty five pounds to Boner's own servants, which sum was due to them from their master for liveries and wages. Nor did his Predecessor's Mother, or his Sister Mrs. Mungey, who lived near the Palace at Fulham, miss the honor or the benefit of the Bishop of London's board. He always sent for them to dinner and supper, and placed Mrs. Boner at the upper end of his table, never displacing her, though even any of the King's Council dined with him, as they often did ; not frowning upon her misfortunes, but courteously alleviating them with all the honor and tenderness that he could shew to her, saying, ' by your Lordship's favor, this place of right and custom is for my Mother Boner.' As if he had succeeded to the Relation as well as to the Office of her Son.

With respect to himself, he was mortified, and given to prayer and contemplation : with respect to his family, careful and instructive. His mode of life was, as soon as he rose and had dressed himself, to continue in private prayer half an hour ; then (unless other business interrupted him) he retired to his study, where he continued till ten of the clock, at which hour he came to common prayer with his family, and there daily read a lecture to them, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going regularly through St. Paul's Epistles, giving to every one that could read a New Testament, and hiring them to learn by heart some chosen chapters, especially the xiiith of the Acts. And to signify his resolution to them, often had the cist Psalm repeted to his household, being very careful to make his family a spectacle of virtue and honesty to others. After prayers he went to dinner, where he

was not very forward to begin discourse, but when occasion was administered, he entered into it with great wisdom and discretion; and sometimes, if the case required, merrily. This conversation he would indulge for an hour after dinner, or else in playing at chess. The hour for unbending being expired, he returned to his study, where he continued till five, except suitors or business abroad required otherwise. Then he went to common prayer as in the morning, after which he supped; then diverting himself for another hour after supper, as he did after dinner, he went back to his study, and continued there till eleven at night, when he retired to private prayer, and then went to bed; where he, and his household made virtuous by his example and instruction, enjoyed the sweet repose of a day well spent.

The only objection I have met with made to him was the alienation of lands, which on the very day of his installment he passed over to the King. These Heylin has made to look as odious as possible, by representing the Manors of Hackney and Stebonheath, parcel of those lands, as containing no fewer than six and twenty townships, streets, and hamlets: but then he makes these to have been granted by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's on the 12th day after Christmas, during the vacancy of the see, though certainly now confirmed by the new Bishop on the 12th of April, together with the manors of Braintree and Southminster, and the advowson of the vicarage of Coggeshall in the county of Essex. It is not likely that he, who on many other occasions was very earnest against the plunder of the times, would tamely submit to such an alienation, unless it had been, as Mr. Strype shews it was, an exchange very advantageous to his see; for on the very same day the King passed over to him many manors, houses, and advowsons in London and Westminster, and in the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, Essex, Warwick, Lincoln, Rutland, Oxford, Northampton, Huntingdon, Surry, Gloucester, Berks, and Worcester, which were parcels of the dissolved
Bishoprick

Bishoprick of Westminster, formerly belonging to the Abbot and Abbey there. These turned the scale in favour of the See of London.

No sooner was he promoted to his new Dignity than he applied himself to the duties of it; endeavouring to acquaint himself with the state of his diocese by a visitation of it toward the beginning of June, in which were exhibited articles of Enquiry; and laboring to reform all disorders in it by his injunctions for an uniformity in his diocese.

The exemplification of these may be seen in Bishop Burnet, except two passages of scripture in the conclusion of them, which he has omitted; Proverbs xv. 31, 32. *The ear that hearkeneth to the reformation of life shall remain among the wise. He that refuseth to be reformed despiseth his own soul: but he that submitteth himself to correction is wise.* I I I Kings xviii. 21. Elias. *How long halt you between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal be he, then go after him.*

Among these injunctions one was, that the Curates, Churchwardens and Questmen should erect and set up the Lord's Board after the form of an honest Table, decently covered, in such place of the choir or chancel as they should judge most convenient, that a godly unity might be observed in his diocese, and the simple be turned from the old superstitious opinions of the Popish mass.

And these injunctions Sir John Yates, Sheriff of Essex, had orders to see performed June the 23d, by which day the Bishop had finished his visitation; for on the morrow he conferred Holy Orders on twenty five persons before the high altar at St. Paul's, according to the rite, manner and form of the Church of England lately published and enjoined, all Deacons; among which were Richard Fletcher, afterward successively Bishop of Bristol, Worcester, and London; John Fox, the Martyrologist; Henry Markham, the Archbishop's Chaplain; and John Lever, a learned and pious exile
under

K. Edw.
Journal.

Mem.
vol. II.
p. 257.

New-
court's
Reperto-
rium.

under Queen Mary. On the 29th of June he assisted at the Consecration of Dr. John Ponet, his Successor in the See of Rochester, having on his Surplice and Cope, and his Pastoral Staff in his hand, according to the Prescript of the Book of Common Service; and the Lord's Supper was celebrated upon a Table covered with a white linen cloth. And on the 10th of August following he ordained Mr. Lever Priest at Fulham, and three of his own College, Deacons; these were John Bradford the Martyr, Thomas Horton, and Thomas Sampson. Mr. Strype by mistake represents this Thomas Sampson as the same with him who was successively Dean of Chichester and Christ-church in Oxford, and who was deprived in Queen Elizabeth's reign for obstinately refusing to wear the Cap and Surplice: but that Sampson was bred at Oxford, and afterward studied at the Temple, and was ordained Deacon by Archbishop Cranmer in 1549, before the new Ordinal was enjoined, assisted by Ridley, at that time Bishop of Rochester. One thing remarkable happened at that Ordination, if we may credit what Sampson himself relates in a letter to Secretary Cecyl; he says that he objected to the Habits, but was nevertheless ordained by the connivance both of the Archbishop and of Bishop Ridley. It may be asked, how came they to connive in Sampson's case, when in the case of Hoper, as we shall see hereafter, they would not yield in the least? If the fact be true, it acquits those Prelates of any superstitious fondness for the habits: and the question is, why did they wink at a breach of the laws in being in one case, and yet refuse to do it in the other? I apprehend the reason to have been this; the old Popish Ordinal was then in force, with more evident superstition and idolatry than they could comply with; wherefore by indulgence from the Council they ordained Sampson by the New Ordinal intended, though not yet enjoined. The vestments indeed were appointed by the New Ordinal; but Sampson scrupling them, the Prelates judging them things indifferent, and not yet enjoined by

by law, they indulged Sampson's scruples at that time, which they could not afterward do without exposing the laws and government both in church and state to great contempt. This point occasioned a very troublesome controversy to the Reformers, as we shall presently see, for by this time the Bishop of London was employed, like a true Champion of the Church of England, to reduce to obedience two kinds of men, who were then, and have been ever since, extreme enemies to it: I mean, Popish sophisters, who would not abrogate any ceremony, however superstitious; and Fanatical Nonconformists, who refused to comply with the most indifferent, although enjoined. Our Bishop's engagements with both these at the same time were now begun, and run through the rest of the year. For the easier perception of them, it will be proper to separate the cases, although coincident in time, and treat of each distinctly.

§. 2. *In commission to receive Winchester's submission to the King, or to deprive him.*

The first was the Bishop of Winchester's affair, in which he began to be concerned before the middle of July.

After the marriage of the Earl of Warwick's Son to the Lady Ann, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, it was all calm and fair weather at Court; every one was in good humor, and they had very little business to trouble them. They removed with the King to Greenwich the 6th of June, where presently^a, considering the long imprisonment that the Bishop of Winchester had undergone, it was now thought time that he should be indulged with an opportunity of being easily discharged; agreeing, that if he repented his former obstinacy, and would henceforth apply himself to advance the King's proceedings, his Highness in this case would be his good Lord, and remit all his errors past: otherwise his Majesty was resolved to procede against him as his obstinacy and contempt required. For declaration of this

K. Edw.
Journal.

^a June 8.

this, the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Great Chamberlain, and Mr. Secretary Petre, were appointed to repair to him the next day : which they did, and asked him whether he would promote the King's laws or not ? He answered, that he would obey and set forth all things which had been set forth by the King and Parliament. And if he were troubled in conscience, he would revele it to the Council, and not reason openly against it. And then desired to see the Book of the King's proceedings. Which was delivered to him by the Lieutenant of the Tower. Three days after, the Duke of Somerset, and five more of the Council repaired to him for his answer. He told them, ' I have deliberately seen the Book of Common Prayer. Although ' I would not have made it so myself, yet I find such things in it ' as satisfy my conscience. And therefore I will both execute it ' myself, and also see others my parishioners to do it.'

Here indeed was no voluntary acknowledgment of his past offences, nor submission to the King's mercy, without which, after so long imprisonment, no discharge could in reason follow without due course of law. But the Bishop flattered himself that this would not be required, and the Lords probably concluded from his present behaviour that he would not refuse it, when required : so they parted on such good terms, that Winchester expected to be released in two days, and made his farewell feast in the Tower.

The Council waited (probably for this voluntary submission) till the next month, when * the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Treasurer, Sir William Herbert Master of the Horse, and Secretary Petre, went to him with a letter from the King, complaining, that in all this time of confinement, and clement treating with him by divers
Fox. Noblemen and others of the Privy Council, yet in all this time he had neither acknowledged his faults, nor made any submission, as might have become him, nor shewed any appearance either of re-
pentance,

* July 9.

penitance, or of any good conformity to the King's godly proceedings. They therefore brought along with them a submission, and certain articles for the Bishop to subscribe. These articles contained the confession of his fault; an acknowledgment of the Supremacy of the King and of his Successors; allowing that the establishing of Holy-days, or dispensing with them, was in the King; that the Service Book was godly and christian; that obedience was due to the King's laws while he was under age; that there was reason for abolishing the Six Article act; and that the King had the power of correcting and reforming the Church. All which articles he subscribed with his own hand, except the necessary point of submission, against which he wrote in the margin, 'I cannot in my conscience confess the preface, knowing myself to be of that sort I am, and ever have been.'

Strype,
Life of
Cranmer.

In this interview the Earl of Warwick behaved with the same easy friendship as the Duke of Somerset had done, inviting him to sit down by him, and on his declining it, pulling him, saying, they had ere this sat together, and trusted they should do so again; and entered into so free a conversation with the Bishop, that he merrily told them, 'they were separately each his good Lord, but when you meet together, says he, I feel no remedy at your hands. When my Lord of Somerset was here, I looked to have gone out in two days. I agreed with him, and now agree with you: yet I may fortune to be forgotten.' The Lord Treasurer assured him he should hear from them the next day. But as to the Confession of his fault, and Submission, he said, 'he should sooner tumble himself desperately into the Thames than make it.'

This, when reported, disgusted the Council: yet so averse were they from severity, or even a just resentment, that Sir William Herbert and Secretary Petre were sent from the King to the Bishop the very next day, to signify the King's surprise at his refusal to

sign the Confession : yet referring it to himself in what manner, and with what words he would devise to submit himself, that upon the acknowledgment of his fault, the King might extend his mercy toward him as was determined. But he refused the mercy, and stood to his justification by trial.

Whereupon, Sunday, July 13, it was agreed by the Council, that a new book of articles, and a new submission should be framed for Winchester to subscribe. And the Bishop of London, Secretary Petre, Mr. Cecil, and Goodrick, a common Lawyer, were commanded to draw up these articles according to Law, and to insert the submission. Sir William Herbert and Mr. Petre, accompanied with the Bishop of London and Mr. Goodrick, were ordered to repair to him with the new draught. At first Winchester refused even to read the articles ; and when, after much earnest intreaty, he did, he refused any consideration of them till he was released from prison ; and labored to divert the discourse from the business in hand to a controversy with the Bishop of London ; who would not be so diverted from the errand on which he came, but admonished the Bishop of Winchester to a patient and submissive behaviour, by acknowledging God's justice to him in this visitation, remembering how many persons he had troubled in times past. Awakening Gardiner's conscience with a review of all his malicious intrigues through the last years of King Henry's reign, in which the Queen and her Ladies, the Archbishop, Ridley himself, and some of his Fellow-Preachers at Canterbury had been the marks at which he had so unjustly and mischievously levelled.

On the 19th Gardiner was called before the Council, who by special commission required him to subscribe the articles, but he still refused ; and for his manifold contempts and disobedience in this behalf Secretary Petre read the sequestration of his Benefice for three months, with intimation, that if he reformed not in that space, he would be deprived. However, his House and Servants,

were

were ordered to be maintained in their present state, during the three months.

These three months expired, October 19, but his business was not immediately renewed; they waited till November 23, and then agreed that the Bishop of Ely, Mr. Secretary Petre, Dr. May, and Dr. Glynn, all learned in the Civil Law, should substantially confer upon the matter, and certify on Tuesday the 26th what was to be done duly by order of the Law in this case.

In consequence of this, a Commission, dated December 12, was issued out from the King to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, Sir William Petre, Sir James Hales, Justice of the Common Pleas, Griffith Leyson, and John Oliver, Doctors of the Civil Law, Richard Goodrick, and John Gosnold, Esquires, Common Lawyers, to call the Bishop of Winchester before them, and, if he continued in his contempt, to deprive him.

At his first appearance, December 15, he protested against his Judges, and excepted again their Commission; at the same time publicly affirming that the Duke of Somerset and other Privy Counsellors, who were sent to him in the Tower, had made an end with him for all the matters for which he was committed: in so much that he verily thought he should never have heard any more of it. But to his confusion, the next commission day, a letter signed by the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Wiltshire, and Bedford, and Sir Edward North, was delivered, in which they denied any such matter, saying, that the Bishop defended his cause with untruths, and that, upon their fidelity and honor, his tale was false; for that their coming to him in the Tower was to do their endeavour to reclaim him. And they prayed the Commissioners, that, for their vindication, they would cause this their letter to be publicly read.

On the 14th of February, after two and twenty sessions, when the sentence definitive was ready to be pronounced against him, he made his appeal from the Commissioners to the King, for that his pretended Judges were not indifferent, but prejudiced against him; that my Lord of Canterbury had caused him to be sent to prison; and that Hales, Goodrick and Gosnold had counselled to send him thither; that the Archbishop, and the Bishops of London and Lincoln did contrary to the Laws Ecclesiastical, and sought to set forth manifest condemned errors against the Presence in the sacrament; and that because he, as well in his writings, as otherwise, did set forth the Catholick Faith of the very Presence of Christ's body and blood, therefore they shewed themselves unduly affected toward him; that Sir William Petre decreed the fruits of his Bishoprick to be sequestered *de facto*, but not *de jure*, and now was Judge in his own cause. But, notwithstanding this appeal, the Archbishop, with the rest of the Commissioners, pronounced him deprived, and his Bishoprick void. After this was done, the Bishop appealed again to the King, instantly, more instantly, most instantly, from their sentence, as unjust, and of no effect in law; and asked of them letters dimissory to be granted to him, and a copy of the judgment. But the Judges declared they would first know the pleasure of the King and his Council therein.

Council
Book.
Harl. MS.
No. 352.
P. 15.

The next day the Council, debating the Bishop of Winchester's case, came to this resolution; 'forasmuch as it appeared, he had at all times, before the Judges of his cause, used himself unreverently to the King's Majesty, and slanderfully toward his Council, and especially yesterday, being the day of his judgment given against him, he called his Judges *Hereticks and Sacramentaries*, they being here the King's Commissioners and of his Highness's Council; it was therefore concluded, by the whole board, that he should be removed from the lodgings he hath now in the Tower to a meaner lodging, and none to wait upon him, but one by the Lieutenant's

‘Lieutenant’s appointment, in such sort as, by the resort of any
‘man to him, he have not the liberty to send out to any man, or
‘to hear from any man. And likewise that his books and papers
‘be taken from him, and seen; and that from henceforth he have
‘neither pen, ink, nor paper to write his detestable purposes, but
‘be sequestered from all conferences, and from all means that may
‘serve him to practice any way.’

And three weeks after this ^a by the King’s own appointment
Dr. Ponet, Bishop of Rochester, was admitted Bishop of Winches-
ter. And a warrant was made out to pay two hundred and sixty
six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence to the Archbishop of
Canterbury, to reimburse him for his charges sustained in the late
process against the late Bishop of Winchester, and divers other
ways. The promotion of Ponet to the Bishoprick of Winchester
made way for that of Dr. John Scory, Chaplain to the Bishop of
London, to the vacant See of Rochester.

Council
Book.
Harl.
MSS.
No. 352
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The same 8th of March put a period also to the
other troublesome business, in which the Bishop
of London had been engaged at the same time.
John Hoper, Professor of Divinity, had been forced
to quit the University of Oxford, by reason of the
Six Article Act under Henry VIII. and to spend the remainder of
that reign abroad, sometimes at Basil, but chiefly at Zurick, where
the Romanists had formed a design to restore Popery, under the
guise and pretence of *things indifferent*. Early in King Edward’s
reign he returned home, and soon recommended himself by the
severity of his manners and doctrine to the Court. He had
preached there in the spring against altars, and by the interest of
the Earl of Warwick ^b was named in Council to the See of Glo-
cester, now vacant.

§. 3. *His dispute
about vestments with
Hoper, Elect of Glo-
cester.*

But

^a March 8.

^b Sometime in July.

But when he waited on the Archbishop to fix the day of Consecration, having been too strongly tinged by his abode in Germany, he objected to the vestments appointed to be used at that solemnity. For not only the principle of Luther, in strictly following the scriptures only in matters of religion, had produced in Germany many unreasonable opinions and practices among the Anabaptists; but other Protestants, in the article of vestments particularly, had reduced themselves to a great simplicity, in opposition to the superstitious use of them publicly enjoined in that country in favor of the Church of Rome^a. The Elect, bringing over with him the local abhorrence of those garments, could not drop it here where the occasion ceased, and desired the Archbishop to excuse him in that point. He likewise with better reason objected against the final clause in the oath, *So help me, God, and all Saints!* But as the oath and vestments were enjoined by statute, the Archbishop acquainted him, that it was not in his power to dispense with them, for that the omission would incur a *Premunire*. The Elect hastes back to his Patron the Earl of Warwick, and procures from him a
 Fox. letter to the Archbishop, desiring him ‘to favor my Lord Elect of
 ‘Glocester in such reasonable things as he craved to be forborne at
 ‘his hands; principally, that he would not charge him with an
 ‘oath burthenfome to his conscience: telling him, that the King
 ‘himself was the chief mover in this request, and did not apprehend there were any of those dangers which the Archbishop had
 ‘represented.’ This letter was dated July 23.

But the Archbishop could by no means be so complaisant to an unreasonable scruple as to risk a *Premunire* by complying with this request. As Ridley was one of the Bishops appointed to assist at the
 Consecration,

^a Possit enim usus harum vestium, eâ superstitione, in gratiam Romani, vel alicujus alterius Antichristi, sicut nunc in Germaniâ fit, obtrudi, ut piis Christi ministris admitti ille piè nequeat. Epist. MS. Bucer ad Archiepisc. Cantuar.

Confecration, whose zeal in promoting true religion he well knew, and upon whose friendship it is likely he depended ; for Hoper's Court Sermon against altars last spring seems to have been so approved of by the Bishop of London, as to have set him upon the removal of them in his last visitation ; and beside, Hoper had been the chief evidence against Boner, whose deprivation had made way to Ridley's promotion : Hoper therefore had a conference with the Bishop of London on this subject, of whose influence, if he found him conformable, he might hope to make use, as a mean to win over the Archbishop. But he found Bishop Ridley no less averse from breaking laws, and playing with Premunires, than Archbishop Cranmer had been. Yet Hoper would not pay any deference or regard to the opinions and judgment of these two great men, but insisted that his superiors should either make new laws, or break the old ones, in compliment to his prejudices. Accordingly he makes use of his interest at Court, in order to oblige those two Bishops to comply with him. In which he so far succeeded, as to obtain a letter from the King to each of them, both of the same tenor and date ; that to the Bishop of London was as follows :

‘ To the Right Reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well
‘ beloved the Bishop of London.

‘ Right Reverend Father in God, and right trusty and well be-
‘ loved, we greet you well. Whereas We, by the advice of our
‘ Council, have called and chosen our right well beloved and well
‘ worthy Master John Hoper, Professor of Divinity, to be our
‘ Bishop of Glocester, as well for his great knowledge, deep judg-
‘ ment, and long study, both in the scriptures, and other prophane
‘ learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and ho-
‘ nest life for that kind of vocation, to the intent all our loving
‘ subjects, within his said charge and elsewhere, might, by his sound
‘ and true doctrine, learn the better their duties toward God, their
‘ obedience.

‘ obedience toward us, and love toward their neighbours ; from
 ‘ consecrating of whom we understand you do stay, because he
 ‘ would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies of-
 ‘ fensive to his conscience, whereby you think you should fall into
 ‘ the premunire of our laws : we have thought good by the advice
 ‘ aforesaid to dispense and discharge you of all manner of damages,
 ‘ penalties and forfeitures you should run and be in, any manner
 ‘ of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our Letters shall
 ‘ be your sufficient warrant and discharge therefore. Given under
 ‘ our signet, at our Castle of Windsor, the 5th of August, in the
 ‘ fourth year of our reign.

E. Somerset.

W. Paget.

W. Wiltshire.

An. Wingfield.

W. Northumb.

N. Wotton.’

Strype's
Cranmer.

The King's Privy Signet was too slender a security against an Act of Parliament ; so that this attempt was not only too weak to justify the Bishops in complying with Hoper, but it also convinced them that his disobedient wilfulness required correction rather than indulgence. With respect to the offensive part of the oath, it is true the King himself with his own hand struck out the words, *and all Saints* : but with respect to the Habits, the Council, who liked the man, when their endeavours failed of bringing over the Bishops, labored on the other side to persuade Hoper to drop his opposition. Ridley, says Strype, for his great learning, was thought to be a fit person to confer with him. There were long arguings between them, and at last the dispute kindled into some heats. The Bishop considering it as a refractory disobedience to Laws and Government, which it is necessary at all times to support, but was then more particularly so, in those days of faction ; for the doctrine of Lady Mary's Court was, that the King's Laws during his Mi-
 nority

nority were not to be obeyed; Boner and Gardiner had refused to preach that obedience was due to them; and the kingdom was scarce quieted from insurrections in all parts of it from the same principle: nay even among the Gospellers, as they were called, whimsy and enthusiasm had introduced great disorders; not only Munster had taught to withdraw all obedience from the Civil Powers to erect an unscriptural Kingdom of Christ, but Calvin's own opinions, to which Hoper inclined, were probably too well known, which he afterward published in his *Prelections upon Amos*; where he says, 'We are sensible of the consequence of that unhappy principle, which gives the Civil Magistrate a Sovereignty in religion. The complimenting Henry the viiith with such a sovereign authority in all matters shocked me extremely. They, who called him the Supreme Head of the church under Christ, were plainly guilty of blasphemy.' On these accounts Ridley looked upon it as a point of importance that Hoper should comply, and learn obedience before he took upon him the office of a Governor, while Hoper endeavoured to represent it as a contest only about Habits, indifferent at best, but in his judgment sinful. Hence grew a warm controversy about religious vestments; and what was begun by Cranmer on account of the *Premunire* was now called the Bishop of London's Controversy *de re vestiaria*. The Pulpits and the Schools engaged in the dispute; for Peter Martyr in a letter to Bucer mentions disputations at Oxford, about the middle of October, on this question, 'whether it were lawful to recall the Aaronick Ceremonies into the Christian church?' In which letter he blames Hoper for not coolly canvassing the point among his friends, which would have prevented that heat of preaching, which then could hardly be allayed. Hoper himself, who was a popular Preacher, and soon after silenced, declaimed liberally on the subject. Nor was he without seconds in his cause, John à Lasco was entirely of his opinion, and many of the Court (as Martyr

Collier's
Eccl. Hist.

Ep. MS.

heard) favored him. Nay he boasted, that the foreign churches, and particularly the two Professors, Bucer and Martyr, sided with him: but in this he was mistaken, for John à Lasco, who warmly espoused Hoper's cause, acknowledges that he counselled Hoper to give out confidently, that all the foreigners then in England were of his opinion; for being so straitened in time, that he had no opportunity of asking their judgment, he boldly ventured to strengthen his cause by the patronage of their names*: but in this both Hoper and Alasco were greatly too forward, and disappointed in the event. These flames of contention alarmed the Council, they knew not how far they might reach, nor what confusion might be introduced by them. Therefore, October 3, they sent for Hoper, and required him to cease the occasion of this controversy, by conforming himself to the laws. Hoper humbly besought them, that, for declaration of his doings, he might put in writing such arguments as moved him to be of the opinion which he held. This was granted him; and he offered a Book to the Council against the use of those Habits which were then used by the Church of England in her sacred ministries. The next Sunday, October 6, the Council wrote to the Bishop of London, that 'whereas there had been some difference between Him and the Elect of Gloucester upon certain ceremonies belonging to the making a Bishop, wherein their Lordships desire is, because they would in no wise be stirring up of controversies between men of one profession, that he would cease the occasion thereof.' The Bishop humbly required

* Et plane Ego ipse D. Hopero suasi, cum ex illo quæri audirem, quemnam sibi hâc in parte assentientem haberet, ut Te [Bucerum] non prætermitteret, sed nos unâ omnes nominaret, qui hic peregrini sumus; eo quod nos omnes hic consensuros esse non dubitarem. Si quid hic est peccatum igitur, per me peccatum est. Sed non tam est peccatum ullâ malitiâ quam Christianâ fiduciâ, quam profectò certam esse putabam. Quod non prius tibi res sit indicata, quam nomen tuum præferretur, factum est temporis inopiâ; constitutum enim erat D. Hopero tempus brevius ad respondendum quam ut omnium sententias rogare posset. J. à Lasco ad Bucerum ex Ep. MSS. olim. D. D. Morley Episcopi Winton. peculio.

quired, that as the Elect of Gloucester had leave to offer in writing his reasons for dissenting, He also in his own justification might put in writing such arguments as moved him to be of the opinion which he held. This was granted, and he had orders to attend the Council the next Sunday, and to bring with him such answer as he thought convenient.

Part of Hoper's Book I have by me in MS. but Ridley's answer I have never seen: yet by a letter from John à Lasco I find that it was not only defensive; for, besides answering Hoper's arguments, some objections were added; which Hoper by another writing endeavoured to refute. And this refutation was again refuted in a pretty long answer from the Bishop. And it appears that the Council were so well satisfied that Hoper's stiffness was more than reasonable, in standing out still against any compliance, that even his great friends forsook him, and forthwith commanded him to keep his house, unless it were to go to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishops of London, Ely, or Lincoln, for counsel and satisfaction of his conscience.

This he signified by letters to Bucer and Martyr the Thursday following, whose judgment in the case he required.

As I have the original letters of these learned Foreigners by me in answer to John à Lasco, Hoper, Dr. Bill, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, I must content myself with giving the substance of their reply, instead of the Bishop of London's, which I cannot meet with.

Hoper had insisted chiefly on these two arguments; 1. that the use of these vestments would be to call back again the abrogated priesthood of Aaron: 2. that it could much less consist with Christ's priesthood to use those which have been defiled by Antichrist; the papistical ones, by their own confession, being derived, as some from the Aaronical, so others from the Pagan priesthood. To which he adds a fanciful mystery, that Christ was crucified naked to intimate,

that when the truth was come, there was no longer need for coverings and shadows ^a.

As to the first argument, they observe, that in the Aaronical rites, some were types and promises of Christ to come; these they grant are abolished: others were intended for decency and order; these may be retained or restored. The apostles, to promote a friendly intercourse among the converts, enjoined even to the Gentiles that abstinence from things strangled, and from blood, to which the Jewish proselytes were still obliged. Not to mention that St. Ambrose tells us, that the practice of preaching was derived from the Synagogue into the Christian Church. Therefore the restoring any Aaronical rites is not in itself sinful: only when done as prefigurative of Christ yet to come, thereby denying that he has already appeared in the flesh; or when required as necessary to salvation ^b.

To

^a Pauli doctrina hæc est, Gal. iii. quod quicumque revocat res abrogatas in Christo, transgreditur voluntatem Domini. Atque idem manifestè docet Aaronis sacerdotium in Christi sacerdotio esse abolitum. Hebr. vii. viii. ix. x. cum omnibus suis ritibus, vestibus, unctionibus, consecrationibus, et similibus. Si igitur istæ Aaronici sacerdotii umbræ cum Christi sacerdotio consistere non possunt, multo minus papisticum illud sacerdotium, quod vel suorum librorum testimonio aut ab Aarone, aut ab Ethnicis desumptum est. Neque verò mysterio suo caret, quod Servator noster Jesus Christus nudus in cruce pendebat. Nam Aaronici sacerdotes in suo ministerio vestimentis utebantur, quia sacerdotii ipsorum veritas Christus ipse nondum venerat: Christus verò, quando ipse esset sacrificandus, omnibus vestibus exutus, suum ex eo sacerdotium ostendens, quod quum ipsa esset veritas, nullis jam amplius opus haberet velaminibus aut umbris. Ex libro MS. D. Hoperi Reg. Consiliariis ab ipso exhibito. 3 Oct. 1550.

^b Cum itaque hi duo sint tui præcipui arietes, primo de illis agam. In lege seu Aaronico sacerdotio fuerunt sacramenta quibus Deo placuit obsignare promissiones Christi venturi: hæc omnia novi et fateor abrogata, nec umquam revocanda; datum enim Christum non dandum credimus... fuerunt in illâ lege aliæ quædam actiones ita comparatæ, ut sacramenta propriè dici non possent, ad decorum tamen ad ordinem atque ad aliquam utilitatem spectantes. Et hujusmodi sanè ut lumini naturæ congrua et aliquam utilitatem promoventia et revocari et retineri posse judico. Quis non videt Apostolos, pro pace et convictu credentium faciliiori mandasse gentibus ut a sanguine et præfocato abstinerent:

erant

To the second, they reply, that it does by no means follow that the use of particular vestments is sinful, either because they have been defiled by popish superstition, or because they were borrowed from heathen idolatry. Bells were subservient, in popery, to purposes of idolatry and superstition ; in calling people to mass, and in being rung as a charm to dispel tempests : but they are now employed in the service of true religion, to bring the congregation together to hear the gospel, and to attend other holy offices *. As for Popery borrowing them from Paganism, neither does not that make them unlawful ; did not our ancestors convert the heathen temples into christian churches ? Were not the revenues formerly consecrated to pagan idols, the theatre, and vestal virgins, taken and appropriated to the maintenance of the christian ministry ? Does not St. Paul himself quote the verses of Menander, Aratus, and Epimenides, written, for the use of the theatre, to propitiate the heathen deities, applying their profane words to promote the worship of the true God ? Did not the pagan priests in the sacred rites of Mithras distribute bread and a cup to the votaries, and shall we

erant tamen ista citra controversiam Aharonica, si generaliter omnia, quæ in lege fuerunt complecti volueris . . . Mitto quod Ambrosius apertissimè dicit morem prophetandi a Paulo traditam, derivatum esse a synagogâ in nostras ecclesias . . . in his cavendum ne libertas Christiana periclitetur, quod tum fieret, si quæ retinentur vel restituuntur quasi necessaria ad salutem consequendam statuerentur. Ep. P. Martyris ad Hoperum. Aharonicas enim ceremonias imitari per se vitiosum non est : vitiosum tantum est, si quis ejus usurparet tanquam ad salutem necessarias ; aut ut Christum adhuc futurum in carnem significaret. Epist. Bucerii ad Joannem a Lasco.

* Sed aliud tuum argumentum expendamus : hic ego non video, quomodo firmiter statuatur, nihil nos usurpare posse quod in papatu sit usurpatum. Equidem prospiciendum est ne Christi ecclesiam nimia servitute premamus, ita ut nihil usurpari possit quod Papæ fuerit. Ep. Martyris ad Hoperum.

† Usus tintinabulorum erat nota Antichristianismi in nostris ecclesiis ; cum illis populus vocabatur ad missas, cumque pulsarentur contra tempestates : nunc nota est Christianismi ; cum illis congregatur populus ad evangelium Christi, et alias sacras actiones. Bucerii Ep. ad J. à Lasco.

we think it impious to do the same in honor of Christ? You will say we have Christ's express command for our doing it. True: but this proves that what the wicked have used in the service of idolatry, may without sin be used by good Christians in the worship of their Master^c. The superstition is not in the habits themselves, but sticks entirely in the wicked minds of the abusers. So that the same garment may be in some a mark of superstition, and in others a mark of true religion^e. If popery immediately defecrates whatever it touches, the sacramental bread and wine, the baptismal water, imposition of hands, our churches and our pulpits must all be laid aside as no longer lawful for us to use^g.

Neither

^c Certe majores nostri receperunt idolorum templa, in sacras ædes, in quibus Christus coleretur, convertentes. Redditus etiam diis gentium, ludis theatri, virginibus vestalibus consecratos, ad alendos ecclesiæ ministros transtulerunt. Et tamen hæc omnia non modo Antichristo, sed etiam diabolo inserviebant. Imò carmina poetarum quæ dicata fuerant musis, atque variis diis, vel fabulis in theatro agendis ad deos placandos, quando commoda pulchraque visa fuerunt, ecclesiastici scriptores usurpare non verentur, imitati Paulum, qui Menandrum Aratum et Epimenidem citare non veritus est, idque in ipsâ divinâ scripturâ quam tradebat, verba quæ alioquin profana erant cultui divino adaptans. Ep. Mart. ad Hop.

Distributionem panis et calicis, et sacrificuli dæmonum in sacris Mithræ celebraverint; quid autem id obstat, quo minus et nos eandem ceremoniam piè usurpamus? De hac verò ceremoniâ dicetis, habemus domini præceptum. Rectè. Ex hoc ipso autem liquet, eandem rem, quâ impii ad cultum abutuntur dæmonum, posse apud filios dei deservire cultui Christi. Bucer Epist. ad Joan. a Lasco.

^e Quicquid de abusu harum vestium, id non in vestibus, sed impuris hæere animis, Buc. ad Hop. Ita quid vetat ut eadem vestis apud impios impietatis nota sit, apud pios pietati deserviat, Buc. ad a Lasco.

^g Esto, sint Papæ inventa; non tamen propterea mihi persuadeo papatûs esse tantam impietatem, ut quicquid attingit, prorsus reddat contaminatum et impollutum, quo bonis et piis sancto usui concedi non possit. Mart. ad Hop. Si enim nullo liceat modo, ea quæ fuerunt sacerdotii Aharonici, ac etiam Ethnici usurpare, neque templa fas est nos habere, nec ferias sacras observare. . . res multæ quas Antichristi fecerunt notas suæ impietatis, possunt etiam notæ esse regni Christi; sic ut symbola panis et vini, aqua baptismatis, impositio manuum, conciones, sacra loca, feriæ, et quam plurima alia. Buc. ad a Lasco.

Neither do they grant that the habits enjoined were introduced by popery, for they were in use before the popish corruptions crept in. Ecclesiastical history mentions the plate of gold or mitre worn by St. John. St. Cyprian is said to have given his cloke to the executioner, his dalmatick or short vest to the deacons, and to have stood in his rochet. [But Mr. Bingham believes that these are only old names for new things, being originally the common Lay habit of the country: yet acknowledging, what is sufficient for Peter Martyr's argument, that the clergy had their particular habits for ministering in divine service, at least in the beginning of the fourth century. Orig. Eccles. vol. II.] And Chrysostom they observe informs us that the ministers of the Church used white garments; as did also the newly baptized ^h.

They further observe, that beside their natural use, things may have an additional one of signifying to us God's benefits, or our duties. St. Paul speaks of the mystical meaning of the woman's veil, and of the uncovered heads of the men. The scriptures often mention the white garments of angels; and Malachai says that the ministers of the church are the messengers or angels of the Lord of Hosts: as if the color intimated the light of the gospel which by their ministry is spread abroad, and to remind themselves of that innocence which it is their duty to preserve ⁱ. And if any serious Christian should believe it expedient, especially for the sake of the more rude and uninstructed, to use some particular and significant garb in their ministration, even such a one as popish superstition

^h Neque etiam concessero has indumentorum diversitates, a papâ suum ortum habuisse, quandoquidem legimus in ecclesiasticâ historiâ Joannem Apostolum Ephesi gestasse petalum seu laminam pontificalem. De Cypriano Martyre refert Pontius Diaconus, quod cum esset mox capite plectendus Birrum dederit carnifici, Dalmaticam diaconis, et steterit in lineis. Vestis candidæ ministrorum ecclesiæ Chrysostomus meminit. Martyr. ad Hop.

ⁱ Jam autem quis neget, dominum dare multis electorum suorum, ut cunctis ex rebus significationes et admonitiones, præter usus naturales, sibi tantum sumant, et Dei beneficiorum, et suorum officiorum? Pensitemus, quæ de significatione vili muliebris, et detecto capite

stitution had abused, why they may not be left to their judgment in this point, there is no scripture; but much to prove that they ought to be so left. All God's creatures are good; and to the pure all things are pure^k.

And Bucer admonishes John à Lasco, and in him Hoper, that it does not become us to move questions, and raise disputes about things not absolutely necessary. We should attend to the weakness of our judgment, and beware of an innate arrogance and obstinacy in our own conceits. We should indeed earnestly contend for things necessary to salvation, and clearly revealed in scripture: but in other points, let us dispute with caution, and not be hasty to determine; if we have been unwarily drawn into contention about them, we should disengage ourselves as soon as possible: victory in those cases is seldom obtained, and when obtained not worth the cost^l.

But

pite viri Spiritus S. doceat. Cur etiam de Angelorum lucidis vestibus Scriptura meminerit. Buc. ad Hop.

Ministri ecclesiæ, teste Malachiâ, sunt angeli et nuntii Dei; et angeli ut plurimum ferè albis vestibus induti apparuerunt. Mart. ad Hop.

Quid vetet ecclesias Christi albam illam vestem, vel plures etiam usurpare, præcisè ad commonefactionem beneficii divini quod nobis præstat per sacrum ecclesiæ ministerium; ac ut ministri magis memores sint officii sui? Buc. ad Joan. a Lasco.

^k Si jam tales veri Christiani, in suis ecclesiis judicarent, facturum aliquid ad f. ministerii commendationem apud simpliciores homines et pueros, ministros singulari aliquâ veste uti, in ministrando, et eâ etiam, quâ papistæ sunt abusi: cur non deberem ejusmodi Christianos suo relinquere judicio, equidem nullam video scripturam docere; cur deberem autem non dubito clarè doceri, Rom. xiv. 1 Cor. viii. & ix. Buc. ad Hop.

Agnosco tecum omne quod non est ex fide peccatum esse: ad tranquillandum tamen conscientiam potissimum videtur facere, quod ad Titum scribitur, omnia munda mundis; et ad Timoth. omnis creatura bona est. Mart. ad Hop.

^l Summa itaque religione cavendum non dubito, primum, ne abortas questiones suscipiamus statim definiendas! ipsique nullam moveamus non ad regnum Christi prorsus necessariam. Agnoscamus judicii nostri imbecillitatem; metuamus innatam arrogantiam, et in propriis inventis pervicaciam. Quæ sint ad salutem cognita necessaria, ea dilucidè, clarèque ac copiosè tradita sunt nobis in D. scripturis omnia; et de harum rerum studio atque perfectione

But their answers were not well relished by Hoper, who continued still immoveable, not without great resentment against the Bishop of London, who was now principal in this affair in not yielding to his extreme stubbornness; and having succeeded so ill with Bucer and Martyr, he next tries his friends abroad, Bullinger and Gualtier; desiring them to interfere and intercede in his favor with the King to drop these ceremonies: not without some invectives against the Bishop of London, as it should seem by their answers, who endeavour to set him right in this point; assuring him, that although the Bishop stood upon the forms of Law, yet he was very earnest to have Hoper a Bishop. But neither the arguments of those friends, whose judgments he highly esteemed, nor their assurances of Ridley's general regard for him, could convince or move him. King's and Prelates, Laws and arguments must all bend to his humor; nothing less could prevail on him to accept the Bishoprick. Ridley, who valued his learning, diligence, and strictness of life, yet did not think him worth the price at which he set himself; which would be to buy him at the expence of all order and discipline, and must have set a most pernicious example, at that nice unsettled time, of altering and reforming to every man's particular whim and fancy. The question was not about the expediency of injoining Those, or any particular habits; but, whether, being injoined, they could be worn without sin, or without sin refused? And now, when the Court, the Schools, the Pulpits, the whole Church of England, and the Protestant Churches abroad, had been exercised and troubled with this unseasonable dispute, the Archbishop thought it high time to prepare for a final determina-

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fectione deest omnibus nobis quam plurimum: id studii et perfectiones implere aliquando absolvereque elaboremus. De cæteris rebus disputemus cautissimè, definiamus tardè, aut nunquam, nihil pugnemus. Si autem fatanæ astu, et negligentia nostrâ orta pugna de his rebus fuerit, ab eâ, quâ liceat ratione, quam primum discedamus, aut constituamus inducias: victoria enim rarè aliqua; nunquam vero admodum salutaris obtinetur. Buc. ad Joan. à Lasco.

tion of it, and therefore, December 2, writes to Bucer for a short answer to these Two Questions ;

1. Whether the Ministers of the Church of England may, without offence to God, wear those Habits at present usually worn by them, and enjoined to be so by the Magistrate ?

2. Whether He, who shall affirm that it is unlawful, and shall refuse to wear them, sins against God, in affirming that to be unclean, which God hath sanctified ; and against the Magistrate, in acting against their Civil Government ?

Bucer the very next day decided both Questions in the Affirmative ; only he softened the latter a little, not directly affirming that they *sinned*, but that *at least they erred* against God and their Prince.

The Court, where there had been a party in Hoper's favor, grew to be more and more convinced that his incomppliance was blameable. He had been confined to his house, except when he pleased, for the satisfaction of his conscience, to resort to the Archbishop, or the Bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, to confer with them ; at the same time he was ordered not to preach or read till he had further licence. This order of Council he did not obey, but continued to preach inflaming sermons, and published his Confession of Faith, December the 20th, which gave much distaste, not only as contrary to command, but for some passages in it. Nor did he stop here, but proceeded to complain even of the Lords of the Council. So that they, who at first might think Ridley to blame in insisting so much on things *indifferent*, as if he was either too superstitiously attached to the habits, or was too rigid in not granting something to Hoper's scruples, were now convinced (after much sifting of the Question) that both his opinion from the beginning, and his conduct quite through were right.

That the Bishop of London was not superstitiously attached to the habits, appears from the share he had presently after in changing
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some of them ; and that he could wink at scrupulous persons was evident from his doing so both with Rogers, his own Chaplain, and Sampson, afterwards Dean of Christ-Church, who, as I mentioned before, had been indulged in 1549 by Cranmer and Ridley to be ordained Deacon without the customary habits. Hoper's case was very different ; he not only scrupled, but absolutely refused to be consecrated in the habits then enjoined, declaring that the use of them was sinful. And this not only in private, but in publick, in sermons, discourse, petitions, remonstrances, and letters to the universities and foreign churches. The affair ceased to be private betwixt Hoper and Ridley, it grew to be a contention betwixt Hoper and the Church of England ; whose spiritual governours wore those habits, which Hoper declared to be sinful, and of which their temporal governours enjoined the use.

Here appear the distinguishing lines of Ridley's character, which run uniformly through his life ; meek and gentle to tender consciences, patiently bearing with their weakness : but where he saw the will was in fault from vanity, malice, or obstinacy, he set himself with great earnestness and steadiness to reduce it to a submission. Martyr bears witness against Hoper, that his cause was indefensible ^a. The Council, disgusted at his behaviour, removed him to a more effectual, but honorable, confinement, committing him to the care of the Archbishop at Lambeth ^b to be reformed, or punished. After a fortnight's fruitless labor to reduce him to a compliance, the Archbishop reported, that he could in no sort work upon him. Upon which there was an order of Council, January 27, that seeing Hoper ' could not be brought to any conformity, ' but rather persevering in his obstinacy conceiteth to prescribe orders and necessary laws of his own head, it was agreed he should ' be committed to the Fleet ; and that he should be kept from con-

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' ference

^a Illius causa sic jacet, ut melioribus et piis nequaquam probetur.

^b January 13.

ference with any person, saving the ministers of that house.' Here, after some time, he became more tractable. And at length was consecrated at Lambeth Chapel, March 8, in his linen Surplice and Cope, the Bishops of London and of Rochester assisting in the like habits.

These two troublesome affairs, which were both ended on the same day, shew what great difficulties the cool judicious Reformers had to encounter at that time: and, I apprehend from the general nature of mankind, will always have to conflict with; from the cunning of worldly men in favor of old well endowed prejudices and prepossessions; and the stubbornness of opiated men, who, satisfied of their own integrity with regard to the *end*, will not be prevailed upon to submit to the reason or authority of their superiors with regard to the *means*. Yet with what modesty did the Bishop of London mention this variance afterward in a letter to Hoper when they were both in prison? 'My dear Brother, I understand by your works that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, howsoever in time past in smaller matters and circumstances of religion your wisdom and my simplicity made us to think differently.' Even at the time of the dispute Ridley agreed with Hoper that there was more pomp than was convenient, but he judged it dangerous, when the Papists withdrew their obedience from the King in his minority, and the Anabaptists had maintained errors subversive of all government, to countenance a refusal to submit to the laws in being, in things not sinful in themselves.

§. 4. Day, Bishop
of Chichester, imprisoned.

chester.

The conclusion of these two affairs has carried us beyond the limits of the year; we must therefore go back a little to an opposition given to the Reformers by another Bishop, Dr. Day of Chi-

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It has been already mentioned that the Bishop of London in his primary visitation had enjoined a Table instead of an Altar to be used for celebrating the Lord's Supper. In which he agreed with Hoper, who had preached before the King in the beginning of the year to the same purpose, saying, 'it would be very well that it might please the magistrate to turn the Altars into Tables according to the first institution of Christ; and thereby to take away the false persuasion of the people, which they have of sacrifices to be done upon the altars. Because, as long as altars remain, both the ignorant people and the ignorant and evil-persuaded priests will dream always of sacrifice.' Ridley approving of this, had enjoined the altars to be taken down in his diocese, and Tables to be set up in their stead. And as an example to the rest, on the evening of St. Barnabas, had caused the wall standing on the back side of the altar in the church of St. Paul's to be broken down. This injunction met with great opposition and censure, as contrary to the present order of Common-Prayer, and the King's proceedings. Heylin, who concludes Bishop Ridley to have been master of too great a judgment to run before authority in a business of such weight and moment, supposes that the histories have misorderly placed the facts, and that the Order of Council about this matter in November 1550 preceded the Bishop's visitation and injunction for removing altars. But in this he labors to vindicate the Bishop by a groundless supposition; if he cannot be vindicated without misrepresenting facts, I will not be his advocate on those conditions.

The Bishop of London certainly visited in June 1550, and then gave out his injunctions, of which one was to take down altars; for on the 23d of June King Edward notes in his Journal, that Sir John Yates, Sheriff of Essex, went down with Letters to see the Bishop of London's injunctions performed, which touched plucking down of superaltaries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses. But

as much clamor was made by the popishly inclined clergy, and great obstruction given to it, the Bishop was strengthened by publick command from the Council to give substantial orders for doing it through his diocese, signified in a Letter to him, bearing date November 24, 1550.

Fox. In which Letter having required him to give substantial order throughout his diocese that all the altars in every church and chapel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, be taken down, and instead of them a Table set up in some convenient part of the chancel for the ministration of the blessed Communion; there were added 'certain Considerations gathered and collected, that make for that purpose.' The which and such others, as you shall think 'meet, to be set forth to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discrete preachers in such places as you shall think 'meet, before the taking down of the said altars, so as both the 'weak consciences of others may be instructed and satisfied, as much 'as may be; and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. 'For the better doing whereof we require you to open the afore- 'said Considerations, in that our Cathedral Church, in your own 'person, if you conveniently may; or otherwise by your Chancellor or other grave Preacher, both there, and in such other market towns and most notable places of your diocese as you may 'think most requisite.'

Registr.
Ridley.

The Considerations or Reasons sent with this Order were such as the Bishop himself had given to the Council; as appears by his Register, where those Reasons are inscribed with this Preface; 'Certain Reasons why the Reverend Father Nicholas Bishop of 'London, amongst other his injunctions given in his late visitation, 'did exhort those churches in his diocese, where the altars as then 'did remain, to conform themselves unto those other churches 'which had taken them down, and had set up in the stead of the
' multitude

‘ multitude of their altars one decent Table in each church. And
‘ that herein he did not any thing contrary to the Book of Common
‘ Prayer [in which it is called indifferently the Lord’s Table or the
‘ altar] or to the King’s Majesty’s Proceedings ; but that he was in-
‘ duced to do the same, partly moved by his office and duty, where-
‘ with he is charged in the same book ;’ [wherein matters of dis-
pute arising out of that Book are directed to be decided by the Or-
dinary] ‘ and partly for the advancement and sincere setting forward
‘ of God’s holy word, and the King’s Majesty’s most godly pro-
‘ ceedings.’

Then follows an exemplification of the Reasons, which may be
seen in Fox ; who likewise mistakes in making Ridley’s visitation
subsequent to the receipt of this Letter from the Council. The
substance of the reasons were.

1. That the end of this sacrament was to eat of Christ’s body,
and to drink his blood, not to sacrifice and crucify him again : the
end therefore required a Table rather than an Altar.

2. It is sometimes indeed called altar in the Book of Common
Prayer, as that on which the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving is
offered ; but it is also called the Lord’s Table, and the Lord’s Board
indifferently, without prescribing any particular form. So that this
injunction is not contrary to the Book of Common Prayer.

3. The Popish opinion was that an altar was necessary for the
celebration of the mass, which superstitious opinion was kept alive
by the continuance of altars : therefore the removal of altars was
necessary for abolishing that superstitious opinion.

4. An altar was ordained for the sacrifices of the Law ; but now
both the Law and the Sacrifices ceasing, the altar should also cease.

5. Christ instituted his last supper at a Table, and not upon an
altar. Nor did either the apostles or the primitive church, as we
read of, ever use an altar in the ministration of the Holy Commu-
nion.

nion. Therefore a Table, as more agreeing with Christ's institution and primitive practice is rather to be used than an Altar.

6. Because the Book of Common Prayer leaves it to the Diocesan to determine, if any doubt arises about the practice of it.

Strype's
Cranmer.

Like Letters, with that above from the Council to Ridley, were sent to the other Bishops. Day of Chichester carried his to the Duke of Somerset, saying, he could not conform his conscience to do that which he was commanded by the said Letter, and therefore prayed the said Duke that he might be excused. On the Duke's report of this to the Council, Day was called before them, December 1 : to whom he said, that he could not conform his conscience to take down the altars in the churches, and in lieu of them to set up Tables ; for that he seemed for his opinion to have the Scripture and Consent of the Doctors and Fathers of the Church, and contrariwise did not perceive any strength in the Six Reasons which were set forth by the Bishop of London, to persuade the taking down of altars and erection of Tables. Which shews that the Reasons delivered from the Council were understood to be of Ridley's framing. The scriptures which Day alledged were Isaiah xix. 19. Hebr. xiii. 10. which being answered by the Archbishop and the Bishop of Ely, the Council required him to proceed to the execution of his Majesty's command. But he requested that he might not be commanded to offend his conscience, saying, if That might be instructed to the contrary, he would not thus molest the Council with his refusal. They then required him to resort to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishops of Ely or London, and confer with them on this matter, giving him till the 4th of December to make his answer. On which day it appeared that indeed he had called at Lambeth one day when the Archbishop was at Council, but had neither conferred with him, or either of the other two Bishops, and that he continued of the same mind. The Council then expressly commanded him on his
allegiance

allegiance to execute the King's command. And gave him till Sunday the 7th to make his final answer. Which time they again lengthened till Tuesday, when, for his contempt in persisting in his refusal to obey the King's orders, he was committed to the Fleet. He had come over so far as to preach a sermon at court against Transubstantiation; in which point we must suppose his conscience was then rightly instructed: yet afterward, in Queen Mary's reign, he was one who signed the Commission by which Ridley and his Fellow Confessors were condemned to the fire for holding the same doctrine. In like manner did Oglethorpe, of Magdalen College, Oxford, about the same time declare, that he did reject the lately received doctrine of Transubstantiation, as being not agreeable to the scriptures or to ancient writers: but he thought there was a wonderful Presence of Christ's Body, which he could neither express or conceive. And in general, he allowed that the order of religion set forth by King Edward was better, and much nearer the use of the Apostolical and Primitive Church than that which was formerly. Yet this Divine was afterward Bishop of Carlisle under Queen Mary, and was one of the Commissioners who condemned those three Confessors before mentioned, for holding those doctrines, which he now pretended to approve.

Harl.
MSS.
No. 422.

Burnet.

Beside these Bishops, the refractory Lady Mary created much trouble this year; the indulgence which was promised in her favor to the Emperour, by Lord Paget and Sir Philip Hobby, that she should be permitted to have mass in her private closet, with a few of her domesticks, for a time, the Emperour construed into an absolute promise to Her and her Family for the free exercise of the old service. And so he informed the Lady Mary, or at least so she pretended she had been informed by him. The King was uneasy at her perseverance in error and superstition; and the Council, that

Strype's
Mem.
vol.
P. 249.

§. 5. Lady Mary's
Inconformity.

such countenance was given to disobedience of their orders by the incomppliance of her household. This occasioned, through the summer of this year, many messages and intimations to be sent to her from the King and Council to dissuade and forbid the use of the mass.

But she and her Chaplains, unmoved by these messages, were guilty of excesses beyond what the promise to the Emperour would warrant. The Council then awarded forth process against her Chaplains, and required her to surrender them up to the Sheriff of Essex. In her answer she took the fault upon herself, and insisted on the promise made to the Emperour's Ambassadour. In the Council's reply, December 25, they inform her, that the promise respected only herself, and a few of her chamber in her presence : but that to the rest of her Household the *Communion Service* should
 Eccl. be used. In this letter they tell her, that ' they had only reduced
 ' that which was commonly called the Mass to the order of the
 ' Primitive Church and the institution of Christ : with which the
 ' King and the whole realm had their consciences well quieted.
 ' They added, that it had foundation in scripture upon plane texts,
 ' and no glosses ; and confirmed by the use of the Primitive Church.
 ' That the greatest change was, not in the substance of their faith,
 ' nor in any one article of their Creed ; but only that they used the
 ' ceremonies, observations, and sacraments of their religion, as the
 ' Apostles and first Fathers of the Church did : whereas she used
 ' those which corruption of time had brought in, and very barbarity and ignorance had nourished. She held (they said) for
 ' Custom against Truth, They for Truth against Custom. And
 ' whereas she had urged earnestly the maintenance of her faith,
 ' they asked her, where her Grace had ground for such a faith, to
 ' think Common Prayer in the English church should not be in
 ' English ; that images of God should be set up in the church ;
 ' or that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ should be
 ' offered

‘ offered by the Priest for the Dead? And that although she had
 ‘ no scripture to maintain them, they had evident scriptures to for-
 ‘ bid them. They observe further, that it would be infinite to re-
 ‘ count the great number of particular errors crept into the church,
 ‘ which she made her foundation: but that the fables of false mi-
 ‘ racles and leud pilgrimages might somewhat teach her. Praying
 ‘ her Grace to remember the two words that the Father said of
 ‘ his Son Jesus Christ, *Hear Him*. Lastly, they besought her for
 ‘ God’s sake, to shew her affection and duty to the King, and not
 ‘ by her disobedience to the laws encourage the looseness of the
 ‘ people in her Brother’s minority, and be the cause of disturbance
 ‘ to his government. The consideration of which things we pray
 ‘ Almighty God to lay in the bottom of your heart, and thereupon
 ‘ to build such a profession in you, as both God may have his true
 ‘ honor, the King his due obedience, the realm concord, and we
 ‘ most comfort.’ This letter Bishop Burnet supposes was penned
 either by Cranmer or Ridley.

The dispute continued almost through the whole year following;
 the Lady Mary and the Emperour’s Ambassadour insisting upon the
 promise made to the Emperour, and extending it beyond the con-
 ditions and limits mentioned: the Council on the other hand pro-
 ducing the evidence of the King’s Ambassadors, who made the
 promise, that it was given only for a time, and for mass in her own
 presence only, and that in private; and requesting that instead of
 insisting upon the promise as far as it was given for a season only,
 she would now upon better advice think of yielding obedience to
 the King’s laws: the King, uneasy at the indulgence of what he
 thought impious and idolatrous, was desirous to withdraw it alto-
 gether.

However the Council, having many goods belonging to the
 publick at Antwerp, thought it not adviseable to provoke the Em-
 perour while such effects were in his ports; nor were they willing

K. Edw.
Journal.

to draw a new war on their heads, especially from so victorious a Prince. They therefore advised the King to leave his Sister to her own discretion at present : but the King could not be induced to give way to it ; he judged the Popish mass sinful, and would not consent to the continuance of it. Upon this the Council ordered Cranmer, Ridley and Ponet to discourse about it with the King. They told him, that it was always a sin in a Prince to give licence to sin ; but not always so to forbear or remit the punishment for a time in hopes of amendment ; and that sometimes a less evil connived at might prevent a greater. The King was prevailed upon with difficulty ; and bursting into tears lamented his Sister's obstinacy, and that he must suffer her to continue in so abominable a way of worship, as he esteemed the mass. The Emperour's Ambassador insisting on the promise, and denouncing war, if not complied with, had no other answer than that one should go to the Emperour to declare the matter. On this errand Dr. Wotton was dispatched in April, with attestations from all the Council concerning the qualifications of the promise that had been made ; and to press the Emperour not to trouble the King in his affairs at home in his own kingdom : offering at the same time, that the King would grant as much liberty for the mass in England to the Emperour's servants, as the Emperour would grant for the English service in his dominions to the King's servants : but resolving that the Lady Mary, as his Sister and Subject, should use the service appointed by Act of Parliament.

Burnet.

She continuing to clame the promise beyond what was given ; and the King and Council intreating her not to insist upon it so far as it was given, for a time only ; and neither submitting to the other, she was ordered to continue with the King : her Chaplains were not permitted to attend her, some of her servants for acting against the laws were committed to custody ; and two of the King's servants, Sir Anthony Browne and Serjeant Morgan were sent to
the

the Tower for hearing mass. The design of sending for her to Court was not only to endeavour at bringing her over to a conformity with the established form of religion, but to keep her out of the Emperour's hands, who had formed a scheme in the summer before of conveying her out of England. Bishop Burnet blames their politicks in preventing this escape : but perhaps the Earl of Warwick thought it more adviseable for his purpose to keep her in his own hands than to commit her to the keeping of the Emperour. So late as June in the year 1551 the navy was appointed to be rigged and furnished with ordnance, under color of shewing the French Admiral the force of the English navy, but indeed on account of an information received that some ships were rigging in Holland to convey the Lady Mary away ; to withstand which was the real motive for making this preparation.

K. Edw.
Journal.

In January the Bishop of London was joined in 1551.
a special commission with the Archbishop and twenty nine persons more to correct and punish all Anabaptists, and such as did not duly administer the sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer, set forth by the King's Majesty.

§. 6. *Second review of the Common Prayer.*

And in the Convocation of this year (of which Heylin says no records remain, but a passage from which we learn, that) there were some doubts relating to some things in the Common Prayer Book, Feasts, form of words at delivering the elements in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the different manner of administering it. A review of it was therefore determined : many things were thought proper to be altered. Bucer and Martyr were desired to give their opinions also ; as appears by a letter from Martyr to Bucer, January 10 : in which we see that these Foreigners in general agreed in censuring the same things. But they had no further hand in the alterations than in delivering their censures, separately, to the Archbishop ; for in the same Letter Martyr says, that

5, 6 Edw.
VI.

that what the points were, that it had been agreed should be altered, he knew not, nor durst presume to ask. And as for Bucer, he died the latter end of the next month, and could be no further concerned in it. And as the Reviewers were not moved by them, but by some members of the Convocation; so, many alterations were agreed on before those Professors were consulted, as appears from the same Letter. They meant not to censure the First Book, as containing any essential fault, but for the resolution of 'some doubts in the use and exercise of it, which proceeded rather from curiosity than any worthy cause.' The persons engaged in this review are reasonably supposed to be the same who first compiled it; but chiefly the Archbishop and the Bishop of London. The first was very solicitous in procuring what helps he could to make it as perfect as might be; and the latter was most earnest in recommending it, as if it had been a thing he had well weighed and considered: which intimates their great concern in it.

The chief alterations in this Review were these that follow; at the end of the Preface was added a Rubrick, injoining all Priests and Deacons to say daily the Morning and Evening Service, privately or openly, unless they were hindered by preaching, studying of Divinity, or some other urgent cause; and to let a bell be tolled some convenient time before they began, that those who were disposed might come to hear God's word, and to pray with them. The Declaration concerning Ceremonies was placed next after the Preface; and the explanatory notes, which followed in the first Liturgy, were omitted. The Service was to be said in that part of the church where the people could best hear; and the use of the Alb, Cope and Tunicle was prohibited, the Priest or Deacon being only to wear a Surplice, and the Bishop or Archbishop his Rochet. So that Ridley's contention was not in favor of outward pomp, but to enforce a due and christian submission. In the beginning of the daily Morning Service were added the Sentences, Confession, and

and Absolution; as the German Protestant churches had their Confession and Absolution. The Responses after the Lords Prayer ran in the plural number, and the Hallelujah at the end of them was omitted; as was also the order for singing the Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels, and for the use of the Song of the Three Children in Lent only. The hundredth Psalm was inserted to be used sometimes after the second Lesson in the morning; as were also the ninety eighth to be used after the first, and the sixty seventh after the second Lesson in the Evening Service. The Athanasian Creed, which in the first Book was appointed only on the great Festivals, was now directed to be said on so many of the Saints days that it came in course once in every month. The Litany was placed next to the Morning and Evening Service; and the use of it was enjoined on Sundays, as well as Wednesdays and Fridays. The occasional Collects for times of dearth and famine, of war, and of any common plague or sickness, were added at the end of it. The Introits were all omitted; as was likewise the double Communion at Christmas and Easter; the Collect, Epistle and Gospel, which were retained, being the same with those now in use: and the Hymn for Easter Day, which in the First Book was ordered to be sung before Mattins, was now appointed instead of *Venite exultemus*; the Hallelujahs, Versicles, and Collect at the end being omitted. The Collect for Easter-day was to be repeated on Low Sunday. The Feast of St. Mary Magdalene was struck out of the calendar; the Collect for the Feast of St. Andrew was changed for that now used; and the Gospel for Whitsunday continued, as at present, to the end of the chapter.

Str. Memorials.

In the title of the Communion Office, the words *commonly called the Mass* were omitted; and it was to be said in the body of the church or chancel, where Morning and Evening Prayer were appointed to be said, the Priest standing on the North side of the Table. The Office began with the Lord's Prayer, and the Collect
for

for purity. After which the Commandments were inserted, with a brief, but most pious petition at the end of each for the forgiveness of our past offences against them, and for grace to keep them more perfectly for the future.

The words *militant here on earth* were added to the Preface of the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church; and the latter part of it, in which thanks were returned for the virtues and graces of the blessed Virgin, and other Saints, and in which the Faithful departed were prayed for, was in part omitted. A new exhortation was added, to be used when the people were negligent in coming to the Holy Communion; the substance of the former part of which is contained in the second exhortation now in use: but the latter part was addressed to them, who, according to an irreligious custom of those times, would stay out of curiosity during the administration of the eucharist, and did not communicate. The other exhortations were transposed and altered, and the clause relating to auricular Confession was omitted. The Rubrick, which required water to be mixed with the wine, was struck out; and instead of unleavened bread, to take away all occasion of dissension and superstition, it was declared sufficient, that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten^a. The exhortation to confess to

God

^a From a persuasion that our Saviour instituted his Supper at the Paschal festival, at which festival the Jews were commanded by Moses to eat unleavened bread, and commonly, though without such command, drank wine mixt with water; these have been supposed the elements which Christ consecrated, and made the sacrament of his body and blood, and have therefore been frequently used at the celebrations of the Eucharist. But the Church hath not held that they were *commanded* by Christ, as the words of institution mention only *bread*, in general; and *the cup* in which was *the fruit of the vine*, in general, without mentioning the circumstances of *unleavened*, or *mixt with water*. And therefore the Greeks and Latins declared, in the Council of Florence, that the body of Jesus Christ is truly consecrated in bread-corn, whether it be leavened or unleavened. If the Greeks and Latins have more generally agreed in practising the mixture, it must have been for some other reason than

Christ's

God and to his holy church was thus altered; ' make your humble confession to almighty God before this Congregation here gathered

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Christ's institution; for if his command, *Do this*, did not injoin unleavened bread, neither would the same command at the blessing of the cup command the mixture. But if we examine the Evangelists we shall find reason to believe, that Christ did not institute his Supper at the Paschal festival, but on the evening before; BEFORE *the feast of the Passover*, says St. John: *when the day of unleavened bread was come*, says St. Luke: *the first day of unleavened bread*, say St. Matthew and St. Mark: that is, in the beginning of the preparation day, when they cleared their houses of leaven; but the *feast* of unleavened bread began not till the following evening, and leavened bread might be used till twelve of the clock on the fourteenth day. (See Lightfoot's Temple Service, c. 12. §. 2.) And pure wine not only might, but ought to be used for the Grace cup after other meals. (See Buxtorf's Synagog. Judaic. c. 12.) Therefore as Christ instituted his Supper at the close of the 13th or beginning of the 14th day, it is by no means certain that Christ himself consecrated unleavened bread or wine mixt with water at the institution of the Eucharist: and then there is no grounds for the use of either. Accordingly there is evidence that leavened bread and wine unmixt were the elements which were first in use. The Greeks have invariably administered in leavened bread from the beginning to this day. And Ernulphus, Bishop of Rochester, says, that the rites of the Church, in their circumstances have been changed in length of time; and that among those changes was the eucharistical bread, for, according to him, the Apostles in their celebrations of that sacrament eat *panes quotidianos*, common or leavened bread. With regard to the mixture, Pope Alexander 1. is reported to have introduced it, thereby to represent the blood and water that flowed out of the side of Christ at his crucifixion. His Decretal Epistles, where this is mentioned are allowed indeed to be forgeries of the 7th century: but woven together from the writings and traditions that had been before in the Church. And these traditions witness to the *occasion* of introducing the mixture, although we cannot from them ascertain the particular person or time by whom, or when they were introduced. For St. Austin (De Eccles. dogmat.) tells us, In Eucharistiâ non debet pura aqua offerri; ut quidam sobrietatis falluntur imagine; sed vinum cum aquâ mixtum; quia et VINUM fuit in redemptionis nostræ mysterio, cum dixit, non bibam à modo de hoc genimine vitis: et aquâ mixtum, NON QUOD POST CÆNAM DABATUR, sed quod de latere ejus lanceâ perfosso aquâ cum sanguine egressâ, vinum de verâ ejus carnis vite expressum ostenditur. So that the primitive Church allowed that Christ instituted in pure wine to represent his blood that should be shed for our sins; but afterward, observing that at his Passion came forth both water and blood, his disciples very early mixt water with their wine to represent this circumstance, although not particularly commanded; and from that time it has generally prevailed in the church. The Greeks seem with great exactness to distinguish betwixt the *institution*, and the *addition*; consecrating in pure wine,

‘thered together in his holy name.’ The proper Prefaces were to be continued, as at present; and the Trisagium was reduced to its present form. In the Prayer of Consecration the petition for the sanctification of the elements by God’s word and spirit, that they might be to us the body and blood of Christ, was changed into a prayer, that we receiving the creatures of bread and wine according to our Saviour’s institution might be made partakers of his most blessed body and blood: and the signing over the elements the sign of the Cross was left out. At the distribution of the bread instead of ‘the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was ‘given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto eternal life,’ which was the form in the first Liturgy, was substituted this clause; ‘take and eat This in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and ‘feed on him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving.’ The like change was made in the words at the delivery of the Cup. The Oblation Prayer was removed into the Post-Communion, and reduced to its present form; the Sentences appointed to be used in the Post-Communion were omitted; and the method and order of the whole office was brought to much the same state in which it now stands. The Bread was directed to be such as is usually eaten, but the best and purest that can possibly be gotten; and it was now ordered to be given into the hands of the Communicants. The bread and wine was to be provided by the Curate and Churchwardens at the charge of the Parishioners; and the Parishioners were to be released of those sums of money and other duties, which they before used to pay in course upon that account. Every Parishioner was required to communicate at least three times in the year, of which Easter was to be one; and he was then to reckon
with

wine, and then adding thereto some warm water to express the circumstance that appeared afterward. So that how generally soever the *mixture* may have obtained, the evidence of the Primitive Church is, that it was not enjoined by Christ.

with the Minister or his Deputy, and pay him all ecclesiastical duties then due. The Rubrick, which left crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, to be left or used, as to every man's devotion seemeth, was expunged; and a new Rubrick added, in which the reason, why the posture of kneeling was retained, is declared; and the determination of the church in that affair is vindicated from a groundless objection of seeming to countenance the Corporal Presence.

In the office of Baptism the Sign of the Cross on the child's breast, the Exorcism, the Chrisom, the two last of the Interrogatories, the Trine Immersion, and the Unction were omitted, with the rubrick concerning the monthly change of the water, and the prayers then to be used; and the Lord's Prayer, and the Thanksgiving after the Baptism of the child were added.

In Confirmation the Sign of the Cross was omitted; as was also the delivering the gold and silver to the Bride in the form of matrimony, with the passages thereto alluding. The apocryphal instance of Toby and Sarah in the first Collect was changed for that of Isaac and Rebecca; and the sign of the Cross at the Benediction of the married couple was laid aside. In the order for the Visitation of the Sick the Psalm at the beginning and an offensive clause concerning Tobias and Sarah, and the unction of the sick person, were expunged; and the communion bread and wine were always to be consecrated at the sick man's house, which in the former book were directed to be reserved and carried from the church, if a communion had been there that day, or if no communion had been there, but several sick were to be visited, that the elements consecrated in the first sick man's house should be reserved, and carried to the rest. In the Burial Office the prayers for the person to be interred, the proper Psalms, the Suffrages, and the order for the Communion were struck out. The Rubrick in the office for churching of women concerning offering the Chrisom was omitted:

and the title of the Communion was thus altered, 'A Communion against finners with certain prayers to be used divers times in the year.'

The offices of Ordination, drawn up in 1549, were now added to the Liturgy, and established as a part of it, with these few alterations; the vestments therein required, and the Introits were laid aside in this, as in all other parts of the book; the shocking appeal to the Saints and Evangelists at the end of the oath of supremacy was struck out; and the Ceremonies of delivering the chalice with bread at the ordination of a Priest, and the laying the Bible on the neck, and putting the Pastoral Staff into the hand at the Consecration of a Bishop were omitted.

The great dissensions and diversity of opinions that broke loose in this reign rendered it very expedient that provision should be made to reduce people to some uniformity. To restrain or punish *private judgment* was not consistent with the principles of the Reformation, which, rejecting the authority of the Church, when not founded on Scripture, had fixed the Scriptures and First Four General Councils as the Rule of Faith. This opened a door to wild interpretations, which whim, ignorance, art, malice and obstinacy broached and maintained, till great disorder and confusion was the consequence. In remedy of this, they were the more strict in obliging to an outward conformity with the established order of religion, and to punish *the publick preachers and maintainers* of opinions contrary to the Liturgies and Homilies of the Church of England. Therefore, in answer to the Lady Mary, who had told the King that her soul was God's, and that she would not change her faith, nor dissemble her opinions with contrary doings, it was said, that his Majesty constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a King to reign, but as a Subject to obey, lest her example might breed too much

much inconvenience. This became the more necessary, not only from some new fangled interpretations of our own people, but chiefly from an obstinate adherence to old errors, the licentiousness of mad German enthusiasts, and some designing emissaries from Rome, who crouded in among the German exiles on purpose to distract the church. These have been already mentioned as bringing letters of credence to Bishop Gardiner, and another Bishop, supposed to be Boner: and perhaps on a like errand came over one Warham, a Priest; who, having been out of the realm eighteen years, returned, as the council books mention, in manner disguised, and suspected of matters of importance, wherefore he had been committed to the Tower the 16th of May foregoing. One difficulty lay in the way, which was the Emigrants from Germany, who fled hither to avoid persecution; who, agreeing in substance with us, but under a different outward discipline, were to be protected and encouraged: but under their wing crept multitudes of frantick Enthusiasts or lurking Papists personating new sectaries. For sifting of these in the June of last year Austin Friars was given to the Germans and other Foreigners for their church, under the superintendency of John à Lasco the Polander, 'for avoiding of all sects of 'Anabaptists and such like,' as King Edward sets it down in his Journal. These were indulged to use their own rites and ceremonies, and an injunction was given to all Bishops, Judges, and Officers not to molest them for their non-compliance with the order of religion established here. So that every stranger, who was not protected by John à Lasco, became amenable to the English Governours. Wherefore we find that on the 7th of April this year George Van Paris, a Dutchman, and as a stranger comprehended under à Lasco's superintendency, denying Christ to be true God, and for that opinion publicly maintained excommunicated by the Congregation of his Countrymen, as King Edward remarks, was, after long disputation, condemned to the fire. Joan of Kent and this

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this Van Paris were all who suffered death on the account of religion in this reign. One denying the Humanity, the other the Divinity of Christ. But papistical errors, though obstinately and maliciously persisted in ; and wild opinions, though they knew many were industriously invented on purpose to disturb the tranquility of the church, were punished only with fine or restraint, more easy or more strait, according to the guilt of the offender, so long as they did not contradict the articles of the Creed common to all Christians. Nor did they procede to the execution of the statutes still in force against these, till they had with great patience and charity used every gentle method to instruct and reclame them.

Strype's
Cranmer.

But for the better concord and agreement in religion, about May this year, the King and his Privy Council ordered the Archbishop to frame a Book of articles of religion for the preserving and maintaining peace and unity of doctrine in this church. Of these articles Mr. Strype says ' the Archbishop was the penner, or ' at least the great director, with the assistance as is very probable ' of Bishop Ridley.' They were not finished till the next year, when they were agreed to in convocation, and were in number forty two, agreeing in general with our present articles confirmed under Queen Elisabeth.

The fourth and fifth are but one in King Edward's Book ; and the four last in his were omitted by the Convocation in 1562, which were ' against those who asserted that the Resurrection was only moral, with respect to the soul, and that there would be none of the body ; ' against those who believed that the soul slept or died till the resurrection of the body ; ' against the Millenaries ; and ' against the Origenists, who taught that all men after a limited time of punishment should be finally saved. Which brings the number to thirty nine. But after that of *Free-will* King Edward's Divines added one of *Grace*, teaching, that man's will was not free to Good till the Grace of Christ made it so, and consequently when

when made so, that there was no necessary determination of the will either to Good or Evil. Our article of *Good Works* was not in theirs. King Edward's Divines also framed two articles, which are not in Queen Elisabeth's Book; one defines the Blasphemy of the Holy Ghost to be a wilful persecuting in an hostile manner the truth of God's word manifestly made known to them: the other, which follows that *of obtaining eternal salvation only by the name of Christ*, asserts nevertheless the obligation on all Christians to observe the Moral Law, and censures those Enthusiasts, who revile the scriptures, and brag of the Spirit suggesting to them the doctrines which they preach, though contrary to the scriptures. Queen Elisabeth's Divines added two more, which are not found in King Edward's articles; one, *Of the wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper*: and the other, *Of both kinds*.

Many of these Articles treat of points much controverted at that time, such as Free-will, Grace, Justification, Good Works, and Predestination, which even still continue to disturb the church: and the meaning of these Articles, which were intended as a remedy, has been challenged on both sides. As it happened in the Council of Trent, with respect to two of these points, Grace and Predestination; when the Dominicans and Franciscans under their Generals Soto and Vega, after having agreed to the Decree, wrote, each of them, commentaries, in which they claimed the authority of the Council in support of contrary doctrines. But if we trace this controversy to its rise, as far as it respects the Reformation, and collate the Articles with the Homilies and the *Pia et Catholica Institutio*, we cannot be at a loss to know the Compilers meaning at the time of which we speak.

The trade and merchandise of the merits of *Popish* Good Works drove the *Lutherans* upon insisting on Faith in opposition to such works: which the *Antinomians* absurdly carried much further, excluding

cluding the obligation of the Moral Law ; against whom Luther wrote, and recovered their leader Illebius Agricola from his error : to avoid this extreme, the *Anabaptists* revived the Pelagian heresy by preaching up the natural powers of Free-will ; and thence run into another dangerous extreme of confidence in their own sufficiency, teaching that they might deserve Heaven by their own righteousness : shocked at this opinion, some of the *Gospellers*, as they were called, not able to reconcile Free-will with Grace, totally denied the former, and resolved the whole process of man's salvation or reprobation into the absolute Decrees of God.

The Compilers of our Articles had experienced the ill consequences of these several errors, and endeavoured to guard against them all ; expressing themselves with the *Lutherans*, that we are justified by Faith only : but then refer themselves for their meaning to the Homily of Justification. No Homily occurs under that title ; but there are nine Sermons, three of Salvation, three of Faith, and three of Good Works, all which together compose and make a treatise on Justification, all which I apprehend are referred to for explaining the sense of the Church in this article. These Sermons are full against the Merit of Popish Good Works, ‘ which sects
‘ and religions (say they, meaning the Papists) had so many hypo-
‘ critical and feigned works in their state of religion, as they arro-
‘ gantly named it, that their lamps, as they said, ran always over,
‘ able to satisfy not only for their own sins, but also for all other
‘ Benefactors, Brothers and Sisters of Religion, as most ungodlily
‘ and craftily they had persuaded the multitude of ignorant people :
‘ keeping in divers places as it were marts or markets of Merits,
‘ being full of their holy relicts, images, shrines, and works of over-
‘ flowing abundance ready to be sold *.’ They likewise deny the value of those specious works, apparently good, but done without
faith,

* Sermon of Good Works, 3d part.

faith, in opposition to the *Anabaptists*; grounding on St. Austin and St. Chrysostom, ‘ Good deeds be not measured by the facts themselves, and so discerned from vices, but by the ends and intents for the which they were done. If a Heathen man cloath the naked, feed the hungry, and do such other like works; yet because he doth them not in faith, for the honor and love of God they be but dead, vain, and fruitless works to him. They which glister and shine in good works without faith in God, be like dead men, which have good and specious tombs, and yet it availeth them nothing’. At the same time they declare as much against the value or efficacy of the *Antinomians*’ unoperative faith; and the *Gospellers*’ fond persuasion of being in God’s favor without good works, ‘ A man may soon deceive himself, and think in his own fancy, that he by faith knoweth God, loveth him, feareth him, and belongeth to him, when in very deed he doth nothing less. For the trial of all these things is a very godly and christian life. He that feeleth his heart set to seek God’s honor, and studieth to know the will and commandments of God, and to frame himself thereunto, and leadeth not his life after the desire of his own flesh to serve the divil by sin, but setteth his mind to serve God for his own sake; also to love all his neighbours, whether they be friends or adversaries, doing good to every man, as opportunity serveth, and willingly hurting no man: Such a man may well rejoice in God, perceiving by the trade of his life, that he unfeignedly hath the right knowledge of God, a lively faith, a steadfast hope, a true and unfeigned love and fear of God.’

The *Pia et Catholica Institutio*, or Erudition of a Christian man, as published in 1543, and 1544, delivers the same doctrine with the same guards, levelling against *Free-willers* and *Fatalists*,

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^a Sermon of Good Works, part 1st.

^c Sermon of Faith, 3d part.

by whatever names they might be distinguished ; directing their Preachers to keep betwixt those extremes.^d The Free-will, which they admit to be in man even after the Fall, they describe in this manner ; free, by the powers left in corrupted nature, to choose Evil ; and, by Grace intervening, free to choose Good.^e The works done by this liberty of corrupt nature, before Grace given, are Evil ; for they procede from carnal sense, or the wisdom of the world, what the Article calls *φρόνημα σαρκός*, which the Apostle says *is not subject to the law of God*, neither indeed can be. Rom. viii. 7. and springing from *a mind and conscience defiled, are not pure*. Tit. i. 15. Not denying their moral fitness or beauty, or even their reward, at least a temporal one : but denying their value to *justify*, or entitle the performers to the Gospel promises.^f The principle that restores our full Freedom is the Grace of God, soliciting the will to do Good : but as it only restores *liberty*, it cannot *necessitate* us ; so that after Grace received, we may either comply with its solicitations by a rational assent of the mind and by obedience, or we may reject them.^g Justification is considered as the effect of three several causes, the mercy of God, the satisfaction of Christ, and man's faith and repentance, by which he voluntarily accepts.

^d Nec Liberum Arbitrium ita prædicent ut gratiam dei afficiant contumeliâ : nec gratiam sic efferant ut Libero Arbitrio locum non relinquant. (De Libero Arbitrio.)

^e Facultas rationis ac voluntatis, quâ Bonum, assistente gratiâ, eligitur ; Malum verò eâdem destituyente. (Ibid.)

^f Quæ etsi bona sunt, atque a lege naturæ dictata, præmiumque sæpe ac remunerationem saltem temporariam à deo referant, at non sunt tamen meritoria, nec valent ad vitæ eternæ consecutionem absque fide in Christum. (De bonis operibus.)

^g Deo sapientissimo visum est, ut homo invitatus per gratiam, quam potest, si velit, oblatam amplecti vel aspernari, in justificationis suæ opere non sit otiosus. (de Justific.) Hoc sanè solus est Gratiæ beneficium, quod primò voluntates ad bonum moventur et excitantur : at in tentatione resistere ac vincere, in bonis his actionibus perseverare, et progredi in studio pietatis, illud utique et Gratiæ est, & nostrî simul Arbitrii et conatus. (De libero Arbitr.)

accepts the mercy and applies to himself the satisfaction.^h And it has three degrees or states, beginning, progressive, and perfect. Our Free-will in concurrence with Grace produces two sorts of good works, acts of *penitence*, and acts of *righteousness*. Of the first kind are assent to the Gospel revelation, with sure faith believing God's righteous judgment and severity against sinners, his mercy through Christ to them that repent, sorrow and compunction of heart for their past offences, restitution and satisfaction for injuries done to others, earnest and fervent prayers for acceptance, with serious resolutions of future amendment. These are required before, or in order to our *first* justification,ⁱ which is sealed and confirmed to us in the sacrament of baptism; to adults, after these works of penitence testified to the church; and to infants, on the faith of their sponsors.^k But this *first* Justification is the free Gift of God, although in adults these *works of penitence* are required to precede; for these works could not have been produced without preventing Grace setting the will free to make choice of them, and assisting in their production.^l Good works, after this Justification, called

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works

^h Visum est omnipotenti et CLEMENTISSIMO Deo pro immensâ suâ erga genus humanum CHARITATE, unigenitum filium suum mittere in terras ut REDEMPTIONIS mysterium operaretur, et ut homo in justificationis suæ opere non sit otiosus, sed per ASSENSUM animi et OBEDIENTIAM ad justificationem adipiscendam suam sibi operam accommodet. (de Justific.)

ⁱ Hæc propriè *opera penitentiae* vocantur; verbi gratiâ, sit peccator aliquid, qui cum audit aut recordatur verbum dei, per gratiam compungitur ad poenitentiam, incipit dolere et gemere ob peccata, et deum precari atque implorare, cæteraque facere bona opera, quibus et iram Dei effugiat, & in gratiam recipiatur.....per ejusmodi poenitentiae opera homo jam incipit justificari. (De Bon. Operib.)

^k Hæc justificatio, prima justificatio, rectè potest vocari; nempe primus noster in domum Dei & Christi ecclesiam introitus, & in justorum sanctorumque, i. e. fidelium numerum ascriptio. (De Justific.)

^l Quanquam opera poenitentiae a nobis requirantur ad peccatorum remissionem et justificationem: at nihilominus justificatio gratuitum est Dei munus, gratisque nobis confertur, quemadmodum et omnia nostra tum opera tum desideria bona ex gratiâ procedunt, per quam preparamur, et idonei efficimur ad justificationis gratiam recipiendam. (De Bonis Op.)

works of righteousness, are required of us to confirm and encrease this justification ; which are, persisting in our good resolutions, and producing the fruit of them, that *denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we may live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.* Tit. ii. 12. All those good works done *in charity from a pure heart, and good conscience, and faith unfeigned.* 1 Tim. i. 5. In the production of which we must not be remiss, but use great diligence in them, otherwise we shall forfeit the Grace received, cancel our *former* Justification, and relapse into the servitude of sin.^m Such relapsers may be again restored by *penitence*, a hearty conviction of their guilty, unfeigned shame and sorrow for it, a confidence of pardon for Christ's merits, with full purpose of amendment.ⁿ Thus justified, whether by Baptism, or Penitence after relapse, we must procede and improve in the works of righteousness above described : and although these may be rendered imperfect through human frailty, and we may daily fall into sins of infirmity and surprise, yet if we consent not to deadly sin, we shall not forfeit the grace of God, or fall from Justification ; but may notwithstanding receive greater measures of grace, procede to further degrees of good works, and increase our Justification.

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^m Opera quæ a justificatis in charitate fiunt ; ex puro corde et conscientia bonâ, ac fide non fictâ, eadem et fructus et opera justitiæ vocantur. His tribus verbis sobriè, justè, et piè, Paulus omnia bonorum operum genera exprimit. Nisi totâ mente in bona opera incumberemur, confestim ex Dei gratiâ et statu justitiæ in quam evecti eramus excideremus, atque iterum in peccati servitutem redigeremur. (de Bon. Oper.)

ⁿ His qui jam a baptismo lapsi sunt, necesse est ut a pœnitentiâ justificationem petant, in quâ haud quaquam mollitè aut languidè, aut sibi ipsis blandientes versari oportet. Huic pœnitentiæ adjuncta esse debet fiducia misericordiæ Dei et remissionis peccatorum merito Christi, per quem non dubitandum est (si modò ut oportet integrâ fide, et recto animi proposito pœnitentiam egerint) quin sint denuò recipiendi in gratiam cum Deo atque in justorum gregem referendi. (De Justif.)

This is the *progressive* state of it.* These work of righteousness, although imperfect, God will graciously accept in his last Judgment, through the imputed merit of Christ, as a discharge of the law, and as a title to the reward of eternal life, which is our complete or *perfect* Justification.^p Yet have we nothing to glory in, on the account of these good works, as if they were our own, and deserved of themselves the reward. It is *Grace* through Christ that discharges our original obligation to punishment; it is *Grace* that restores the freedom of the will to choose Good; it is *Grace* assisting that enables us to perform good works; it is *Grace* that supplies the defects of our best works; it is *Grace* that bestows an overproportioned reward.^q It is therefore needless for us to busy ourselves about God's secret and inscrutable Decrees of Predestination and Election. The scriptures and our consciences will acquaint us with all that it concerns us to know. What the scriptures plainly teach

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* Atque ita vel per baptismum, vel postea per poenitentiam justificati, etsi quotidiana et leviora peccata, quibus humanæ naturæ fragilitas obnoxia est, nequeant effugere, et propterea perpetuam poenitentiam agere debeant, tamen quamdiu peccato mortali non consenserint, a statu suæ justificationis non dejiciuntur, sed filii Dei manent, possuntque ii qui in hoc statu degunt, per Dei Spiritum in illis habitantem ejusmodi opera præstare, quæ Deo per Christum grata et accepta sint, et valeant ad conservandam atque etiam augendam justificationem. Atque ita quemadmodum in benefaciendo perseveramus, sic in dies magis, magisque nostra procedit justificatio, *auctiorque et cumulator*, efficitur. (De Bon. Op.)

^p Quæ opera, licet ex se indigna, imperfecta, et insufficientia sint, tamen quia in Christi fide fiunt, (cujus passionis virtute ac merito eorum imperfectio suppletur) ea Deus, quæ sua est misericordia et bonitas, boni consulit et accepta habet, tanquam legis suæ observationem. Suntque hæc opera ad consequendam vitam æternam meritoria.—Horum operum finis et effectus est, ut vocationem et electionem nostram *firmam* faciamus, ac incorruptionis gloriam adipiscamur, nec in die judicii vacui et sine fructu inveniamur, in quo Deus unicuique secundum opera redditurus. (De Bon. Op.)

^q Hanc dignitatem operibus tribuere divinæ gratiæ nihil detrahit, cum oporteat fateri omnia bona opera ex gratiâ venire, et merita nostra nihil aliud esse ut inquit Augustinus, quem Dei dona. (De Bon. Op.) Gratis justificari nos intelligendum est, eò quod omnia

dona.

we are to believe: these teach us in several places to distrust ourselves, and to guard carefully against the infirmity of nature, and its proneness to sin; not to depend on absolute and irrelative decrees in our favor, for we can have no other assurance of our Election than by the spiritual motions in our hearts, inflaming them with a love of heavenly things, and exerting themselves in good works. He who to-day *standeth*, cannot be assured that he shall continue to do so, but must *take heed lest he fall*. 1 Cor. x. It is our *diligence*, not our confidence, that will *make our calling and election sure*. 2 Pet. i. 10, 9. Other evidence of our being in the number of the predestinated, neither the scriptures nor the antient Fathers of the church mention; but such as, from the due use of the means of grace, feel within themselves the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh and their earthly members, and drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things, such may on good grounds receive unspeakable comfort from the consideration of Predestination and their Election in Christ. But others, who find not these signs of grace in their souls, are hurt by the doctrine of God's Decrees; for either they believe themselves *reprobated*, and then they despair, and remit all attempts to recover themselves as fruitless: or they believe themselves elect, in spite of their sins, and so think it needless to produce good works; being

dona quibus absolvitur justificatio ex gratuitâ Dei benignitate et gratiâ, et non ex nostrâ dignitate proveniant. Itaque omnia gratis nobis, et non propter nostram dignitatem collata sunt, nec ullum meritum nostrum potuit gratiam Dei præcedere cum gratia sit meriti parens: suntque merita nostra et bona omnia, a Deo authore et patre hominum profecta. (De Justif.) Ne igitur in nos ipsos aut nostram dignitatem oculos reflectamus, sed pergamus in studio bonorum operum, confitentes nos quo plus proficimus, eo nos plus Dei *gratiæ* debere: nec quicquam facimus, nisi cujus faciendi potestatem à Deo accepimus, idque in nostrum, non in ipsius commodum. (De Bon. Op.)

* Cæterum an singularis aliqua sit per fidem notitia, quâ quisquam certè apud se statuere, et sibi confirmare possit, esse se de numero prædestinatorum, et eorum qui in christianâ vocatione ad finem usque perseveraturi sunt, non est ut in præsentia dicamus; cum nullam hujusmodi notitiam aut certitudinem vel divinarum literarum testimonio, vel sanctorum patrum scriptis traditam commendatamve habeamus. Fatendum verò omninò est, in

being thus thrust either into desperation, or into wretchedness of most unclean living.

I thought it necessary to ascertain the sense of our articles in these points, or I should have left the view of our Reformation very defective or obscure. And this sense of our church, Dr. Redman (who was in great esteem among the Papists, and who had strenuously opposed the doctrine of Justification by faith only, lest people should grow negligent to perform Good works) acknowledged to be the truth on his death-bed, which happened in November following: convinced by scripture, as Fox relates his confession, that ‘our best works, even the works of grace, were too ‘worthless to deserve eternal life,’ and repented that he had so much strove against the doctrine of Justification by faith only; for, ‘provided faith was taught to signify a true, a lively, and a faith ‘resting in Christ, and embracing him, it is a true, godly, sweet ‘and comfortable doctrine; provided also that it be so taught, ‘that the people take no occasion of carnal liberty thereby.’

This

in sacramentis (quæ Christus ad virtutem et gratiam suam nobis impertiendam et communicandam instituit) deum efficaciter operari, ac inde merita Christi nobis applicari, magnasque ex eisdem consolationes ad erigendos et confirmandos animos nostros exhiberi, adeò ut CERTI esse possimus, deum (quod ad ipsum spectat) abundè omnia præstiturum, nec velle nos unquam deferere, si nos illi adhærere, atque in illo manere voluerimus: quo quidem in statu, si in finem usque perseveraverimus, de SALUTE NOSTRA CERTI SUMUS, idque ex infallibili Christi promissione. (De Fide)

• Monendi sunt homines ne damnationem suam Deo ascribant, sed sibi suoque vitio acceptam referant, qui tot dei beneficiis ac donis pro suæ voluntatis malitiâ et libidine ingrati abutuntur.—Nec est quod Deum impii accusent, cum hæc gratia omnibus, qui illius cupidi sunt, abundè donetur, suoque tantum vitio et malignitate homines pereant, qui gratiam oblatam respuant et aversentur. (de libero Arb.) Cum autem in scripturâ, aliquoties justificatio absolute attribuitur FIDEI, nullâ aliorum donorum adjectâ mentione, intelligendum est, hoc dictum esse de fide cum dilectione conjunctâ, quæ viva dicitur. Hæc enim fides non est simpliciter CREDULITATIS donum; sed pœnitentiam etiam et charitatem, dei timorem et spem complectitur, quæ omnia ad justificationem nostram efficiendam confluunt. (De Justific.)

This judgment was exactly with our Articles and Homilies, which yet Dr. Redman, from the wild conclusions of some Solidians and Antinomians, from his strong prejudices in favor of popery, and close connections with Tonstal and others of that persuasion, labored to oppose. But on the day he died he fully declared against Transubstantiation, and for Justification by Faith only, as above explained. And it may not be improper to observe, that this declaration was made presently after he had been in conference with the Bishop of London, who charitably went to visit him on that occasion.

K. Edw.
Journal.

For the better enforcing an agreement in doctrine and an uniformity in worship, a Commission was granted, in October this year, to thirty two Commissioners, of which the Bishop of London was One, to compile a body of Ecclesiastical Laws for the regular discipline and government of the Church. But although this system was at length brought to its due perfection, the ill qualities of several of the Bishops, who should execute this discipline, disinclined the King from giving them such power ; being (as he says) some for papistry, some for ignorance, some for age, some for their ill name, some for all these unable to execute discipline. Not meaning that all the Bishops were thus unqualified, but that many of them were so, and that therefore it was not prudent to intrust it to them all in general. Wherefore he made a memorandum in October 1552 for Commissions to be granted to those Bishops who were grave, learned, wise, sober, and of good religion, for the executing of Discipline : whether the King's illness, which succeeded soon after that time, and presently after, his Death, were the sole reasons for preventing this design from taking effect, I cannot say : or whether there was not some art to hinder these laws from being confirmed,

confirmed, in an age of licentiousness, which could ill brook restraint. The latter appears not improbable, as from the nature of vice in general impatient of controul, so from a letter of Dr. Cox (one of the Commissioners) to Bullinger, in which he tells him, describing the temper of the times, ' We hate those bitter institutions of Christian discipline.'

Strype's
Mem.
Vol. II.

While the Publick Service was under review, on the 25th of February an order was given from the Council to purge the King's Library of all superstitious Books, as Mass Books, Legends, and such like : but even here there seems to have been some little eye to plunder, for it is added, and to deliver the garniture of the same books, being either of gold or silver, to Sir Anthony Aucher in the presence of Sir Thomas Darcy.

§. 8. *The Bishop of London withstands the publick avarice and sacrilege.*

Harleian.
MSS.
No. 352.

Three days after this, Bucer died at Cambridge, expressing his apprehensions of some like stroke falling upon England as had afflicted Germany, by reason of the great dissoluteness of the people's manners, the want of Ecclesiastical discipline, and the general neglect of the Pastoral charge. And indeed the want of Ecclesiastical discipline, and the rapaciousness of the Rich, were such sensible evils at that time, that Dr. Scory, chaplain to Bishop Ridley, who preached before the King this Lent, complained of two evils among others, which were then very much felt : the one was want of ecclesiastical discipline, whereby great wickednesses were committed without any censures or punishments : the other was covetousness, whereby the poor were much wronged by the rich. And when he succeeded Ponet (translated to Winchester) in the see of Rochester, in his letter of thanks to the King for his advancement, he again made humble suit to his Majesty for redress of these evils. Indeed from these two sources sprung all the troubles

Burnet.

Strype's
Mem.

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and

• In the August following.

Harleian.
MSS.
No. 423.

and disquiet of this reign, opening the way to licentiousness and oppression. The seeds were sown by Henry VIII. in an indigested supremacy, and the resumption of abbey lands; but shot up into a luxuriant growth under a minor king, and an unsettled order of religion. Some of the council opposed the reformation; and many of them supported or professed it, only as affording more opportunities of plunder, but would not permit it to have power enough to restrain their vices. A short picture of it is drawn by Fox the martyrologist, about this time, in a dedication of his *Expostulatio Jesu Christi cum humano genere* to Bishop Ridley: in which he says, that ‘to him, when he reflects upon the mode
‘and custom of the age, such cruelty in many, such perfidiousness
‘in others, such a careless security in debauchery amongst most,
‘and such avarice among almost all men, there appears so total a
‘corruption as exceeds the power of all human remedies, and
‘plainly calls for a voice from heaven, denouncing in thunder a-
‘gainst it.’

Good-
win's K.
Edw.

And beside the natural consequences of such a state, which were heresy, licentiousness, oppression, tumults and rebellion; God was provoked to express his indignation by a severe disease, *the sweating sickness*, so peculiar to the English, that it seized on none but them in England, (for foreigners, who were here, escaped) but the English it pursued in whatever part of the world they happened to be. It began in April at Shrewsbury, and ended in the North about October. Its rage was violent, but short; killing sometimes in twelve hours, and at longest in twenty-four. In London it appeared June 8, and ended the 19th. in which time 872 died of this distemper. At the same time died at Bugden, in the Bishop of Lincoln's palace, the two young Dukes of Suffolk, (for the younger survived to inherit the title a few hours)

on.

on the 16th of that month; both in the same bed. Several of the court also sickned and died; which occasioned the King to remove from Westminster to Hampton Court.

Nor was the anger of heaven declared in this sickness only, but also in a severe dearth, which continued most part of this year. Therefore orders were issued out this July by the King and Council to the Bishops, charging and commanding them, that they 'in their own persons, and also that their preachers and ministers in their respective dioceses, by their command, should preach against the sin of covetousness, which now grew to be most insatiable among the people, insomuch that each went about to devour other. And that the Bishops and preachers should for this crime threaten men with God's grievous plagues; not only such temporal ones as then lay upon the nation, but such as should likewise be inflicted in the world to come.' Which order, Mr. Strype supposes, was procured by some good men in the court, not only in respect of the monopolizing of corn, but also upon contemplation of that tearing and rending from the church, the universities, the hospitals of the poor, and from one another; which some of the courtiers and great men practised, and by their example spread over the whole kingdom. So that common honesty and justice were scarce any where to be found. In obedience to this order the bishop of London sent the following letter to his clergy, on the Sunday after the sweating sickness had made such havock.

Strype's
Mem.

To his well-beloved the Preachers within the Diocese of London.

After hearty commendations. Having regard, especially at this time, to the wrath of God, who hath plagued us diversly, and now with extreme punishment of sudden death poured upon us, for causes certainly known unto his high and secret judgment,

and (as may seem to man) for our wicked living daily increas-
ing into such sort, that not only in our conversation the fear of God
is (alas!) far gone from before our eyes; but also the world is
grown into that uncharitableness, that one (as it appeareth plane-
ly) goeth about to devour another, moved with insatiable covet-
ousness; both contrary to God's word and will, and tending to
the extreme peril and damnation of Christ's flock, bought so
dearly with his precious blood, and to the utter destruction of this
whole commonwealth, except God's anger be shortly appeased.
wherein, as according to my bounden duty, I shall (God wil-
ling) in my own person be diligent and labor: So I exhort and
require you, first in God's name, and by authority of Him com-
mitted unto me, in that behalf, and also in the King's Majesty's
name, from whom I have authority and commandment thus to
do: that as you are called to be setters forth of God's Word, and
to express in your living the same, so now in your exhortations
and sermons you do most solemnly and earnestly call to mind their
sins, *juxta illud, annuncia populo meo scelera eorum*; [according to
that of the Psalmist, *tell my people their sins*,] with God's punish-
ments lately poured upon us for the same, now before our eyes;
and especially to beat down and destroy, with all your power and
wit, that greedy and devouring serpent of covetousness, that
doth now so universally reign: calling upon them for repentance,
and provoking to common prayer and amendment of life, with
more earnest attention. That hereby God's hand may be stayed,
the world amended, and obedience of subjects and faithfulness of
ministers declared accordingly. Thus I bid you heartily well to
fare. From

Yours in Christ,

25 July 1551.

Nicholas London.

The

The same day he repeted his request to Dr. Parker to preach at St. Paul's Cross, being willing to furnish that pulpit with discrete and learned preachers. July 22, he had appointed him a turn there, which the Doctor earnestly desired to decline : to whom the Bishop returned this answer :

Strype's
Parker.

Mr. Doctor, I wish you grace and peace. Sir, I pray you refuse not to take a day at the Cross. I may have, if I would call without any choice, enow : but in some (alafs !) I desire more learning, in some a better judgment, in some more virtue and godly conversation, and in some more soberness and discretion. And He, in whom all these do meet, shall not do well in my judgment to refuse to serve God in that place. Of which number because I take you to be, therefore (leaving at this time to charge you with answering for the contrary to the King and his Council) I must charge you to take a day, as you will answer the contrary to almighty God at your own peril. If the day be thought not commodious for you, I shall appoint another for it. But if I should discharge you from that place for the time hereafter, in good faith, my conscience should accuse me, and tell me, that I should rather go about to satisfy your request (whom the truth is, as your kindness hath bound me, I would be glad to gratify) than to set forth God's cause. Thus fare you well, from my house at London. And I pray you commend me to Mrs. Parker, whom although I do not know, yet for the fame of her virtue in God, I do love. Yours in Christ,

25 July.

Nic. London.

Here we see his great zeal in the discharge of his office ; continuing to reside in London in the midst of that malignant and pestilential distemper, assiduous in the care of his diocese, and to improve God's visitations to their true use, the reformation of
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Strype's
Parker.

the people; which he would not neglect to do by the most effectual means, either through indulgence to private friendship, or even for self-preservation: putting such trust in God, that he neither *feared the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor the sickness that destroyeth in the noon day.* His letters shew at once the affection of a Friend, and the zeal and authority of a Bishop. Dr. Parker and he were old acquaintance, had been both Chaplains to King Henry, and were now both Masters of Colleges in Cambridge. He had yet never seen Mrs. Parker, only had heard much of her good qualities, which afterward he found were so excellent, that without any fulsome commendations he sufficiently signified the high esteem he had of her, by asking, 'whether Mrs. Parker had a sister?' as though he should have been willing to have married, if he could have found her fellow.

At this very time the Bishop had an experience of the avarice and rapaciousness of the courtiers. On June 23, in the last year, the Council agreed that William Thomas, one of the clerks of the Council, should have his Majesty's interest in the Prebend of Cantlevres Court [or Kentish Town] in the Church of St. Paul's, which it is said in the Council Book was given to his Majesty by William Layton, late Prebendary thereof. But whatever motives might prevale on Layton to give up his Prebend to the King, in order to be made over to Mr. Thomas and his heirs as a Lay Estate, the good Bishop boldly opposed this sacrilegious alienation, and laid before the Council his reasons, why he could not give his consent to it; without whose consent it could not be done. The Council were much offended at him; and when they could not prevale upon him to give his assent, they made him promise, that when ever that Prebend should become vacant, he would not collate to it till such vacancy should be made known to the King. Now in this July we find that Layton was dead; on which some of the Council wrote to the Bishop to stop collation, because the
King

King had determined to appropriate it to the furniture of his stables. This made the Bishop apply to Mr. Cheke to assist in preventing this profanation or collusion; which he did by letter.

Master Cheke, I wish you grace and peace. Sir, in God's cause, for God's sake, and in his name, I beseech you of your help and furtherance towards God's word. I did talk with you of late what case I was in concerning my Chaplains. I have gotten the good will and grant to be with me, of Three Preachers, men of good learning, and (as I am persuaded) of excellent virtue; which are all able, both with life and learning, to set forth God's word in London, and in the whole diocese of the same, where is most need of all parts in England; for from thence goeth example (as you know) into all the rest of the King's Majesty's whole realm. The men's names be these; M. Grindal, whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning: M. Bradford, a man by whom (as I am assuredly informed) God hath and doth work wonders, in setting forth of his word: the Third is a Preacher, the which for detecting and confuting the Anabaptists and Papists in Essex, both by his preaching and his writing, is enforced now to bear Christ's cross. The Two first be scholars in the university: the Third is as poor as either of the other Twain. Now there is fallen a Prebend in Paul's called Cantrells, by the death of one Layton. This Prebend is an honest man's living of xxxiv. pounds and better in the King's books. I would with all my heart give it unto Mr. Grindal; and so I should have him continually with me, and in my diocese to preach.

But alas! Sir, I am letted by the means (I fear me) of such as do not fear God. One M. William Thomas, one of the Clerks to the Council, hath in times past set the Council upon me, to have me to grant that Layton might have alienated the said Prebend unto him and his heirs for ever. God was mine aid and defender.

fender, that I did not consent unto his ungodly enterprife. Yet I was then so handled before the Council, that I granted, that whensoever it should fall, I should not give it before I should make the King's Majesty privy unto it. Now Layton is departed, and the Prebend is fallen, and certain of the Council (no doubt by this ungodly man's means) have written unto me, to stay the collation. And whereas he despaireth, that ever I would assent that a preacher's living should be bestowed on him, he hath procured letters unto me, subscribed with certain of the Council's hands, that now the King's Majesty hath determined it unto the furniture of his Highness's stable. Alas ! Sir, this is a heavy hearing, when papistry was taught, there was nothing too little for the teachers. When the Bishop gave his benefices unto ideots, unlearned, ungodly, for kindred, for pleasure, for service, and other worldly respects, all was then well allowed. Now, when a poor living is to be given unto an excellent clerk, a man known and tried to have both discretion and also virtue ; and such a one as, before God, I do not know a man yet unplaced and unprovided for, more meet to set forth God's word in all England : when a poor living, I say, which is founded for a Preacher, is to be given unto such a man, that then an ungodly person shall procure in this sort letters to stop and let the same, alas ! Mr. Cheke, this seemeth unto me to be a right heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of the Gospel ? Speak, Mr. Cheke, speak for God's sake, in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think you may do any good withall. And if you will not speak, then I beseech you let these my letters speak unto M. Gates, to M. Wrothe, to M. Cecil, whom all I do take for men that do fear God.

It was said here constantly, my Lord Chamberlain to have been departed : Sir, though the day be delayed, yet he hath no pardon of long life, and therefore I do beseech his good Lordship, and so many as shall read these letters, if they fear God, to help that
neither

neither horse, nor yet dog, be suffered to devour the poor livings appointed and founded by godly ordinance to the ministers of God's word. The causes of conscience, which do move me to speak and write thus, are not only those which I declared once in the cause of this Prebend before the King's Majesty's Council, which now I let pass; but also now the man, M. Grindal, unto whom I would give this Prebend, doth move me very much; for he is a man known to be both of virtue, honesty, discretion, wisdom and learning. And beside all this, I have a better opinion of the King's Majesty's Honourable Council, than (although some of them have subscribed, at this their clerk's crafty and ungodly suit, to such a letter) than, I say, they will let, and not suffer (after request made to them) the living appointed and founded for a Preacher, and be bestowed upon so honest and well a learned man.

Wherefore, for God's sake, I beseech you all, help, that with the favor of the Council, I may have knowledge of the King's Majesty's good pleasure, to give this Preacher's living unto Mr. Grindal. Of late there have been letters directed from the King's Majesty and his Honourable Council unto all the Bishops, whereby we be charged and commanded, both in our own persons, and also to cause our Preachers and ministers, especially to cry out against the insatiable serpent of covetousness, whereby is said to be such a greediness amongst the people, that each one goeth about to devour another; and to threaten them with God's grievous plagues, both now presently thrown upon them, and that shall be likewise in the world to come. Sir, what Preachers shall I get to open and set forth such matters, and so as the King's Majesty and the Council do command them to be set forth, if either ungodly men, or unreasonable beasts be suffered to pull away and devour the good and godly learned Preachers livings? Thus I wish you in God ever well to fare, and to help Christ's cause, as you would have help

of him at your most need. From Fulham this present, the 23d of July 1551.

Yours in Christ,

Nicholas London.

Thus strenuously did he withstand the depredations on the church, where he was concerned, and seriously set himself practically to oppose that avarice, against which the King and the Council had enjoined him to declame. The event was, that the Bishop should be permitted to collate; which he did about a month after: but a better preferment falling vacant in the interim, the Precentorship of St. Paul's, Mr. Grindal was collated to that, and John Bradford, another of the Bishop's Chaplains, was collated to the Prebend of Cantrels, both of them on the 24th of August. And on the same day he provided for two more of his Chaplains, promoting Edmund West to the Prebend of Mora, and John Rogers to that of Pancras, both vacated by death. Mr. Thomas, the Clerk of the Council, was recompensed in the following month, with the manor of Garway in the county of Hereford, and divers other lands, to the yearly value of 35 pounds.

Strype's
Mem.

But what the good Bishop could do was but little to stem this wild-fire of avarice and iniquity that caught and run through all ranks. The objects varied according to the spirit, station, or opportunities of men. The Earl of Warwick's ambition had in view no less than the kingdom itself: his train had been long laying, and he began now to think of setting fire to it. The new alliance betwixt him and the Duke of Somerset in the marriage of the Earl of Warwick's Son to the Duke's Daughter, was too slender a band to

§. 9. *The death of
the Protector.*

to hold them together in friendship. The Earl could not brook the impediment which he knew he should meet with from Somerset; nor could the Duke forbear resenting in an indiscrete manner the affronts daily given him by Warwick. However, it appears, that he apprehended Warwick's design, from what he said, when he was sent for from Windsor; for taking the King by the hand, 'It is not I that they shoot at, says he; this is the mark at which they shoot.' But they could not reach that mark till Somerset was removed from before him. Rumors, that some of the nobles intended to destroy the King, prevailed abroad: and perhaps, neither the Duke, nor the Earl were solicitous to suppress these rumors, each hoping that the other would fall under suspicion. To direct this suspicion against the Duke, where naturally it could not light, an old popish fraud was practised by a woman of Pool in Dorsetshire, pretending that a voice followed her, which sounded these words in her ear, 'He whom the King did best trust, shall deceive him, and work treason against him.' This was a little before his last commitment. This rumor, and the suggestion of Mr. Strype, (if well founded) I mean, that the articles against the Duke were drawn up by Bishop Gardiner, shew that the Earl of Warwick was closer linked with the Papists than he would willingly have had it believed.

Strype's
Cranmer.

Ibid.

To strengthen himself, and prepare a way to the full execution of his deep design, on the death of the two young Dukes of Suffolk he procured that title for the Earl of Dorset, who had married the half sister of those noblemen, and was Father to the Lady Jane Gray, whom he designed to make an instrument in this work. For himself he procured the title of Duke of Northumberland; and the Earl of Wiltshire was made Marquess of Winchester; and

Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Some Knights were made at the same time, among whom were Cheke and Cecil.

Presently after this, on the 17th of October, the Duke of Somerset was apprehended, and sent to the Tower, and with him the Lord Gray: Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir Thomas Arundel were also taken, and kept under guard in their chambers: some of the Duke's followers, Hammond, Newdigate and two of the Seimours were sent to prison: and the next day the Dutchess was sent to the Tower, with one Crane and his wife, and two of her Chamber-women: after these, Sir Thomas Holdcroft, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Wingfield, Bannister, and Vaughan were all made prisoners. But the attention of the Court being for a time interrupted, none of these were brought to their trials for six weeks.

Strype's Mem. The Queen Regent of Scotland, having made her Daughter a visit in France, was desirous to shorten her voyage, and return home through England. The King's leave being granted, she came ashore at Portsmouth, where she was honorably received, and conveyed towards London, and arrived there the 2d of November, attended by several English Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, besides an hundred Ladies and Gentlewomen, English and Scottish, with which retinue she rode through the city to the Bishop of London's Palace, where she was received and lodged. The Mayor and Aldermen sending great store of provision of all kinds for her entertainment. On the 4th she went to Court in a chariot with a great train. The King met her in the Hall, and saluted her, embracing and kissing her, and then led her to the chamber of Presence, where was a banquet. Here she was entertained by the King and the Court with all possible respect, the King conversing long time with her. Of which conversation, when she came home, she gave this testimony; 'that she found more wisdom and solid judgment in young King Edward, than she would have looked for in
' any

‘any Three Princes that were then in Europe.’ In the evening she was conducted back to the Bishop’s Palace to supper, where she lay till the sixth day; when she was attended through Bishopsgate by the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Lord Treasurer, with each an hundred Horse; and at the Gate the Queen was presented with an hundred marks by the Chamberlain of London, and then proceeded on her journey.

On the 10th of this month I find in the Council Book, that all bills which came for the King’s signet (which was a stamp) used to be signed by six of the Council, now, as some of these bills passed sometimes into foreign realms, it was observed that it was derogatory from the King’s honor; and therefore to shew that the King’s doings were of full force without the authority or direction of other, hereafter they were to be signed only by Himself. I know of no ill use that was made of this; and it might be done only in compliment to the King, who had entered into his 15th year in the preceding month: but being done just on the removal of the Duke of Somerset from the Council, I cannot but observe, that it might be a convenient Order for so intriguing a man as the new Duke of Northumberland was, to have only the young King to persuade, or perhaps clandestinely to procure his stamp to execute designs which he durst not communicate to Six of the Council.

Harl.
MSS.
N^o 352.

The Duke of Somerset was brought to his trial on the 1st of December, when he was charged with a treasonable endeavour to get possession of the King’s person, and depose him from his government: that he intended to have raised the Northern parts to aid him in his treason: to have made an insurrection in the city of London: to have destroyed the Gend’armory: and to seize on and imprison the Earls of Warwick, and Pembroke, and the Marquess of Northampton: also that his chamber was strongly guarded to prevent a surprise, and to resist an attachment. It was an indecency, to say no worse of it, that of the seven and twenty Peers summoned

summoned to try him, Three of them should be the very Lords, whom they charged him with an intention to kill. The treasons had very slender grounds to support them; he had indeed founded his friends about being restored to the Protectorship: this, in Gardiner's management, (if the articles were of his drawing, as Mr. Strype suspects,) was a treasonable design of seizing the King's Person, and depriving him of his government: as to raising the North, he had only sent to Sir William Herbert to be his friend: nor was the proof stronger of his intention to raise the city, or kill the Gendarmes: his strongly guarding his chamber was rather a proof of his suspecting some violent attempt upon his own person, than of resisting an attachment, which, when he was indeed attached, he never attempted to do. The chief article proved was his design to kill or imprison the Three Lords beforementioned. There was evidence produced, (that is, their examinations were read, but the witnesses themselves did not appear) that the Duke had contrived an entertainment at the Lord Paget's House near St. Clement's in the Strand, to which the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke were to have been invited, and then, either to have been set upon by the way, or assassinated at dinner: this plot was confessed by Crane and his wife, and by Sir Thomas Palmer. The Duke of Somerset desired that these witnesses might be brought into Court, and that he might have the liberty of confronting them. This reasonable request was not thought proper to be granted him. And he did himself acknowledge that he had talked of such a thing, but hoped no idle, or angry words, that among his many provocations might at any time have fallen from him, should be urged against him, for that he had never determined to have killed the Duke of Northumberland, or any other person, but had determined *not* to do it. However, as by an Act passed in the last year, it was enacted, that 'if any person by open word or deed should procure, move, or stir any other person

‘ person or persons to exercise or put in ure any of the things above-mentioned [among which were the killing, or imprisoning any of the Lords of the Council] it should be declared felony without benefit of the Clergy ;’ the Lords his Judges thought proper to acquit him of the Treason, but to find him guilty of the Felony. The people, to whom he was dear, when they saw that the axe was not carried before him, which was a sign of his being acquitted of the treason, construed it into a general acquittal, and expressed their joy by a shout that was heard as far as Long Acre : but on discovery of their mistake a different passion succeeded. Northumberland and his faction had address enough to persuade the King of the Duke’s guilt ; and that after sentence he had confessed that he meant to destroy the Three Lords. It is certain that he resented with an imprudent warmth the provocations he had received from the Duke of Northumberland and his Partisans ; so much he confessed upon his trial, and that he had been indiscrete enough in his passion to talk even of killing them ; and sensible that this was a fault, after sentence was passed, he asked their pardons for it. Further Confession than this does not appear certain. But unless the Duke of Northumberland could possess the King with a persuasion of his dangerous designs, he could not hope to prevale on him to consent to the execution of this his second Uncle within three years. Indeed the condemned Duke had found means in the Tower to make a friend of the Lord Chancellor Rich, whom he requested to intercede for him to the King, that he might be better informed, and disposed towards him : in answer to this letter the Chancellor sent him an advertisement of somewhat designed against him by the Council : and being in haste wrote only, on the back of it, *To the Duke* ; and bade one of his servants carry it to the Tower, without mentioning the Duke of Somerset. His servant, knowing there was an intimacy betwixt his Master and the Duke of Norfolk, who was still in the Tower, and not knowing that there

Stowe and
Godwin’s
Annals.

K. Edw.
Letter to
Barnaby
Fitzpatrick.

Burnet.

K. Edw.
Journal.

there was any between him and the Lord Somers^{et}, delivered the letter to the Duke of Norfolk. The Lord Chancellor finding the mistake at night, doubted not but that the Duke of Norfolk, to make Northumberland his friend, would certainly discover him; and therefore went in haste to the King, and desired to be discharged of his office, thereby preventing the malice of his enemies. Accordingly, considering the sickness with which he had long labored, and the approach of the Parliament's sitting, he was permitted to give up the Great Seal on the 21st of December; and the next day it was delivered to the Bishop of Ely, that he might be the Keeper of it during the Lord Rich's sickness.

Sir John
Hayward.

This attempt to recover the King's favor to his condemned Uncle made the Faction diligent to divert his thoughts, lest returning affection should be too powerful for their malice. They therefore entertained the King with all the delights they could devise, presenting him often with stately Masques, Challenges at Tilts and Barriers, and whatever exercises or sports they thought would best please him. Then also he first began to keep Hall; and the Christmas time was passed over with Banquetings, Masques and Plays, and variety of diversions. Often they would call him to serious affairs, in which he took especial pleasure. Sometimes they would remember him how dangerous the Duke of Somers^{et} was, who, having made away his only Brother, contrived the deaths of the chief of the nobility. And where (say they) would his malice have rested? Would it have raged against all, and left the King only untouched? Then representing his avarice and ambition, which perhaps were faults really chargeable upon him, in aggravated colors; and adding thereto cruelty and falsehood, of which he was innocent, though sometimes too rough and assuming, they won the King over for the safety of his people to sacrifice his Uncle and real Protector; not so much to the malice of his enemies, as to the designing subtlety of Northumberland, who aimed through
Him

Him at the King himself. On the 22d of January he was beheaded on Tower-hill; where he met his death unappalled, without any disorder or discomposure in voice or countenance, but what the affection, which the people shewed for him, occasioned. Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Miles Partridge were hanged soon after on Tower-hill; and Sir Michael Stanhope and Sir Thomas Arundel were there also beheaded. All declaring their innocence, as the Duke had done before; which served the more to strengthen the opinion of the people, that Somerset fell a sacrifice to Northumberland, whom from this time they entirely hated. Lord Paget was stripped of his Garter, and fined. Crane, Palmer, Bartuile and Hammond, the chief witnesses against him, were soon after released; and the close intimacy that grew betwixt Palmer and Northumberland made it suspected, that Palmer had been employed to incense the Duke against Northumberland, and then betray the intemperate expressions of his hasty passion. Thus fell the people's favorite, and the King's faithful Protector, and left Northumberland unrivalled and unmolested to execute the rest of his mighty plan.

Burnet.

The day after the Duke's execution the Parliament met, in which and the Convocation most of those matters were perfected and confirmed, which had been in hand in the preceding year. The Common Prayer had been reviewed, and the use of the New Service enjoined from the feast of All-Saints next ensuing: The occasion of this review the act says was, 'divers doubts risen about the fashion and manner of the ministration of the same, rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers than of any worthy causes; and also in some places to make the fashion of service more earnest, and fit to stir Christian people to the true honoring of Almighty God, which (as the act observes) is profitable to

1552.

5 and 6
Edw. VI.
cap. 1.

‘ the estate of this realm, upon which the mercy, favor, and blessing of Almighty God is in no wise so readily and plenteously poured, as by Common Prayers, due using the Sacraments, and often preaching of the Gospel, with the devotion of the hearers. For both which reasons the Common Service had been explained and made fully perfect.’

For the use of it they appointed the keeping of Holidays and Fasting-days, in which the people were ‘ to apply themselves only and wholly to holy works properly pertaining unto true religion ; that is to hear, to learn, and to remember Almighty God’s great benefits, and to render him most high and hearty thanks with prayers and supplications ; declaring the Holiness not to be in the day, but in the godly works then to be performed, not in honor of any Saint or Creature, but only unto God and his true worship.’ Then the Holidays are determined ; all Sundays in the year, and the Festivals as now observed, except St. Barnabas, which was added afterward. On all these days all people were to cease from lawful and bodily labor, but with this reasonable indulgence, ‘ provided always that it shall be lawful to every husbandman, laborer, fisherman, and to all and every other person of whatever state, degree or condition, upon the Holidays aforesaid *in harvest*, or at any other time of the year *when necessity shall require*, to labor, ride, fish, or work any kind of work at their free wills and pleasures.’ But this proviso opened a door to a general disregard of the other parts of the act, and a profanation of the Holidays ; and, what was in reason indulged to necessity, was wantonly abused to the purposes of avarice and pleasure. The propensity to defeat good and wholesome laws was complained of by Judge Hales, in this reign, in the case of inclosures : But he observes that no good man would use, but abhor all such arts of evasion. ‘ For every good man will direct his study to observe the laws rather than to break them, and say with himself thus ;

‘ I know

‘ I know the makers of these laws meant good to the Common-
 ‘ wealth. They be but men, they cannot see all things: they
 ‘ be no Gods, they cannot make things perfect. Therefore I will
 ‘ rather do that they meant, although without danger of the law
 ‘ I might do otherwise; and I will with all my heart do good to my
 ‘ country, albeit it be against my private profit, rather than hurt
 ‘ it.’

They likewise enacted the marriage of priests to be true, just, ^{5 and 6}
 and lawful; their children legitimate and inheritable to lands and ^{Edw. vi.}
 tenements; the Priests enabled to be tenants by courtesy of their ^{cap. 12.}
 wife's lands after the wife's death; and their wives endowable
 with lands of their husbands. The poor of every parish also were ^{Cap. 2.}
 to be relieved with that which every parishioner of his own chari-
 table devotion would give. By this statute two overseers for the
 poor in every parish were first settled. The Parliament likewise ^{Collier's}
 dissolved the Bishoprick of Westminster, and united it to the See ^{E. Hist.}
 of London: but the collegiate church with the exempt jurisdiction
 was still continued. This act of parliament was to corroborate the
 late proceedings of the crown.

The Convocation, which sat now, agreed to the Book of Arti-
 cles that had been drawn up, and were mentioned among the
 occurrences of the last year.

But there was another Bill brought into the House of Lords,
 which was to deprive Dr. Tonsal of his Bishoprick. About July
 1550 he had been charged with being privy to a rebellion in the
 north, and concealing it. His accuser, Ninian Melville, pretend-
 ed that a letter of the Bishop's would prove it: but as this letter
 could not be produced the matter was stayed, and the Bishop only
 commanded to keep his house. This letter was now found in a cask- ^{Harleian.}
 et belonging to the Duke of Somerset after his being apprehended. ^{MSS.}
 Therefore on the 20th of December last the Bishop was ordered
 to attend the Council; where the letter was laid before him,

which he could not deny to be of his Hand-writing, but offered to purge himself: by what means it is not said. His answer being judged insufficient by the Council, he was sent to the Tower. On this information a bill of attainder was brought into the house for misprision of treason in order to deprive him. The Lords, of whom the majority were of Northumberland's faction, passed the bill: but Cranmer, who thought the letter capable of a more favorable interpretation, and probably suspected more an avaricious design in the Duke of Northumberland than any real guilt in the Bishop of Durham, spoke against it, and made the Duke his enemy by so doing. And when all the Lords but one concurred in passing it, even all the Popish Bishops, he protested against it; seconded by none but Lord Stourton; not even by those Popish Lords who had protested against almost every bill before. This shews Cranmer's integrity and impartiality, whom neither the frowns of great men, nor the remembrance of an unreasonable opposition (for Tonstal had opposed every measure of the Reformation, though he complied when established by authority) could prejudice to act against what appeared to him to be right and just. When it came to the Commons, as the evidence in this case rested on written depositions, they, having then a bill before them that there should be two witnesses in case of treason, and that the witnesses and the party arraigned should be brought face to face, and that treason should not be adjudged by circumstances, but plain evidence, threw out the bill.

Collier's
Ec. Hist.

This was believed to be a great disappointment to the Duke, who promised himself the lands and jurisdiction of that wealthy Bishoprick. That the Popish Lords and Bishops should assent to this scheme of Northumberland's, against so eminent a prelate of their own faction, and where the evidence was rather doubtful, appears very strange. Bishop Burnet apprehends it proceeded from jealousy, because Cranmer spoke for him. If conjectures are permitted,

mitted, may not the Duke's secret combination with Gardiner lead us to suspect, that it was upon some assurances given of his future favor to the Popish faction, for which this interesting point of possessing himself of the temporalities of Durham was the condition? However, from the behaviour of the Archbishop, and of the Popish Bishops, I think his case must be supposed of that doubtful kind, that while charity might believe him innocent, even partial favor might believe him guilty. The refusal of the Commons to pass this bill made the Duke see that this Parliament was not under his command: he therefore got it dissolved on the 15th of April, although the King was then ill of the Small Pox, and could not come out to sign the bills that were passed, but signed one bill in which were specified those that he would pass; and then gave a Commission for dissolving the Parliament. Men-

Strype's
Mem.

§. 11. Hethe, Bishop of Worcester, deprived.

Dr. Hethe, Bishop of Worcester, was appointed in 1549, with Ridley and others, to prepare a new book for the ordination of ministers, purged from the superstitions of the old Ordinal: but, refusing to agree with the majority, and to subscribe the Book when made, he was committed to the Fleet, where he lay under easy confinement all the year 1550. In September 1551, by the King's express commandment he was sent for before the Council. They repeated to him the cause of his imprisonment, which was for refusing to subscribe the book devised for the form of making Archbishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, being authorized by Parliament; telling him, that although for his obstinacy he deserved longer imprisonment, yet the King's clemency was such, that if he would now obey his Majesty in his former com-

Strype's
Cranmer

mandment

mandment he should recover the King's favor; and that he was then sent for, and willed now to subscribe the same. He answered, that he took the cause of his imprisonment to be as was alleged; and that he had been very gently used, rather like a son than a subject: nevertheless, he said, he remained still in the same mind, not willing to subscribe it, although he would not disobey it. Then the Council offered him to have conference with learned men, and to have time to consider the matter better. He replied, that he could not have better conference than he had heretofore; of other mind he thought never to be; adding that there were many other things whereunto he would never consent, if he were demanded; such as to take down the altars, and to set up tables. He was then charged in the King's name to subscribe the book before Tuesday the 24th (which was but two days) upon pain of deprivation of his Bishoprick. He answered resolutely, he could not find in his conscience to do it, and should be well content to abide such end, either by deprivation or otherwise, as pleased the King's Majesty. Upon which, as a man incorrigible, he was returned to the Fleet. Where lay at the same time Day, Bishop of Chichester, for contempt in refusing to pull down altars, and to erect tables in their places. And in October 1551, both were deprived of their Bishopricks, and continued in the Fleet till this Summer, when they desired, for their health's sake, to be removed to some place of better air, and more liberty. Whereupon, June 15, Dr. Day was sent to the Bishop of Ely, who had been appointed Lord Chancellor; and Dr. Hethe to the Bishop of London, by the appointment of his Majesty: Who were directed to use them as to Christian charity should be most seemly; at whose hands the King doubted not but they should receive such Christian advice as would tend to the glory of God. But Dr. Hethe's illness continuing, July 17, upon the motion of the Bishop of London, leave was granted from the Council that Dr. Hethe, might be

be sent to the Bishop's own House in London from Fulham, to recover his health, and then to return. Both these Bishops had been raised by Cranmer, and seemed very compliant with him during King Henry's reign: but afterward fell from him, offended at his leaving the doctrine of the corporal presence, and for writing against it. Scory, Bishop of Rochester, succeeded Day; and Hoper, Bishop of Gloucester, succeeded Hethe, keeping Worcester with his former Bishoprick. For which purpose a Patent passed in May 1552 to unite the Bishopricks of Gloucester and Worcester, to have to him for life so long as he behaved well. And another Patent passed December 8 following, that the two aforesaid Bishopricks should be reputed as one diocese.

Harleian.
MSS.
No. 169.

In the beginning of the Month of May I find the Bishop of London in Commission with the Lord Chancellor, Sir John Cheke, Dr. May, and Dr. Wendy to visit Eton College: at which visitation Fawding, one of the Fellows, was committed to the Fleet for leud words. I presume the affair was not then fully determined, because in King Edward's Journal it is noticed, that on September 26, the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Secretary Petre, and Mr. Secretary Cecil ended a matter of Eton College, between the Masters and the Fellows; and also took order for the amendment of certain superfluous statutes.

§. 12. *The Bishop of London's care of the Poor in London.*

About the same time the Bishop of London was engaged in a good and truly Christian work, contriving means to make the lives of the indigent more comfortable, by making them more useful.

The suppression of Monasteries had not only withdrawn a charitable assistance from many poor people, but greatly increased their numbers; and the oppressions of the Lay landlords who succeeded, by rack-rents, or by employing a few shepherds only instead of many

1 Ed. vi.
cap. 3.

Harleian
MSS.

many laborers, filled the towns and cities with swarms of people that had nothing to do; and who, having contracted a habit of idleness, lay a heavy burden upon the industrious. These landlords, after their avarice and hard dealings had thrown multitudes into this situation, very unreasonably imagined that they could remedy the disorder by severity of law; and therefore, in the first Parliament under King Edward passed an Act for punishing vagabonds, and for the relief of the poor and impotent: By which they enacted, that any who lived idle and loiteringly for the space of three days, being brought before two Justices should be marked with a hot iron on the breast with V for *Vagabond*, and be adjudged a slave to the person who brought him for two years: If they absented themselves fourteen days in the two years, two Justices might order him to be marked with S with an hot iron on the forehead or ball of the cheek, and adjudge him a *Slave* to his master for ever: If he ran away a second time he should be adjudged a felon. Clerks convict were to be used in the same manner. All impotent, maimed, or aged persons were to be relieved by the willing and charitable dispositions of the Parishioners in the cities, burroughs, or towns where they were born, or where they had been most conversant for the space of three years. But notwithstanding this Act, London continued to be so pestered with vagabonds, that a proclamation came out in 1550 for the avoiding them out of the city, and Southwark, and the liberties of the same. It is likely they saw the unreasonableness of punishing the subjects so severely for being beggars, whom the rapacity of the times had made so; and the Parliament this year repealed the Act so far as related to the making the unworking people slaves. But their distresses continuing, and the city having no power or authority to provide properly for them, the good Bishop could not see the misery of the idle without commiserating them, nor the burthen and nuisance which they were to the industrious without wishing some

some redress. The benevolence of the city had taken some care of the industrious and calamitous poor; but the idle vagabonds, who were disinclined from working, they knew not how to employ, or lodge, or teach them to be useful. This concerning point the Bishop turned over in his thoughts, and finding the rapacity of the courtiers was still wresting every thing from the King, which they could, at cheap pennyworths; and knowing that there was an old decayed house of the King's in the city, which might be made very serviceable for this purpose, and which some one was at that time about purchasing; he wrote a letter to Sir William Cecil the King's Secretary, whom he knew to be of a pious disposition, to assist him in this matter: How earnest he was to recover these unhappy people and to make them useful to themselves and the publick appears from the letter itself.

' Good Mr. Cecil. I must be a suitor unto you in our good Master Christ's cause; I beseech you be good to him. The matter is, Sir, alas! he hath lain too long abroad (as you do know) without lodging, in the streets of London, both hungry, naked and cold. Now, thanks be to Almighty God! the citizens are willing to refresh him, and to give him both meat, drink, cloathing and firing: but alas! Sir, they lack lodging for him. For in some one house I dare say they are fain to lodge three families under one roof. Sir, there is a wide, large, empty house of the King's Majesty's, called Bridewell, that would wonderfully well serve to lodge Christ in, if he might find such good friends in the court to procure in his cause. Surely I have such a good opinion of the King's Majesty, that if Christ had such faithful and hearty friends who would heartily speak for him, he should undoubtedly speed at the King's Majesty's hands. Sir, I have promised my brethren the citizens to move you, because I do take you for one that feareth God, and would that Christ should lie no more abroad in the streets.'

He prayed him also for God's sake that he would stop the sale of this house, in case any were about buying it, as he heard there were, and that he would speak in our Master's cause. He wrote also to Sir John Gates, another great man at court, about this business more at large, and, as he told him, joined Cecil with him, and all other who loved and looked for Christ's final benediction in the latter days. Having (as it appears) a better opinion of Gate's Christian sincerity than it deserved. He likewise sent instructions by the bearer of his letter to Cecil to confer further with him on this affair.

The good Bishop had been solicitous about it ever since he was promoted to the See of London, as appears from a Sermon of Lever's preached before the King in 1550; in which he compared the greedy counsel of dissolving monasteries for plausible pretences to Judas's advice of selling the ointment for 300 pence to be given to the poor, only that he might get it into his bag. Then mentioning what 'a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, 'with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixt among them, 'lay and crept begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster, thrust out from their farms by their covetous new 'landlords, who suffered their houses to fall that they might get 'rid of their tenants and turn their lands into pasture;' He adds, 'but now I trust that a good Overseer, a godly Bishop I mean, will 'see that they in these two cities shall have their need relieved, 'and faults corrected, to the good ensample of all other towns 'and cities.'

The Bishop succeeded in his application, though the perfect endowment of this house was not till the year after, when it was granted for correcting and reclaiming idle, loose vagrants, finding them work, and training boys up to several useful trades. Of which useful charity and other hospitals, erected in King Edward's time, Bishop Pilkington in the beginning of Queen Elisabeth's reign

reign speaks in answer to the Romanists who boasted of their hospitality. 'Look into London, said he, what hospitals are there founded in the Gospel time! the poor *indeed* relieved, youth godly brought up, and the idle set at work. Popery would sometimes feed the hungry, but seldom correct the unprofitable drones, who sucked the honey from the labouring bees, nor bring up children in the fear of God: but to fill the belly, and not to teach virtue is to increase vice. Well worth Bridewell therefore, for it is a good School.'

During Dr. Hethe's removal for the recovery of his health, and while the King was in his progress, the Bishop took that opportunity of visiting his own College in Cambridge; where by the leave of the Bishop of Ely he had an ordination in the College Chapel on Bartholomew-day. In his return toward London he rested at his house at Hadham: from whence on the 8th of September in the morning he waited on the Lady Mary, who was at Hunsdon, two miles off, to do his duty to her. She thanked him for his civility, and entertained him with very pleasant discourse for a quarter of an hour, telling him that she remembered him at Court, when chaplain to her Father, and mentioned particularly a Sermon of his before her Father, at the marriage of the present Lady Clinton to Sir Anthony Brown: And then leaving her chamber of presence, she dismissed him to dine with her officers. After dinner, she sent for him again; when the Bishop in conversation told her that he did not only come to pay his duty to her Grace by waiting on her, but further to offer his service, to preach before her the next Sunday, if she would be pleased to permit him. Her countenance changed at this; and she continued some time silent; at last she said, As for this matter, I pray you, my Lord make the answer to it yourself. The Bishop proceeding to tell her that his office and duty obliged him to make this offer; she again desired him to make the answer to himself:

self : for that he could not but know what it would be. Yet if the answer must come from her, she told him, the doors of the parish church should be open for him if he came, and that he might preach if he pleased ; but that neither would she hear him, nor should any of her servants. Madam, said the Bishop, I trust you will not refuse God's word. I cannot tell, says she, what you call God's word. That is not God's word now, which was God's word in my Father's days. The Bishop observed, God's word is all one at all times, but has been better understood and practised in some ages than in other. Upon which she could restrain her anger no longer, but told him, You durst not for your ears have avouched that for God's word in my Father's days that now you do. And then, to shew how able a judge she was in this controversy, she added, As for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them ; I never did, and never will. She then flew out into many bitter expressions against the Form of Religion at present established, and against the government of the realm, and the Laws made in her Brother's minority ; which she said she was not bound to obey, till the King came to perfect age, and when he was she would obey them. She then asked the Bishop if he was one of the Council ? And on his answering, No : You might well enough, said she, as the Council goeth now-a-days : and parted from him with these words, My Lord, for your civility in coming to see me, I thank you ; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you not a whit. After this the Bishop was conducted to the room where they had dined, where Sir Thomas Wharton gave him a glass of wine, which when he had drank, he seemed concerned, and said, Surely I have done amiss. Upon being asked, Why ? He vehemently reproached himself for having drank in that place where God's word had been refused ; whereas, said he, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately and to have shaken off the dust from my feet for a testimony against this house.

One

One of our learned historians suggests, that as the Princess was under no excommunication, the Bishop discovered his resentment too far. Too far in worldly prudence he certainly did, for the Princess never forgave him: but Christ's directions to his Apostles were not given with regard to persons who had been cast out of their Communion, but to persons of a different belief refusing to be instructed. And the Princess having avowed an obstinate persevering refusal of every mean of instruction, reading and hearing, no wonder if the Bishop blamed himself for so far forgetting his master's command, as to accept a pledge of friendship in the house of one who had so wilfully rejected the word of God. This bigotry of hers gave him a sorrowful prospect of what was to be expected, if ever the Princess came to the crown.

While the King was in progress the Duke of
 §. 14. Northum- Northumberland was contriving to unite his fami-
 berland *increases his* ly with the Royal Family; and for that purpose
power and influence. had solicited a match between his Son, the Lord
 Guilford Dudley, and the Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter to the
 Earl of Cumberland, who had married Eleanor, youngest daughter
 to the Duke of Suffolk by King Henry's Sister, the Princess
 Mary. Many impediments were urged or pretended: but in July
 the King wrote to the Earl to grow to some good end forthwith
 in this marriage, any law, statute or other thing to the contrary
 notwithstanding. But whether the Earl, disinclined from the match,
 had art enough to put it by for the present; or the Duke had
 hopes of matching his Son into the elder Sister's family, the Grays,
 the King's application did not succeed. This attempt of the Duke
 now, and his marrying his Son not long after into the elder
 branch of the Royal Family, are, I think, strong suspicions of his
 having a view at this time of bringing the crown into his family.
 But what was to become of the King? These attempts of the Duke
 and

and his subsequent behaviour must incline us to believe that he never expected that the King's marriage (now negotiating) with the daughter of France should produce heirs to disappoint his own views. Yet, even supposing the King's death, there were many betwixt the crown and the Lady Margaret Clifford. But of these, the King's Sisters had both been declared illegitimate by Parliament: the Queen of Scots was a foreigner, and excluded by King Henry's Will: the weakness of the new Duke of Suffolk, and Northumberland's influence over him might open hopes to his wild ambition of managing him. And he did actually prevale on the Dutchess to resign her prior pretensions. However, all his actions shew that he did not imagine the King would be long lived. At this aim were thought to level his siding with the Duke of Somerset, and inflaming him against his spirited enterprising brother the Lord Sudley, till that dangerous competitor was removed: then his intrigues to entangle and get rid of the Duke himself, the King's most faithful Protector: and at the same time to secure the game in his own hands, his placing his Son Sir Robert Dudley near the King's person; for he was sworn one of the six ordinary Gentlemen to attend his Majesty at the time when his Father was created Duke of Northumberland. A monster of lust and cruelty, as Sir John Hayward describes him, apt to hate, and sure to execute his hate; yet rather by practice, than by open dealing, as wanting rather courage than wit. Unhappy Prince! under the direction of Northumberland, and in the possession of his Son! whose assiduous application was like the envenomed shirt of Hercules, the more close the more fatal. The King returned much fatigued with his over exercise from his progress, September 28. And soon after, as the same historian informs us, he complained of a continual infirmity of body, 'yet rather as an indisposition of health than any set sickness.'

Page 310.

Page 403.

But

But while the Duke was thus scheming for his family great and not very distant plans, he endeavoured both to enrich and strengthen himself by new plunders of the church. When he was created Duke of Northumberland he had 50 marks a year granted him out of the Customs of Newcastle: in the same month he had the grant of the office of General Warden or Keeper of the Marches of England towards Scotland: and in December he had given him the site of the late monastery of Tinmouth in the county of Northumberland, and a great number of lordships and manors more: and at the same time a gift of the towns of Alnwick and some others in the same county: likewise in the April following were granted to him the offices of the chief stewardship of the East Riding in Yorkshire, and of all the King's lordships and manors of Holderness and Cottingham in the same East-Riding, with privilege to name and appoint all officers under him. Having obtained such large possessions and powers in Yorkshire and Northumberland, he looked with a covetous eye on the Bishoprick of Durham which lay between them; judging the temporalities of that See very convenient for himself. In the last Parliament he had attempted to deprive the Bishop for misprision of treason: but his design appearing plainer than the Bishop's guilt, the Commons would not pass the Bill. The Duke was too much interested to let him escape so, therefore what the Parliament would not do, a private Commission was to execute. About September the Bishop was sent for up by the Council upon certain accusations. He arrived in London, and was lodged on the 4th of October at the late monastery of White Monks on Tower-Hill, and soon after committed to the Tower, and a Commission directed to the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench and others to call before them Cuthbert Bishop of Durham, and examine him of all manner of conventicles, conspiracies, contempts, concealments, or other offences. And if he be found guilty to deprive him of his Bishoprick; and otherwise to do in the premises.

premisses according to their wisdoms. He was found guilty, and deprived the 14th of October, or on the 11th according to King Edward's Journal.

But I think the Duke was near suffering a second disappointment; for on this very 11th of October Dr. Robert Horne, Dean of Durham, declared a secret conspiracy of the Earl of Westmorland, who was a Privy Counsellor, and Lord Lieutenant for the Bishoprick of Durham. The Dean was commanded to keep this matter close^a. However, for encouragement, the Council judged, that the Bishoprick of Durham now vacant by the deprivation of Tonstal for *concealing* treason, was the most proper reward to the Dean of Durham for *discovering* treason. And a grant was made to him in the following month of the said Bishoprick, with all the lordships, manors and lands to the same belonging, during his natural life. Whether he was secretly prevailed on by the Duke to refuse this preferment, or afraid to disappoint him by accepting lands and manors that Northumberland grasped at, and of which he saw in Tonstal's case how dangerous it had been to be possessed, I know not; but it is certain he declined accepting it: Mr. Strype says it was, because he cared not to take Tonstal's Bishoprick over his head. Yet he scrupled not afterward to take Winchester over White's head, when deprived under Queen Elisabeth.

Strype's
Mem.

1553.

The Bishoprick continued open; and in the next Parliament, which sate the 1st, and broke up on the last day of March, it was dissolved. The King, who was grown sick of giving away the Church lands in such quantities, being brought into it from a representation of the want of good preachers there, and that two Bishopricks might be founded out of its revenues, one at Durham, and another at Newcastle, with an allotment of 2000 marks a year for the former, and of 1000 for the latter; and the County be changed into a County Palatine and united to the Imperial Crown of the realm. Accordingly it was so changed by Letters Patent,

^a A pardon was afterwards granted, April 17, 1553.

Patent the 3d of April following. In this plunder the Mayor and Burgeſſes of Newcastle came in for the lordſhip, manor, town and borough of Gateshead, in May; and in June the capital meſſuage of Coldharborough in Thames-ſtreet, London, lately belonging to the Biſhoprick, was given to the Earl of Shrewsbury. The County Palatine it is ſuppoſed was deſigned for the Duke of Northumberland; Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was given to him: but whatever was intended, I find no other grants to him out of the Biſhoprick but of Bernard's Caſtle, with divers lands to the yearly value of 229 6 3¹. dated the ſame day that the County Palatine was erected; together with the office of Steward of all the honors, caſtles, manors, lordſhips and lands in the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, Weſtmorland and York, or any other where within the Biſhoprick of Durham, with the ſeveral fees of 50 13 4, to the ſame offices belonging.

The two new Biſhops intended were Ridley for Durham, and his Chaplain Grindal for Newcastle; as appears from Ridley's farewell to his countrymen, in which he bids them not to be aſhamed of his condemnation to ſuffer death, but rather rejoice, if they loved him indeed, 'for that it hath pleaſed God to call me to a greater honor and dignity than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rocheſter, or in the See of London, or ever ſhould have had in the See of Durham, whereunto I was laſt of all elected and named.' This was not till juſt before the King's death, which prevented the actual tranſlation: but Grindal was named ſo long ago as in November laſt, as appears from a letter of Ridley to his friends Sir John Gates and Sir William Cecil; in which he gives God hearty thanks, 'that it had pleaſed him to move the heart of the King's Majeſty to chuſe ſuch a man, of ſuch godly qualities unto ſuch a room.' He ſeems then to have no apprehenſion of his own removal from London; for the buſineſs of that letter was that he might have leave to fill up the vacancy in St.

Martyr's
Letters.

Paul's, to be made by Grindal's promotion, with some worthy man, as the eminence of that See was the spectacle of all England, and he himself in his situation was in daily need of learned men's counsel and conference. He therefore desires them 'to be Petitioners for him in God's cause to the King, that seeing his Highness did perceive, that he did so well bestow the Prebend, which Mr. Grindal had of his collation, and three or four others to such worthy and well deserving men, who were known to be so necessary abroad in the Commonwealth, that he could keep none of them with him in his house (meaning Bradford, Rogers, and Grindal) that it would please him of his gracious clemency to grant him the collation to the same again; that he might thereafter call some other like learned man, whom hereafter by God's grace his Highness might think meet likewise to promote, as Mr. Grindal was.' And if they desired to know to whom he wished the Chantorship might be given, he told them, 'unto any one of these following persons; Mr. Bradford, (whom in my conscience, said he, I judge more worthy to be a Bishop, than many of us who are Bishops already to be Parish Priests) Mr. Sampson, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Grimbold, Mr. Lancelot Ridley; all preachers.'

Indeed he was very careful to have worthy and learned men about him; his Chaplains were Dr. Scory, soon after Bishop of Rochester; Grindal, and Bradford, both of his own college, the first of whom came afterwards, under Queen Elisabeth, to be Archbishop of Canterbury; and the latter to a still higher honor, under Queen Mary, to die a Christian Martyr: as did also Rogers; Nicholas West, having been collated by his patron to the Prebend of Mora, and the rectory of Fulham, timorously recanted under Queen Mary; but was so affected with the sense of his apostacy, that he died for grief in 1554: Grimbold, who was thrown into prison for religion, but released; Ridley feared he had made some
undue

undue submissions. Such was his gentle censure of a man, who gave too much cause to suspect that he was guilty of the greatest treachery. What became of him afterwards I learn not, nor of one Holden who was another of his chaplains. Dr. Henry Herve was his Vicar General, and succeeded to Grindal's Precentorship in Queen Mary's Time: Dr. Lancelot Ridley was his first cousin, an exile under Queen Mary, and restored by Queen Elizabeth to be one of the preachers at Canterbury.

The Bishop was in Commission the last October, with Cranmer and some concealed Papists, who procured this Commission under pretence of enquiring after sundry Heresies lately sprung up, especially Arians and Anabaptists; but really to defame and trouble some honest professors of the Gospel: But, by Cranmer's sagacity, the innocence of the persons delated, and the malice of their accusers were made manifest.

Strype's
Mem.

§. 15. *The Bishop of London petitions for some of the superfluous linen given to the King.* The Book of Common Prayer having been carefully revised and corrected last year, the Parliament had enacted, that it should begin to be used every where on All Saints day next: but because the posture of kneeling excepted against by some, and the words used by the priest to the communicant, at the reception of the elements, occasioned a scruple, as though the adoration of the Host was intended; to satisfy this scruple, and to declare the contrary to be the doctrine of this Church, a letter was sent from the Council to the Chancellor, October 27, to cause a declaration signed by the King, touching the kneeling at the receiving the Communion, to be joined to the Book of Common-Prayer lately set forth. And the first of November being come, the Bishop of London celebrated the new service in St. Paul's church in the forenoon; and then, in his rochet only, without cope or vestment, preached in the choir: and in the afternoon he preached at Paul's Cross, the Lord Mayor,

and Aldermen, and citizens present. His sermon tended to the setting forth this new Edition of the Common Prayer. He preached till almost five of the clock; so that the auditors went home by torch light. By this Book all Copes and Vestments were forbidden throughout England.

Fuller's
Letter.

Strype's
Memoirs.

In this same month of November, as the fashion of the times was to put in for a little of the public plunder, we find the Bishop of London himself, who inveighed much against this church spoil, and opposed it as far as he could, at last became a Petitioner to the King for some part. The King's exchequer, exhausted by the riot and rapacity of his Courtiers, required immediate supply. As one expedient the Parliament had given him the superfluous linen, plate, and goods belonging to churches and chantries. These in some places had been embezzled and applied to private uses; so that secular men's houses were furnished with altar pieces and copes, and their masters drank in chalices at their entertainments, and turned the consecrated plate to common use. Commissions had therefore been granted to persons of condition in every county to recover the embezzled goods, and to punish the spoilers: and in the last November order was given to take all certificates and returns of the late Commission for the said survey of church goods, and to devise the best means for bringing and converting to the King's use such goods as could be spared in the churches. Among other things that came into the King's possession by virtue of this Commission, was store of linen, good and bad, as surplices, altar cloths, towels, and napkins: and as the late King had granted Grey Friars by Newgate to the city, which was this year preparing for the relief of poor Orphans, the Bp. of London begged the superfluity of the abovementioned articles as were found in the churches of London, or of his diocese, for the use of these poor Children of Christ's-Church, as it was now called. And accordingly a Letter came from the King and Council to the Bishop to deliver to the Govern-
ment

nour of the Hospital of Christ's-Church in London such linen vestures and other linen cloth not employed for the ministry in the said churches, as of the King's gift, for the poor Orphans and other poor people.

One of our Church Historians censures the calling these superfluous, and says they who called them so were none of the best Reformers : but doubtless, at the suppression of so many altars for private Masses and Obits much furniture of this kind must become superfluous ; and if *only such* was applied to the pressing necessities of the state, and publick charities, surely no unprejudiced man could be offended. If they pared too near the quick, and misapplied these gifts, a just censure might fall on those who did so ; but certainly this vigilant Bishop's care of the city must be commended for applying some of it to so good a purpose. This is the second time the good Bishop stood the city's friend this year ; and we shall meet with a third instance not long after.

Another expedient for the raising of money for the King was the selling away the Rectories and Advowsons of such churches as came into his hands by Act of Parliament, either from the Monasteries, Chantries and Free Chapels, or by exchanges. This deserved a much severer censure, as it occasioned very pernicious and scandalous bargains between the Lay Patrons and Clerks. Of the ill effects of this, toward making a useless and contemptible clergy, they had had sad experience in the former sales of the like kind. At the first seizing these Lands and Rectories it was proposed to erect Schools, endow new Fellowships, and allow stipends for maintenance of Scholars at the Universities, to erect more Bishopricks and other Honorary Preferments to encourage the study of Divinity : but by this perversion very little of this kind was done ; no new assistance was given to students in the Universities, nay the custom of rich people's allowing exhibitions to poor Scholars, which had formerly prevailed, now ceased, so that the number of
students

Court
Sermon
in Strype's
Mem.

students decreased; and the reputable scholars in orders could not come at Preferments, which were disposed of, not to merit, but for money: insomuch that many were forced to apply themselves for a subsistence to mechanical trades or mean employments. These Lay Patrons were wont either to farm their Benefices, appointing the rent at their own pleasure; or else held the Benefices in their own hands, and allowed five or six pounds a year to a Clerk, who never came near them. Bernard Gilpin complains that the Livings were so robbed of the best part, that few had zeal or devotion to put their children to schools; the decay of students was so great, he says, that there were scarce left of every thousand an hundred. These ill effects were likewise set forth in a Book dedicated to the Lord Chancellor this year, in which it is observed, that without rewards or encouragements few would apply themselves to the Pastoral Function; and that those in it, if they could not subsist by it, must turn to other employments: and mentions that at that time many Clergymen were Carpenters, and Taylors, and some kept ale-houses. It was a reproach, the author observes, on the nation, that there had been so profuse a zeal for superstition, and so much coldness in true religion. He complains of many of the Clergy who did not maintain students at the Universities according to the King's injunctions; and that in Schools and Colleges the poor Scholars places were filled with the Sons of the Rich; and that Livings were most scandalously sold, and the greatest part of the Country Clergy were so ignorant, that they could do little more than read. But there was no hope of doing any thing effectually for redressing so great a calamity, till the King should be of age himself to set forward such laws as might again recover a competent maintenance for the Clergy.

The

§. 16. *K. Edward's
designs of reformation
in church and state.
The Bishop of London
called to assist in Coun-
cil.*

The King was sensible of these inconveniences; and did some things, and purposed doing more for their amendment. He had founded at least sixteen Free Schools in sixteen months, from the time of Bishop Goodrick's coming to the seals, besides others founded in the years 1550 and 1551^a.

Strype's
Mem.

But the young King's judgment and good disposition cannot be better seen than in a Discourse of his own about the Reformation of some abuses: it is exemplified by Bishop Burnet in his History of the Reformation, vol. II. among King Edward's Remains; it gives such a picture of the King, and of the Times, that I cannot forbear transcribing great part of it.

'The Government of this realm is divided into two parts, one Ecclesiastical, and the other Temporal.

'The Ecclesiastical consisteth in setting forth the word of God, continuing the people in Prayer, and the Discipline.

'The setting forth the word of God consisteth in the good and discrete doctrine and example of the Teachers and Spiritual Officers; for as the good Husbandman maketh his ground good and plentiful, so doth the true Preacher with doctrine and example print and graft in the people's mind the word of God, that they at length become plentiful.' For this purpose we find elsewhere some memorials of what he intended should be done. As, I. *For an Uniformity of Doctrine, to which all Preachers should set their hands.* Which good purpose he brought to effect before his death, by setting forth the Book of Articles for avoiding diversity of opinions, and establishing consent touching religion. II. *A Catechism to be set forth to be taught in all Grammar Schools.* This he saw finished in his life time; given generally to Cranmer or Ridley, but according to Strype was Nowel's. III. He seemed determined on

Strype's
Mem.

^a And I find, by a letter from Nic. Partridge to Bullinger, that so early as 1547 the King was desirous of erecting twelve Monasteries for the education of youth. In MSS. Archiv. Eccles. Turicensis.

on another Royal Visitation, and therein, *To find fault with the slothfulness of the Pastors, [i. e. Bishops] and to deliver them Articles of Visitation, willing and commanding them to be more diligent in their Office, and to keep more Preachers.* IV. *For making more Homilies and more Injunctions,* for the service and supply of Ministers who were ignorant and could not preach; or negligent and superstitious, and did not sufficiently observe the rules and institutions of the Reformation. His Death prevented these. V. *For finding out proper and exemplary Pastors,* he noted Harley for the vacant Bishoprick of Hereford; and an Archbishoprick in Ireland to be appointed. And Durham being then just vacant, he made a memorandum for dividing it into two, and for placing fit men in them.

‘Prayers also to God must be made continually, of the people and officers of the church, to assist them with his Grace. And those Prayers must first with good consideration be set forth, and faults therein amended; next, being set forth, the people must continually be allured to hear them.’ Part of this had been done by the review of the Common Prayer; and the other part in the Act of Parliament injoining the use of it, and that the neglect should be punished by the Censures of the Church.

‘For Discipline, it were very good that it went forth, and that those who notably offend in swearing, rioting, neglecting God’s word, or such like vices, were duly punished, so that those who should be the Executors of this discipline were men of tried honesty, wisdom, and judgment. But because those Bishops who should execute it, some for Papistry, some for ignorance, some for age, some for their ill name, some for all these, are men unable to execute discipline; it is therefore a thing unmeet for these men; wherefore it were necessary that those who were appointed to be Bishops or Preachers were honest in life, and learned in their doctrine, that by rewarding such men others might be allured to follow their good life.’

The

The mischief attending this want of discipline had been long experienced, and loudly complained of. Two and thirty Commissioners had been appointed to draw up a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws: these were prepared by the Committee of Eight, and approved of by the rest, but had not yet received the King's allowance and authority of Parliament. The averfeness of the Great to come under the yoke of any discipline is the reason usually assigned for withholding their assent; but this, though true, was not all, for there was another reason cooperating, which was the King's disinclination to trust the execution of this discipline with the present ordinary Judges of it, the Bishops. Many of these were popishly inclined, scarce half of them fit to be trusted with such power. However the King saw plainly that the want of Ecclesiastical Discipline was a great defect in the Government, and set down in his memorandums, in remedy, '*for abrogating the Old Canon Law, and establishing a New:*' but apprehensive of the above inconvenience from the popishly inclined Bishops, he made another memorandum, '*That Commissions should be granted to those Bishops who were grave, learned, wise, sober, and of good religion, for the executing of discipline.*' So that although he seems to have had thoughts of superseding the Ordinary Jurisdiction of particular unqualified Judges, yet he was very earnest to have the jurisdiction established and exercised; and some additional assistance and encouragement to be made for students at the University. Both which points he was so sensible were necessary for the care of religion in this realm, that when he found himself too near his death to bring them to effect himself, he left it in charge by his last will to his Executors, '*That they should not suffer any piece of religion to be altered. And they shall diligently travail to cause godly Ecclesiastical Laws to be made and set forth; such as may be agreeable with the reformation received within this realm. And that done, shall also cause the Canon Laws to be abolished.*' And for the other purpose, gave '*to the College of St. John's in Cambridge one hundred pounds a year in land*';

‘land’; and left order ‘for a new College to be erected, and endow-
 ‘ed with lands to the double yearly rent of the said College of St.
 ‘John’s: to be builded up, and made by discretion of our Executors
 ‘within the space of seven years.’ Thus far went his care of Eccle-
 siastical Reformation.

The Temporal Regimen (he observed) consisted ‘in well order-
 ‘ing, enriching, and defending the whole Body Politick of the
 ‘Commonwealth; no member (says he) in a well fashioned and
 ‘whole Body is too big for the proportion of that Body. There
 ‘must be in a well ordered Commonwealth no person that shall
 ‘have more than the proportion of the Country will bear: it is
 ‘hurtful immoderately to enrich any one part. I think this Coun-
 ‘try can bear no Merchant to have more land than £ 100. No
 ‘Husbandman or Farmer worth above 100 or £ 200. No Artifi-
 ‘cer above an hundred marks. No Laborer much more than he
 ‘spendeth. I speak now generally, and in such cases may fail in
 ‘one particular; but this is sure, this Commonwealth may not
 ‘bear one man to have more than Two Farms, than One Benefice
 ‘(or place of profit) than 2000 sheep, and one kind of art to live
 ‘by. And as there is no part admitted in the body that doth not
 ‘work and take pains, so ought there no part of the Common-
 ‘wealth to be but laborfome in his vocation. . . . The vagabonds
 ‘ought clearly to be banished, as is the superfluous humor of the
 ‘body, that is to say, the spittle and filth, which because it is for
 ‘no use, it is put out by the strength of nature. This is the true
 ‘ordering of the state of a well fashioned Commonwealth, That
 ‘every part do obey One Head, One Governour, One Law; and
 ‘that the Laws and Ordinances be well executed, duly obeyed,
 ‘and ministered without corruption.’ Then he takes a survey of
 the state as it then was, and the abuses and disorders in it; after
 which he says, ‘these sores must be cured with these medicines;
 ‘1. Good Education. 2. Devising good Laws. 3. Executing the
 ‘Laws

' Laws justly without respect of persons. 4. Example of Rulers.
 ' 5. Punishing of vagabonds and idle persons. 6. Encouraging the
 ' Good. 7. Ordering well the Customers. 8. Engendering friend-
 ' ship in all parts of the Commonwealth. These be the chief
 ' points that tend to order well the whole Commonwealth. As
 ' for the first, youth must be brought up, some in husbandry, some
 ' in working, graving, gilding, joining, printing, making cloaths,
 ' even from their tenderest age, to the intent they may not, when
 ' they come to man's estate, loiter, as they do now adays, but think
 ' their travail sweet and honest. Secondly, devising good Laws, I
 ' would wish that beside them (hereafter when time shall serve)
 ' the superfluous and tedious statutes were brought into one Sum
 ' together, and made more plane and short, to the intent that men
 ' might better understand them. Thirdly, nevertheless, when all
 ' these Laws be made, established and enacted, they serve to no
 ' purpose, except they be fully and duly executed. By whom?
 ' By those who have authority to execute; that is to say, the No-
 ' blemen and the Justices of Peace. Wherefore I would wish that
 ' after this Parliament [which sate in March 7^{mo} Edv.] were end-
 ' ed, those Noblemen, except a few that should be with me, went
 ' to their Countries, and there should see the statutes fully and du-
 ' ly executed; and that those men be put from being Justices of
 ' Peace, that be touched or blotted with those vices that be
 ' against these new Laws to be established; for no man that is
 ' in fault himself can punish another for the same offence.' His
 observations on the other Five are wanting; perhaps interrupted
 by that fatal Illness which now attacked him.

But some regulations began to be made this year in the Council;
 where, for the greater dispatch of business, the whole was divided
 into several Commissions; and some new members were added to
 sit and assist. Some were appointed for hearing those suits which

Sir John
 Hayward.

were usually brought before the whole Table, to send matters of Justice to their proper Courts; to give full denial to such as they should not esteem reasonable; to certify what they thought fit to be granted; and upon allowance thereof to dispatch the parties: Others were appointed to consider of penal Laws and Proclamations in force, and to quicken the execution of the most principal; to consider which were most needful to be executed; what obedience was paid to them; and to punish offenders, the Greatest first; and to enquire what other disorders were either dangerous or offensive in every shire; and either to punish the offenders, or else to report their judgment therein: Others were appointed to attend occurrences of state at large. This Committee consisted of none but the Council; in the Other some new Commissioners were added to sit with the Council, and assist them. To the First Committee were joined the Bishop of London, and Two Masters of requests, Mr. Cook and Mr. Lucas.

Sir John
Hayward.

§. 17. *The Bishop
of London obtains the
endowment of the Hos-
pitals from the King.*

And now the King's sickness did more apparently shew itself, especially by the symptom of a tough, strong, straining cough. All the medicines and diet which could be prescribed were so far from curing or abating the malady, that it daily encreased by dangerous degrees; and it was not only the violence of the cough that affected him, but a weakness and faintness of spirit attended it; which shewed that his vital parts were assaulted: so that an opinion prevailed, that his sickness grew by a slow working poison. The danger he was in was much lamented, not only by his own people, but by strangers abroad, because his courtesy and wisdom had gained him such love, that he was no less honored by those who heard of him, than by those who conversed with him; for he was famous in all places by reason of his foresight and judgment in affairs, and did so well temper the Great-
ness

ness of his estate with modesty and gravity, that he avoided envy by the One, and contempt by the Other. Happy ! had he been blest with an honester and abler Minister than the Duke of Northumberland to take the Lead in the Council ; or, that a very few years more had lodged the Royal Power in his own hands.

The symptoms grew worse and worse, insomuch that when the Parliament met on the first of March, the King was in no condition to go to Westminster, but ordered both Houses to attend him at Whitehall ; where the Bishop of London preached before him, and in his Sermon much recommended Charity, as a duty incumbent upon all to perform, especially on Those in highest place and dignity, as well in regard of their large abilities, as for that they were much obliged to give examples of goodness to others. The same day after dinner the King sent for the Bishop privately into the Gallery at Whitehall, where he caused him to sit in a chair by him, and would not permit him to remain uncovered : then after courteous thanks, he reported all the principal points of his Sermon ; adding, ‘ I took myself to be especially touched by your
‘ speech, as well in regard of the abilities which God hath given
‘ me, as in regard of the example which from me he will require.
‘ For, as in the Kingdom I am next under God, so must I most
‘ nearly approach to him in goodness and mercy : for as our mis-
‘ eries stand most in need of help from him, so are we the greatest
‘ Debtors ; Debtors to all that are miserable, and shall be the great-
‘ est accomptants of our dispensation therein. And therefore, my
‘ Lord, as you have given me (I thank you) this general exhorta-
‘ tion, so direct me, I intreat you, by what particular actions I may
‘ this way best discharge my duty.’

The Bishop, no less astonished than rejoiced at hearing the King, continued sometime silent : at last, tears and words breaking out together, he declared to his Majesty, that as he little expected such a question, so was he not furnished with a present answer ;
for

for this matter had a great mixture of Civil government, wherein he conceived that the Citizens of London had best experience, as overburthened with multitudes of poor, not only of their own, but from all parts of the realm beside ; and therefore as they best knew both the quality of such people, and the inconveniences which they occasion, so could they best advise what remedies were fittest : wherefore, if the King were pleased to afford his Letters to that effect, he would confer with them, and in very short time return with answer. The King immediately caused his Letters to be written, and would not suffer the Bishop to depart till he had confirmed them with his hand and signet, and enjoined the Bishop to be the Messenger, imposing great charge for expedition. The Bishop hasted with his Letters to the Lord Mayor, Sir George Barnes, who presently assembled certain Aldermen and Twenty four Commissioners, by whose advice the Poor were cast into three companies and sorts : some were poor by impotency of nature, as Young fatherless Children, Old decrepit Persons, Ideots, Criples, and such like : other were poor by faculty, as wounded soldiers, diseased and sick persons : the third sort were the poor by idleness or unthriftiness, as riotous spenders, vagabonds, loiterers, lewd strumpets, and their companions. The first they observed were to be educated and maintained ; the second to be cured and relieved ; and the third to be chastized and reduced to good order.

When this was represented to the King, he gave to the City for education and maintenance of the first sort of Poor the Grey Friar's Church near Newgate Market, with all the revenues thereto belonging : for cure and relief of the second sort he gave St. Bartholomew's near Smithfield : for correction of the third, he appointed his House at Bridewell, the antient mansion of many English Kings. For increase and maintenance of these places, together with the new reedified Hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark, the

the King gave seven hundred and fifty marks yearly out of the rents of the Hospital of St. John Baptist or the Savoy, with all the bedding and furniture then belonging to that place. And when the Charter of this gift was presented to him with a blank left for lands to be afterward received in mortmain to a yearly value, the King presently with his own hand filled up the void space with these words, *four thousand marks by year*. This done, with reverend gesture and speech he thanked God for prolonging his life to finish that business.

And lest he should die before the Grant of the lands of the Savoy could be sufficiently secured by law, the King left the following article in his last will, '*The Grant made to the Mayor and City of London touching the Savoy and lands thereof, to be performed.*' The King dying before they were sufficiently secured, made Ridley say in his Farewel, addressing himself to Sir George Barnes, who was Mayor when this gift was intended, 'That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the conditions and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.' Soon after this writing of the Bishop was published the City entered and took possession by Gerard their Mayor, having obtained Queen Mary's confirmation. So that it is probable, that this Charity hath a treble obligation to Bishop Ridley; who procured the House at Bridewell by his interest with Sir William Cecil and others; then the endowment of the several Hospitals from the King; and when the City's possession of that endowment was delayed and endangered, perhaps by provoking Queen Mary to confirm it.

A little before the King died Ridley was *named* to succede to Durham, as himself informs us; but he was not actually appointed. For not only Boner says that he was restored again to his Bishoprick; and that by the said sentence his Usurper, Dr. Ridley, was utterly repulsed,

Boner's
Letter to
Shirley
and Leek-
more.

(if Burnet's
Records..

Strype's
Mem.

(if Ridley had voided it by Translation, he could not be said to be repulsed from it) but on the 19th of June came a command from the King to the Archbishop for holding a Convocation : upon which the Archbishop issued out his Letters of Order to Ridley, Bishop of London, 3d of July, for a Convocation to be held in St. Paul's on the 19th of September then following ; and Bishop Ridley issued out his Letters accordingly, which Letters were dated July 6, the very day on which the King died, in which he stiled himself *Nicolaus miseratione divina London Episcopus*.

Strype's
Mem.

§. 18. *The Death
of King Edward.*

April 11 the King removed to Greenwich for the benefit of the air. Northumberland seeing him decline so fast, thought it high time to ripen his scheme. Therefore leaving the Lady Margaret Clifford to his Brother Sir Arthur Dudley, in May he married his fourth Son Lord Guilford to the Lady Jane Gray, eldest daughter to Frances (the eldest Daughter of Mary the French Queen) and the Duke of Suffolk. The Dutchess of Suffolk, though considerably under forty, and who still might have Male Heirs, resigned all her pretensions in the succession to the Lady Jane. In the same month, for his own better security, he procured licence for his eldest Son the Earl of Warwick to retain an hundred men ; and for his Son Lord Robert to retain fifty. And in order to secure the Tower, he made one of his creatures, Sir James Croft, Deputy, in the absence of Sir John Gage, who was Constable of the Tower, with an appointment of sixteen pence a day for thirty men under him, and eight pence a day for ten men under Sir Edward Warner the Lieutenant : and gave orders to the Lord Admiral (Clinton) to discharge several Bullworks and Fortifications, and to remove the powder and ammunition in them to the Tower, for the better guard thereof. And in July a Letter was sent to the Admiral, that it was the King's pleasure that he should take charge
of

of the Tower. At this time of the King's great and dangerous Illness, the possession of his stamp might make the Order of Council November 10 1551 of great service to Him who could either by persuation or art secure it. His next business was to prevale on the King to settle the Succession of the Crown on the Lady Jane Grey, now married to Lord Guilford Dudley : but there stood in his way the settlement of the Crown by King Henry's will, in consequence of an Act of Parliament, by which will his two Daughters, the Ladies Mary and Elisabeth, were to succede in case of King Edward's dying without Issue. And could they by any pretence be set aside, the Queen of Scots was next of kin, as Heiress to King Henry's eldest Sister ; whereas the Lady Jane claimed from the youngest, and her Mother was still living. But these difficulties he made light of ; the Ladies Mary and Elisabeth had been both declared illegitimate by Act of Parliament, and never were legitimated by the same power : and even if legitimate, they were only of the Half blood, and therefore could not be Heirs to his Highness, or each other. The Queen of Scots was set aside by King Henry's will ; and by the old Laws of the land, a stranger was not to inherit the Crown. And as to the right of the Dutches of Suffolk, That she herself was willing to cede in favor of her Daughter Jane. To these phantoms of Law he suggested to the King reasons of state ; that the Lady Mary, next in succession by King Henry's will, was a Papist ; that both She and the Lady Elisabeth were likely to marry Roman Catholick Princes, and so subject these Dominions again to the Papal Yoke, to the great disturbance of the state, both in its civil and religious Interests ; that Lady Jane was herself heartily inclined to the established Reformed religion, and being already married to a Protestant was secure from embroiling the Kingdom by foreign alliances. And indeed the Lady Jane gave him room to expatiate on her great deservings, if the King, who knew and loved her well, had needed it. For she was, as Sir

John Hayward draws her picture, ‘ a woman of most rare and incomparable perfections ; beside her excellent beauty, she was most dear to the King in regard both of her religion and other education in the knowledge of the liberal sciences and skill in languages ; for in Theology, in Philosophy, in all liberal arts, in the Latin and Greek Tongues, and in the vulgar Languages of divers near nations she far exceeded all of her sex, and any of her years, unless haply the King himself.’ Her unquestioned zeal for the Reformation, and the King’s duty to preserve true religion above all other considerations were strongly inculcated by the Duke on this occasion ; who, as we shall see hereafter, was at this time a Papist in his heart, or rather of no religion at all. The King was induced to come heartily into his scheme, and therefore left his Crown by his last will to the Lady Jane Dudley. The next thing was to put the settlement in form of Law. Sir Edward Montague, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and some others were sent for on this business. When the matter was opened to them by the King, they desired to be excused ; and when afterward required by a message from the Lords, they made their report, that having compared the articles with the statutes of Succession, they found his Majesty’s Command impracticable : and that to draw up an Instrument pursuant to their Lordships Instructions would be Treason in themselves, and in their Lordships too ; and that they had not resolution enough to run such a risk. The Duke, highly enraged at the disappointment, called Sir Edward Traitor, and menaced to such a degree, that He and Bromley were afraid he would have struck them. Next time they appeared, the King reprimanded them for not dispatching the Instrument. The Chief Justice said such an Instrument would signify nothing after the King’s decease ; because the succession being settled by Act of Parliament, it could not be altered but by the same Authority ; a Parliament was promised to confirm the King’s will, and

and a warrant issued to the Lord Chancellor for calling one on the 18th of September following: on which promise, and on condition of being authorised under the Broad Seal, and having a General Pardon after the Instrument was finished, They complied. Then all the other Judges were sent for, and required to subscribe the Instrument; which they All did, except Sir James Hales, who was a zealous and worthy Reformer. The Lords without scruple signed it, except Cranmer, who argued against it with the King. Afterward he desired to speak with the King alone, persuaded that he could have altered him: but this would not be granted him; the Duke told him he had already misbehaved in remonstrating against the King's will. The Archbishop was not afraid to contend with the powerful Duke on this point; He insisted upon his being sworn to perform the late King's will, and urged the entail of the Crown upon the Two Princesses, Mary and Elisabeth. Neither his zeal for the Protestant religion, the frowns of Northumberland, his great regard for the Lady Jane, nor the dread he had of the bigotted Princess Mary, could prevale on him to do what appeared to him unjust to the late King and to his Children. But the Council opposing to him the resolution of the Judges, and the opinion of others Learned in the Laws, affirming that the entail could not hinder the King in possession from disposing of his Crown as he thought fit, He was silenced rather than satisfied: but still refused to sign till the dying King, whom he so tenderly loved, told him He hoped he would not be the only example of incomppliance, nor go further in his singularities than any of the Board. His affection for the King, and the opinion of the Judges and of the Attorney General, whom he consulted before he could be brought to subscribe, at length determined him, and he gave his hand.

Soon after this the Physicians despaired of the King. Northumberland saw he had one more card to play, which was to get the Lady Mary into his hands. He therefore prevaled on the Council, de-

voted to him, to write to her in the King's name, inviting her to come and keep him company in his sickness. In compliance with which request she was upon the road, and within half a day's journey of the Court, ready to fall into the Duke's trap : but the Earl of Arundel took care to acquaint her with the King's desperate state, and what had been done about the Succession, advising her to retire, and secure herself. She returned to Hoveden, and soon found how seasonable this advice was ; for the King on the 6th of July found death approaching, and composed himself to die in a most devout manner. His last Prayer was in these words, *Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen. Howbeit, not my will, but Thine be done ! Lord, I commit my spirit unto Thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with Thee : yet for thy chosen's sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O Lord God, bless my people, and save thine inheritance ; O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O Lord God, defend this realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name for Jesus Christ his sake.* And soon after died in the arms of Sir Henry Sidney.

Burnet.

Thus died this excellent young Prince. Whose character is thus given us by Cardan, ‘ All the Graces were in him . . . the sweetness of his temper was such as became a Mortal, his gravity becoming the majesty of a King, and his disposition suitable to his high degree ; in sum, that Child was so bred, had such parts, was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man . . . in him there was such an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world had reason to lament his being so early snatched away.’ And indeed such eminent virtues are attended with this great advantage, that while they *do good they make good* ; emulation stirring up many to imitate what they admire, so that useful knowledge was much encouraged and pursued by his example.

ple. And as his great abilities and qualifications made him the wonder of Europe, they at the same time reflected high honor on his Instructors. As Cooper, afterward Bishop of Lincoln, observes in an address to the King, ‘ Such and so excellent Instructors were provided for your Highness, as scanty the like in virtue and learning may in any place be found ; whose godly Instructions and virtuous Counsels how effectuously they take place in your sacred Majesty’s breast appears to all them, that attend upon your Royal Person, by your wise and godly conversation. We abroad by your proceedings evidently perceive how your Grace willeth that your most honorable Counsellors and Ministers should endeavour and apply themselves, first to set up true religion to God’s honor and glory, then constantly to procede to the advancement of the Commonwealth ; that is, truly to administer justice, to restrain extortion and oppression, to set up tillage and good husbandry, whereby the people may increase and be maintained. O Prince, most worthy to reign, not over two or three realms, but over the whole world !’ And if our own people should be suspected of flattery or partiality, Cælius Secundus Curio, of Basil, speaking of Sir John Cheke and Sir Anthony Cook, says, ‘ You, by your united prayers, counsels, and industry, formed a King of the highest, even of Divine Hopes. From you did the godlike Youth receive that instruction, than which neither Cyrus nor Achilles, nor Alexander, nor any other King ever received more polite, more holy. Which had he lived to adult years to make use of, and had some therewith to the government of the kingdom, what realm on earth had been happier ? What nation had ever been more blessed ? But God was minded only to shew him to the world, and suffer him no longer to abide in it.’ It is impossible for an Englishman to read this account without feeling his own happiness ; and I think not without reflecting on the severe, but just punishment, which their Forefathers suffered for

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for their ingratitude ; when God, provoked by the unworthy returns made to him by the people of England for Two such invaluable Blessings, so pure a religion, and so excellent a King, in his wrath deprived them of both. It is true, both at that time wanted a maturity, which yet they had not acquired. Edward, though for sweetness of disposition, great strength of natural parts, and incredible improvement by education, was but in his sixteenth year when he died : and the Reformation had many defects, which, if not remedied, would naturally bring it into a decline. A short review of it at the end of this reign will be necessary.

Henry's Political ends were obtained ; his Authority restored by the resumption of Temporal Supremacy, which the Pope had usurped ; and his wants supplied by the resumption of the Abbey Lands, which had been fraudulently obtained for unwarrantable purposes, the maintenance of superstition and error, and support of a voluptuous and tyrannical Clergy.

This *resumed Supremacy*, so far as it concerned the discipline of the members of the church, the King exercised (as long as Cromwell lived) by a Vicar General ; and after his death, by particular Commissions, promising that it should be delegated ordinarily to the Bishops, and regulated by a System of certain Ecclesiastical Laws. The want of such a System occasioned great disorders in the realm both in *Faith* and *Practice*. The remedy for these under King Henry was an extraordinary power conceded by his Subjects to him *personally*, not an inherent privilege in the Crown, that ‘ all Determinations, Decrees, Definitions, Resolutions and ‘ Ordinances by the King's advice and confirmation in matters of ‘ the Christian Faith, and lawful Rites and Ceremonies of the same, ‘ shall be by the people fully believed and obeyed,’ under penalties therein comprised. For Papists and their Opponents were then disposed, in their unsettled state, rather to trust their Consciences with the King than with one another. Wherefore this power was granted

ed only to Henry viiith, and not to his Successors, who are not mentioned in the Act. And even to him under several restraints, 1. as advised by counsel of men of skill ; 2. without respect to any sect ; 3. according to God's word and Christ's Gospel ; and lastly, not contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this realm. Under King Edward, the disorders in points of *Faith* had a remedy provided, by a Catechism for the instruction of youth, a Book of Articles for conformity of opinions, and a regular Toleration of some unessential differences in opinion and regimen under the government of John Alasco ; so that every one was amenable, either to his Diocesan, or to the Superintendant of the strangers church : but the Diocesan's jurisdiction with regard to *Practice*, in discipline and the correction of vice, was not yet established ; it was intended, and planned, but not authorised by Parliament, or signed by the King. The consequence was a great irregularity of manners, which was loudly complained of by the Preachers and Writers of those times.

What good then, it may be asked, had the Reformation done ? Beside the Civil advantages, which were numberless, the means of Gospel Knowledge were so plenteous, that it begat in many a *real* Faith, which had power to influence their practice ; so that they, who were good, were sincerely so upon principle, and sin in general (except to callous consciences) appeared more deformed. A writer of that time, speaking of King Edward's reign, says, ' Of this young and green foundation, being yet very newly laid, ' thus much good edifying hath already grown in all persons consciences, that blasphemy, perjury, theft, whoredom, making ' affrays, and other abominations are more detested than they were ' in the blind world very late years gone.' But such as shut their eyes against this new light, and continued to be influenced only by fines and penalties, being now discharged from the expence of dispensations and licenses to sin, indulged themselves without fear or measure, and gave more publick offence than had been given before ;

fore ; themselves being less restrained, and their vices, from the more abundant light diffused, appearing more evident and more abominable.

The chief change in *doctrine* from the religion in Henry's time was the renouncing of Transubstantiation, principally by Ridley's means. He discovered his doubts to Cranmer in the year before King Henry died : but both the Archbishop and himself were very reserved during the time of their enquiry, and would not publish their new opinion till it had been maturely examined. To assist in this, as well as other points of reformation, several learned Foreigners, Lutherans and Zuinglians, were invited into England, and supported by the King and some of the Nobility. So cautious were both these Prelates of being hasty in their determinations, or broaching new doctrines before they were well assured of their truth, that the Archbishop was suspected by the Zuinglians of maintaining either Transubstantiation, or the Lutheran dreams of Consubstantiation^a ; grounding their suspicion on some passages in a Lutheran Catechism published by Cranmer toward the close of the year 1547 : and Ridley's Sermon at Paul's Cross in the same year, against the revilers of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was so reserved as to be mistaken for a defence of the Popish doctrine. Yet both these Bishops were at that time persuaded of the figurative sense, or real presence by grace and efficacy, not in natural substance. The Zuinglian Germans were so jealous of the prevalence of Lutheran influences at Lambeth, through Fagius and Bucer, that they were astonished to find in a Disputation held in 1548, that the Archbishop and Bishop of Rochester were earnest maintainers of the figurative interpretation ; and rejoiced at the exclusion of *Lutheranism* as well as of *Popery* from the Church of England.

^a Epist. Joannis ab Ulmis Bullingeri. In MSS. Archiv. Eccles. Tiguri.

^b Ep. Burcheri Bullingeri. *Ibid.*

England. * These learned Foreigners were called in to assist, not direct them; to be helpers of their faith, not Lords over it: they still judged for themselves, and permitting each to throw into his scale what weight he could, they held the balance, and marked the inclining of the beam. And great cause they had to do so; for the Scriptures being now put into every man's hands that could read at home, and learned Foreigners invited over, and the persecuted abroad flying hither as to the asylum of Liberty; it required a very cool and sound judgment to direct the church among so many contrary and extravagant opinions. They well knew that hasty and unnecessary changes suggested by whim or blind zeal would never reform, but confound a church. And indeed they had more trouble from the madness of new Sectaries and Opinionatists than from the inveterate errors of popery †. As they had embraced the Zuinglian doctrine, in preference to the Lutheran, in the point of the *real presence*; so they as impartially opposed some extreme opinions of some of the Zuinglians concerning *things indifferent*. They were for disburthening the people of Ceremonies in a great measure, and wished to retain only such as had a pertinence and significance in them, and might tend to edification: but to abhor all as absolutely sinful, because they had been abused, was an error only second to theirs, who had enjoined them as necessary and essential: both parties gave to indifferent things an importance beyond their intrinsic weight. In the points of Faith, Works, and God's Decrees they guarded carefully against the merit of papistical Good Works, and taught that Faith alone justified: but they could not be brought over to the rigid opinions of some, both Lutherans and Zuinglians, to make God the Author of Sin, or deny the obligation of Evangelical Good Works. Which drew a charge against the English, that they could not easily be brought from an opinion

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* Ep. Barth. Traherni Bullingero. In MSS. Archiv. Eccles. Taric.

† Ep. Mart. Micronii Bullingero. *Ibid.*

of the merit of Good Works^a. Such was the state of *doctrine* in England at King Edward's death. Many things were still wanting; that of ecclesiastical discipline was so great a defect, that Knox refused to take a cure of souls here, because he could not have a full power of excommunication, which he thought necessary^b. In other points Cranmer wished for a free General Council to determine them: but having no hopes of such a one, he proposed to procede deliberately in giving a further perfection to our Reformation^c.

The *resumed Treasures* were promised to be applied to publick uses, the provision of the Poor, the charges of war, the education of Youth, provision for Scholars at the Universities, the encouragement and reward of learning and virtue by establishing more honors and preferments in the Church. For the provision of the Poor and education of Youth King Edward did a great deal, for *Him*, though not sufficient for the *Kingdom*: but the stipends and exhibitions customarily allowed by the rich Clergy and Citizens of London^d for the maintenance of Scholars at the Universities were withdrawn, instead of being encreased; the rewards they were to expect in the ministry were in great measure cut off, the rich abbeyes being dissolved; the great tithes taken from the Laborer in the harvest, and paid to Lay Lords without any spiritual function performed; the Rectories in great numbers conveyed to Lay Patrons, who made shameful reservations, or openly sold them to unworthy Clerks, who intended not the Cure of Souls committed to them, only to make the most of the estates which they had purchased; the Bishopricks were robbed of their best manors, and the little Dignities of the Church, such as Prebends, designed for the assistance

^a Ep. Petr. Martyris Bullingero. In MSS. Archiv. Eccles. Turic.

^b Strype's Eccles. Mem.

^c Ep. Th. Cranmeri Cant. Archiep. Calvinq. MSS. Archiv. Eccles. Turic.

^d In times past when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help poor Scholars of the Universities with exhibitions. Latim. Serm. iv.

assistance and encouragement of learned Divines, alienated to greedy Courtiers: so that few could support their Children at the Universities; and such as barely could do it would not, because unable to provide for them in the church afterward. This made Latimer complain, that provisions were so dear, and the allowance to Scholars so little, that few staid at the University to qualify themselves for Preachers. ‘A few Gentlemen’s Sons indeed staid and studied a little Divinity. Alas! (says he) what is that? it will come to pass that we shall have nothing but a little English Divinity, that will bring the realm into a very barbarousness and utter decay of learning. It is not this, I wist, that will keep out the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome.’ And having been charged with saying that the Noblemens Sons did not set forth the word of God by preaching, he says, ‘He did not mean it universally, but that for the most part they who labored in that office were the children of poorer men.’ ‘For (said he in the Sermon that gave offence) if ye bring it to pass that the Yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school (as indeed Universities do wonderfully decay already) I say ye pluck salvation from the people, and utterly destroy the realm.’ For by Yeomens Sons the Faith of Christ is, and hath been maintained chiefly.’ From whence he intreats for a more liberal invitation and encouragement to Learning. Serm. v.

He, Cranmer, and Ridley withstood these church depredations and spoil of Learning what they could. This Ridley mentions in his Lamentation of England; ‘I have heard that Cranmer and another, whom I will not name, [such was his modest concealment of Himself] were both in high displeasure, but especially Cranmer, for repugning, as they might, against the late spoils of the Church Goods. Latimer and some others (whom he mentions) were so sharp with their tongues, that these magistrates could never abide them; others (he says) after a more soft manner handled the matter: but alas! all sped alike.’ Serm. iii.

But however they disliked the freedom of Ridley's spirit, in how soft a manner so ever he might express it, yet his weight of learning and prudence made Henry viiith design him for Rochester; prevailed with the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland to concur (who could concur in scarce any thing else) in promoting him to London; and moved King Edward to intend him for Durham: but great as these Honors were, which he received, or were intended for him under King Henry and King Edward, the highest were reserved for him under Queen Mary. Which indeed none but one thoroughly sanctified by the Spirit of God could attain to, or relish; which were, to be a Prisoner for the Gospel, a Confessor of Christ in bonds, and a Martyr for his Truth.

THE
L I F E
OF
Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

BOOK VI. From July 1553 to
March 1554.

R I D L E Y Prisoner.

Bonds and afflictions abide me. But none of these things move me; neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. ACTS XX. 21, 24.

§. 1. *The inter-*
regnum of Queen Jane.
THE Duke of Northumberland endeavoured 1553..
to conceal the King's death, in hope of
drawing the Lady Mary into his toils; who,
as was mentioned before, had been sent for to at-
tend and divert the King in his sickness: but upon secret infor-
mation from the Earl of Arundel she went back, and retreated to-
ward Norfolk and Suffolk, where she imagined the Duke's inte-
rest.

rest was weakest, being hated there for his cruelties in Ket's rebellion. Indeed the Council ventured, two days after the King's death, to inform the English Ambassadour at Brussels of this event : and on the 9th of July received a Letter from the Lady Mary, then at Kenninghall in Suffolk, in which she informed them, that knowing the King had been dead three days, she thought it strange that she had not been advertised of it by them. So that they found it high time to avow their scheme, and act openly. They waited on the Lady Jane, and acquainted her with her succession to the Throne by the late King's will, with the consent of the Council ; she long declined it, pleading Queen Mary's right ; and at last, as the Duke of Northumberland himself bears witness, was rather by enticement of the Counsellors and force made to accept the Crown, than came to it by her own seeking and request. On the same day the Bishop of London was commanded by Order of Council to preach at St. Paul's, and recommend Queen Jane to the people ; which order he obeyed with great zeal and earnestness, pointing out the Danger in which the nation would have been, had the Lady Mary succeeded ; who was a rigid Papist, and would bring back again the Papal power to enslave them, and subvert the true religion already established. Then he related his own experience of her deafness to good counsel and averfeness from better information ; refusing so much as to hear him, when on a certain time in the preceding year he had endeavoured to bring her to the knowledge of the Gospel : Inferring from thence, that, if she was Queen, it must be expected she would overturn all the religion so happily established under King Edward, and would betray the Kingdom to a foreign power.

The next day Jane was proclaimed Queen, and the Council answered the Lady Mary's Letter ; in which they acquaint her, that Queen Jane was their Sovereign according to the antient Laws of the Land, and the late King's Letters Patent, to whom they were
now

now bound by their allegiance; that the marriage between her Father and Mother was dissolved by the Ecclesiastical Courts, according to the Laws of God and of the Land; that many noble Universities in Christendom had consented to that dissolution; that the sentence had been confirmed in Parliament, and she had been declared illegitimate and uninheritable to the Crown: they therefore required her to give over her pretences, and not to disturb the Government; and promised, that if she shewed herself obedient she should find them all ready to do her any service which in duty they could. In the Proclamation they set forth, ' That the late King had by his ' Letters Patent limited the Crown that it should not descend to ' his Two Sisters, since they were both illegitimated by sentences ' in the spiritual Courts and Acts of Parliament; and were only ' his Sisters by the half blood, who therefore (although it were ' granted they had been legitimate) are not inheritable by the Laws ' of England; that there was also great cause to fear that the King's ' Sisters might marry strangers, and so change the Laws of the ' Kingdom, and subject it to the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome ' and other foreign Laws. For these reasons they were excluded ' from the Succession; and the Lady Frances, Dutches of Suffolk, ' being next to the Crown, it was provided, that if she had no ' Sons at the death of the King, the Crown should devolve immediately on her eldest Daughter Jane, and after her and her Issue, ' to her Sisters; since She was born within the Kingdom, and already married in it. Therefore She was proclaimed Queen, promising to be most benign and gracious to all her people, to maintain God's Holy Word, and the Laws of the Land, requiring all ' the subjects to obey and acknowledge her.'

But the Proclamation was not assented to by the voice of the people, and (as Bishop Godwyn writes) that learned and godly Prelate Nicholas Ridley, whom he wishes not to have erred in this matter, was scarce heard out with patience. But he acted by command

command of his superiors; in obedience to the King's will, and the Order of the Council, directed by the judgment of the Lawyers. To determine Right lay on Them: to obey was His Duty. It is true he judged, as the whole nation has done since, that a Papist would not make a proper Governour of these Protestant Kingdoms; and with more Christian truth and boldness than worldly prudence foretold the calamities that would attend such a reign. However, the people's hatred of Northumberland, whom they dreaded as their future manager, made them less pleased with their old Favorite, the Bishop of London; whose prophecies, like those of Cassandra, had the misfortune not to be believed. The Papists acted very consistently in maintaining Queen Mary's Right; for they looked on the marriage of Henry and Catherine as valid by the Pope's dispensation; the sentence of divorce null, as pronounced by an incompetent Judge; and the Act of Illegitimation as an injury to Her, which the subsequent act cancelled by restoring her to her just right of inheritance. Yet from the number of these consistent Papists we must exclude Gardiner, Boner, Tonstall, and all others who like them had been either active in promoting the divorce, or concurred with the sentence of the Universities that her Mother's marriage was indispensable by the Pope. The Protestants were more embarrassed: some thought the Two Sisters uninheritable, even by Act of Parliament, as rendered illegitimate by divorce, and nullity of both their Mother's marriages from the beginning: so that Henry's will could only operate with respect to the inheritable persons, among whom he gave the preference to his Younger Sister's children before those of the Elder: others again, who could not expect to fix the Crown on Elizabeth, being under a like Parliamentary illegitimacy with her Sister Mary, yet desirous to disappoint the detested Northumberland and his plans, were willing to give credit to the Lady Mary's promises, who assured the Protestants of Norfolk and Suffolk, that she would never
alter

alter the Religion established in King Edward's days, but content herself with the private exercise of her own. This determined falsehood removed the obstacles to her Throne: though after she had mounted it, she remembered her promise no more. And having been reminded of it by a man of Suffolk, she ordered him to be set three days in the pillory for remembering what the Queen was resolved to forget.

By the favor of these Norfolk and Suffolk men, chiefly Protestants, her Court and army increased, and Jane's dwindled. To oppose her the Duke of Northumberland led an army of six thousand men towards Cambridgeshire, July 13; and gave Commission to Sir Edward Hastings to raise four thousand foot; and stationed six ships in the German Ocean to prevent the Lady Mary's escape by sea. But he sorrowfully took notice, that no auspicious acclamations attended his march through London; and that not one of all that crowd, which gathered to see them pass, expressed their wishes of success. Sir Edward Hastings carried his Levies over to Mary, and the Mariners and Soldiers in the six ships driven by tempest into Yarmouth Roads yielded themselves to Sir Henry Jerne-gan for her use. Tuesday the 18th, a Letter was sent to Sir John St. Lowe, and Sir Anthony Kinstone to raise forces to subdue certain tumults and rebellions moved in Buckinghamshire by Sir Edward Hastings against Her and her crown, signed Jane the Queen. This was her last Royal Act.

The next day many of the Lords of the Council shrunk from her and toward evening proclaimed Queen Mary with the additional Title of *Supreme Head of the Church*, dispatching some companies to seize the Tower, requiring the Duke of Suffolk to surrender it, and that the Lady Jane should lay down her Title of *Queen*. The dejected Duke of Suffolk entering his Daughter's chamber forbade the further use of Royal Ceremonies, and wished her to be contented with her return to a private fortune. To which she answered

Godwyn's
Annals of
England.

ed with a settled countenance, ' Sir, I better brook this message
' than my forced advancement to Royalty ; out of obedience to
' you and my mother I have grievously sinned, and offered violence
' to myself. Now I do willingly, and as obeying the motions of
' my soul relinquish the Crown, and endeavour to salve those faults
' committed by others, if at least so great an error may be salved,
' by my willing relinquishment and ingenuous acknowlegment.'

The Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget rode post that night to Queen Mary to certify her of what was done. The Council wrote to the Duke of Northumberland, who was retired to Cambridge to wait for more supplies from London, to subscribe the Decree for Queen Mary's Succession. The mortified Duke proclaimed her at Cambridge, tossing up his hat in a counterfeit joy, and crying, ' God save Queen Mary !' But the Earl of Arundel was sent by the Queen to apprehend him ; at whose feet the Duke abjectly fell to beg his favor. With him were apprehended the Earls of Huntington and Warwick, the Lords Ambrose and Henry Dudley, Sir Andrew Dudley the Duke's Brother, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir John Gates, his Brother Henry Gates, and Dr. Edwyn Sandys. All these on St. James's day were brought to London through Bishopsgate, the Duke of Northumberland last, all the streets full of people, cursing the Duke, and calling him Traytor.

MS. P. in
Biblio-
theca Col.
Corp.
Christi
Cantab.

On this turn of affairs all hastened to the Queen
§. 2. *Queen Mary* at Framingham to implore her mercy ; which she
recovers the Crown. extended to all, but the Earl of Northampton,
Dr. Ridley Bishop of London, Lord Robert Dudley,
(afterward the Great Earl of Leicester) and Sir Robert
Corbett. These were brought from the Queen's charge
to the Tower July 26 ; the Bishop having been sent up from Framingham on a lame horse.

Ibid.

Fox.

On

On the 3d of August the Queen made her triumphant Entry, through London to the Tower; whence she released from their confinement the Duke of Norfolk, the Dutchess of Somerset, and Dr. Gardiner. The Archbishop still continued at liberty, but under a cloud: yet was permitted to celebrate the Burial of King Edward, August 8, and administer the Sacrament according to the service established in the late reign; Dr. Day preaching the Funeral Sermon.

The Duke of Northumberland with his Son the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquis of Northampton were arraigned at Westminster on the 18th, the Duke of Norfolk sitting as High Steward of England, and found guilty: as were also, the next day, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, (who was thought to have projected the Adoption of Lady Jane) Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer the betrayer of the Duke of Somerset. They were all ordered for execution on the 21st. By eight o'clock in the morning near ten thousand spectators were gathered on Tower Hill, the scaffold was ready, the sand and straw brought, the Officers waiting, and the Executioner prepared; when on a sudden they were ordered to depart. This was to gain a piece of glory to the Popish Religion: that these condemned persons, all pretended embracers of the Reformed religion, might be present at mass before their deaths, thereby as it were giving their approbation of it, and disavowing their former profession. To which these persons, of no great religion before (though Sir John Gates had carried himself so hypocritically as to have deceived Bishop Ridley, who thought him one who sincerely loved God) were the more willing to comply, in hope it might be a mean to procure them a Pardon. And that this might be done with the more shew and boast, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were sent for to the Tower, and many of the Privy Council also attended: and in the presence of

Godwyn's
Annals.

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of them all mass was said before the Duke and the rest of the condemned Prisoners.

The following day Three of them were brought to the scaffold. Where the confused affrighted Duke, attended by Bishop Hethe, catching at straws, either to save his life here or his soul hereafter, seemed eagerly to embrace the Popish Religion: and addressed himself to the people in the following manner;

Harl.
MSS.
No. 284.

‘ Good people, hither I am come this day to die, as ye know.
 ‘ Indeed I confess to you all that I have been an evil Liver, and
 ‘ have done wickedly all the days of my life. And of all, most
 ‘ against the Queen’s Highness, of whom I here openly ask forgive-
 ‘ nefs. But I alone was not the original Doer thereof, for there
 ‘ were other which promised the same, I assure you: but I will
 ‘ not name them, for I will hurt now no man. And the first oc-
 ‘ casion of these false and seditious practices was, that I have erred
 ‘ from the Catholick Faith, and true doctrine of Christ; the doc-
 ‘ trine I mean that hath continued throughout all Christendom.
 ‘ Do you think, good people, that we be wiser than all the world
 ‘ besides ever since Christ? No, I assure you, you be far deceived.
 ‘ I do not say so from any great learning that I have, for God
 ‘ knows I have very little or none; but for the experience which
 ‘ I have had. For I pray you since the death of King Henry VIII.
 ‘ into what misery have we been brought? what open rebellion,
 ‘ what sedition, what great division hath been throughout the
 ‘ whole realm? for God hath delivered us up to our own sensuali-
 ‘ ties, and every day was worse and worse. Look also how many
 ‘ since they swerved from the Faith, into what miserable state they
 ‘ have been brought, and how the whole realm is decayed.’ Then
 ‘ openly professing himself a Member of the Church of Rome, he
 ‘ added, ‘ that I speak unfeignedly from the bottom of my soul this
 ‘ Good Man the Bishop of Worcester shall be my Witness.’ The
 ‘ Bishop assenting, he proceeded, ‘ And I believe you all bear me
 ‘ witness

‘ witness that I die therein. And I do think, that if I had this
‘ belief sooner, I never had come to this pass. Wherefore I ex-
‘ hort you all, good people, take you all example of me, and for-
‘ sake this new doctrine betime; defer it not long, lest God plague
‘ you as he hath me, who now suffer this vile death most worthi-
‘ ly. I have no more to say, good people; but of all those whom
‘ I have offended I ask forgiveness. And those who have offended
‘ me, I forgive them as I would God forgive me. And I trust
‘ the Queen’s Highness hath forgiven me.’ And after he had de-
sired all the people to pray for him, and humbled himself to God,
and covered his own eyes with a cloth, he quietly suffered execu-
tion.

The next who was beheaded was Sir John Gates, who, though
in hopes of pardon he had consented to hear mass, did not pro-
fess himself of the Roman Religion: but, in the following speech,
recommended the serious and profitable reading of scripture,
with a design of being governed by it; sensible from his own ex-
perience of the mischief to which light and vain minds might
abuse it.

‘ My coming hither this day, good people, is to die; whereof
I assure you all I am well worthy; for I have lived as viciously and
‘ wickedly all the days of my life, as any man hath done in the
‘ world. I was the greatest reader of scripture that might be of a
‘ man of my degree; and a worse follower thereof was not living;
‘ for I did not read to the intent that I might be edified thereby,
‘ nor to the glory of God: but contrarywise, arrogantly, to be se-
‘ ditious, and to dispute thereof, and privately to interpret it after
‘ my own brain and affection. Wherefore, good people, I exhort
‘ you all to beware how, and after what sort you come to read
‘ God’s Holy Word, for it is no playing game to meddle with
‘ God’s Holy Majesty; and not to follow your own conceptions.
‘ For look as the bee of one flower doth gather honey, and the
‘ spider

‘ spider poison of the same, even so you, except you humble your-
‘ selves to God, and charitably read the same to the intent to edi-
‘ fy thereby, it is unto you poison and worse : and better it is to
‘ let it alone.’ Then he asked the Queen’s Highness forgiveness,
and all the world, and desired the people of their charities to pray
unto God with him for the remission of his sins ; and submitted
himself to the block, receiving three blows before his head was off.

The last was Sir Thomas Palmer, who professed his whole con-
fidence of salvation only in the merits and satisfaction of Christ ;
and died with that humility and peace of mind which nothing but
the spirit of the Gospel can inspire. He stepped forward, and with
a smiling countenance said ;

‘ Good morning to you all, good people. You come hither to
‘ see me die ; and moreover you come to see what news I have :
‘ marry, I will tell you. I have seen more in yonder terrible
‘ place [pointing to the Tower] than ever I saw before throughout
‘ all the realms that ever I wandered ; for there I have seen God,
‘ I have seen the world, and I have seen myself. And when I be-
‘ held myself, I saw nothing else but a piece of vile slime and clay,
‘ full of corruption and iniquity. I saw the world nothing else but
‘ vanity, and all the pleasures and treasures thereof, nothing worth.
‘ I saw God omnipotent, his power infinite, his merit incompre-
‘ hensible. And when I saw this, I most humbly submitted my-
‘ self unto God, beseeching his mercy and pardon for mine of-
‘ fences : and I trust he hath forgiven me. For he called me
‘ once or twice before, but I would not turn to him : but even
‘ now by this sharp messenger of death he hath called me to him-
‘ self. I trust the riches of his mercy shall spread over me, and save
‘ me. And I do here openly profess before you all, Christ to be
‘ the very Son of God the Father, born of the Virgin Mary, who
‘ came into the world to fulfil the Law for us, and to bear our of-
‘ fences

‘ fences on his back, and suffered his passion for our redemption, by the which I trust to be saved.’

The Lady Jane was a prisoner in the Tower, where a few days before she had kept her Court; and with her the Duke of Suffolk her Father was confined: but the latter, by the Queen’s clemency, was soon set at liberty. Which liberty he enjoyed not long; for on the resolution taken for the Queen’s marriage with Philip II. of Spain, fearing ill consequences from it, especially to the next Heir the Lady Elisabeth, and that the nation should have been brought into the bondage of strangers, Sir Thomas Wyatt made an Insurrection in Kent, demanding the possession of the Queen, and the keeping of the Tower: the Duke of Suffolk was indiscrete enough to be a party in this Insurrection, which broke out about the latter end of January, but was soon quelled; for by the 8th of February the Duke of Suffolk and his Brother the Lord John Gray were brought Prisoners to the Tower, and the next day Wyatt himself. On the Sunday following the restored Bishop of Winchester and now Lord Chancellor preached before the Queen, in which he exhorted her to use no mercy, but extreme justice to these Kentish Rebels; in compliance with which bloody advice the week that ensued was devoted to executions. Several new gallows were erected the very next day, at every gate of the City one, and about fourteen pair more in the City and Liberties. Where they stood as a terror to the citizens till Wednesday, when every gibbet was furnished with one or more executions.

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But of these the most lamented, though perhaps politically necessary from the indiscretion of her Relations, was that of the amiable Lady Jane with her Husband the Lord Guilford Dudley, who fell the first sacrifices on the Monday of that bloody week. She had been made the Instrument of the late Usurpation, and was now, however innocent herself, yet the occasion of the present sedition; her Father being desirous still of gaining her the Crown.

The

The Queen sent to her Fecknam, afterward Abbot of Westminster, to prepare her for death : when he lamented her unhappy situation, she thanked him for his visit, and told him, that ‘ she
‘ looked on her present situation as an instance of God’s favor to-
‘ ward her ; and that none that bore her any good will had occa-
‘ sion to lament on that account, which was an event so profitable
‘ for her soul’s health.’ Then on his telling her his errand, she thanked the Queen and Him, and professed her Faith in the Trinity : and upon being asked whether she thought that Faith was all that was required of a Christian, she answered, that ‘ it was also
‘ required to love God with all our faculties, and our Neighbour
‘ as ourselves.’ Thence Feckman inferred, that Faith alone was not sufficient, for Love was to be added. She replied, ‘ the Love
‘ of God was implied in Faith, for that we could not trust with-
‘ out loving ; and the love of our neighbour, or good works, was
‘ necessary, in obedience to Christ, who commanded it, but not as
‘ the mean of our Justification.’ She said that in scripture ‘ she
‘ could find only Two Sacraments, *Baptism* by which she was
‘ washed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that the
‘ washing was a token and sign that she was the Child of God :
‘ and the *Lord’s Supper*, which was a sure seal and testimony that
‘ she was by the blood of Christ shed for her on the Cross made
‘ Partaker of the everlasting Kingdom.’ Then Fecknam asked her what she received in that Sacrament, whether it was not the very body and blood of Christ ? She answered, ‘ No ; but bread in re-
‘ membrance of Christ’s body broken on the Cross, and wine in
‘ remembrance of his blood shed for the remission of sins : and that
‘ by receiving these creatures of bread and wine she received the
‘ benefits that accrued from Christ’s body broken, and his blood
‘ shed for our sins. What took He but bread, what brake he but
‘ bread, what gave he but bread ? What he took he brake, what
‘ he brake he gave, what he gave they eat, and that was bread,
‘ not

‘not his body; for his body was alive before them, and not eaten
‘by them.’ Then Fecknam flew to the authority of the Church,
determining that the very body and blood were received. She
said ‘the Church was to be tried by God’s word, and not God’s
‘word by the Church. And that it was an evil Church, and not
‘the Spouse of Christ, which altereth the Lord’s Supper, taking
‘from it and adding to it: but to such a Church, she said, God
‘would add plagues, and take from it their part in the book of
‘life.’ Upon this Fecknam took leave of her, saying, He was
sorry for her; for he was sure they Two should never meet. ‘True
‘it is, said she, that we shall never meet, except God turn
‘your heart. For I am assured, unless you repent and turn to
‘God, you are in an evil case. And I pray God in the bowels of
‘his mercy to send you his Holy Spirit; for he hath given you his
‘great gift of utterance, if it pleased him also to open the eyes of
‘your heart.’

To comfort her Father, who was overwhelmed with the thoughts
of the calamities that his imprudence had brought upon his daughter,
she wrote the following Letter.

‘Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by
‘you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened: yet
‘can I so patiently take it, as that I yield God more hearty thanks
‘for shortening my woful days, than if all the world had been
‘given into my possessions with life lengthened at my own will.
‘And although I am well assured of your impatient grief redoubled
‘many ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially (as
‘I hear) my unfortunate state; yet, my dear Father, if I may
‘without offence rejoice in my own mishaps, I think I may ac-
‘count myself blessed that, washing my hands with the innocency
‘of the fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to
‘the Innocent. And yet though I must needs acknowledge, that
‘being constrained, and as you well know continually assayed, in

‘ taking upon me the Royal dignity I seemed to consent, and therein
‘ grievously offended the Queen and her Laws: yet do I assuredly trust
‘ that this my offence towards God is so much the less, in that being in
‘ so Royal estate as I was, mine enforced Honor blended never with
‘ mine innocent heart. And thus, Good Father, I have opened
‘ to you the state wherein I stand at present. Whose death at hand,
‘ although to you perhaps it may seem dreadful, to me there is
‘ nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of mis-
‘ ery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with
‘ Christ our Saviour. In whose stedfast faith (if it may be lawful
‘ for the Daughter so to write to the Father) the Lord that hither-
‘ to hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we
‘ may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy
‘ Ghost.’

Her Letter to Harding, who had been her Father’s Chaplain, and now fallen off; and that to her Sister the Lady Catharine sent with a Greek Testament the night before she suffered; her Prayer and Speech on the scaffold (all which may be seen in Fox) witness how strong she was in the faith of Christ, and what victory over the world and death such a faith is able to give. We shall rarely meet with so useful a variety as we find in the deaths of these Four Persons. The outward Professor of reformed religion, who is a Protestant only for worldly interest, when crosses and afflictions happen, is presently offended; and being a stranger to the power of Faith is ready to part with it on the slenderest hopes of advantage, and at his wits end when he finds he must leave this world on which alone he had set his heart: so died the wretched Northumberland! In Sir John Gates we see a man convinced of the Truth of the Gospel; yet, conscious of having abused the knowledge of it to the purposes of vanity and contention, trembles at the consequences of such a profane and ungrateful return. He only discerns more clearly the horrors of that destruction which he is sensible he has deserved.

While

While the more profligate Liver, in whom the good seed has been sown, although for a long time smothered, (rather neglected than abused) when it is opened by the grace of God through his merciful afflictions, grows shocked at his own vileness and unworthiness; and from this abasement views at once with dread the offended majesty of God, and with admiration the great Love of a Redeemer, and is urged to embrace him with a lively faith, and to die well pleased in such a confidence. His sharp afflictions were necessary to his health. Such a picture we had in Sir Thomas Palmer. But where a true Christian Faith had uniformly produced a Christian Life, with what triumph did it trample on the sting of death, and spread a glory round the Lady Jane, that eclipsed the faint lustre of the superstitious and cruel Queen Mary on her Throne. Morgan the Judge, who passed the sentence on her, whether from mere natural distemper, or conscious of some malice in passing it, is observed by the Historians to have run mad, and in his ravings continually to have been calling out to have the Lady Jane taken away from him: in which disorder he died. Her Father the Duke of Suffolk was beheaded the week following.

We have already seen that the Bishop of London waiting on the new Queen at Framingham was not received graciously; his visit at Hunsdon not a year before, and his Sermon at Paul's Cross, though by command of the Council, were offences which she was not disposed to forgive. He was sent to the Tower July 26; and on the 5th of August Dr. Boner was released from the Marshalsea; and the rest of the Bishops who had been confined by King Edward were set at liberty at the same time. Boner soon after complained to the Queen, that he had been unjustly deprived, and contrary to law; or rather, that having made a legal appeal from the Commissioners to the King, the deprivation during that

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appeal was illegal and null; and that therefore his imprisonment, which he afterwards suffered, was illegal also. He likewise complained of the losses, expences, and troubles that he had undergone, desiring liberty of demanding satisfaction by law. Upon which the Queen appointed Delegates to examine the whole Cause: to whom Boner presented his Libel against all King Edward's Commissioners, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was yet styled Primate and Metropolitan of all England; Nicholas Ridley, styled late Bishop of Rochester; Thomas Smith, Knight, and William May, Dean of St. Paul's: William Latimer and John Hoper, (whom they would not own for a Bishop) Clerks, who had been Witnesses against Boner. The Proctors of the Archbishop, Bishop Ridley, and Dr. May appeared. After several Hearings Dr. Tregonwell, September 5, pronounced the sentence Definitive in behalf of Bishop Boner; that nothing effectual or sufficient on the parts of the Commissioners had been alledged or proved which might any ways enervate the intention of the Reverend Father Boner: that the pretended Definitive sentence against him was rashly attempted to his prejudice, and was null in law; and they decreed him to be restored as well to the possession of his said Bishoprick as to all his Goods and Things with their rights and appurtenances; allowing him to take his course for the expences and incommodities of his imprisonment.

Boner's appeal from the sentence of the Commissioners to the King had been heard by several of the Nobles, Great Officers, Divines, Civilians, and Judges purposely appointed; who after due discussion declared that Boner's appeal was naught and unreasonable, and that the sentence against him had been rightly and justly pronounced. Yet these Delegates reversed all.

With what tenderneſs and care Ridley behaved toward Boner on ſucceeding to the ſee of London, with reſpect both to his private property and relations we have ſeen before: now by way of con-
traſt,

traft, and to weigh the fpirits of the Two Bifhops, let us fee Boner's account of his reftoration, in a Letter to his Coufin Thomas Shirley, and the Worfhipful Richard and Roger Letchmore.

' In moft hearty wife I commend me unto you, afferting, that
' yefterday I was by fentence reftored again to my Bifhoprick, and
' repofed in the fame, even as fully as I was at any time before I
' was deprived ; and by the faid fentence my Ufurper Dr. Ridley is
' utterly repulſed : fo that I would ye did order all things at Kid-
' merley and Buſhley at your pleaſures ; not ſuffering ſheep's head
' or ſhip's-fide (alluding to Ridley's Brother Shipſide, whom he had
' appointed Keeper of his Park) to be any medler there, or to ſell
' or carry away any thing from thence ; and I truſt at your coming
' up now at the Parliament, I ſhall ſo handle the ſaid ſheep's heads
' and the other calves heads, that they ſhall perceive their ſweet
' ſhall not be without four ſauce. This day it is looked that Mr.
' Canterbury muſt be placed where is meet for him : He is be-
' come very humble and ready to ſubmit himſelf in all things, but
' that will not ſerve. In the ſame predicament is Dr. Smith my
' Friend, and the Dean of St. Paul's, with others. Commend
' me to your Bedfellows moſt heartily, and remember the liquor
' that I wrote to you for ; this Bearer ſhall declare the reſt, and
' alſo put you in remembrance for beeves and muttons for my
' Houſe-fare. And thus our Bleſſed Lord long and well keep you
' all. Written in haſte this 6th of September.

' Affuredly all your own

' Edmond London.'

To one or both of theſe Letchmores Boner granted a leaſe of the Park and Manor of Buſhley, which Ridley had before leaſed out to Carr ; and there was a bill put up in the Parliament under Queen Mary that all Ridley's leaſes might be void. But it would not

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pass even in a Parliament of their own, who would not consent to so much injustice as that enraged Bishop meditated.

Burnet.

Cranmer had been permitted to be still at liberty, and continued quietly at Lambeth, to which place Peter Martyr had fled for shelter. His quietness was foundation enough for some to give out that he intended to comply with every thing that the Queen desired. This, by his Letter, Boner seems to have believed; or at least was willing to report from common fame. This report made Cranmer, by Peter Martyr's advice, draw up a writing, in which he protested to all the world, ' that the Mass was not set up at ' Canterbury by his order, but that a fawning hypocritical monk ' (meaning Thornton the Suffragan of Dover) had done it without ' his knowledge; and for what he was said to have undertaken to ' the Queen, her Majesty knew well how false that was: offering, ' if he might obtain her leave for it, to maintain, that every thing ' in the Communion Service which was set out by that innocent ' and good King Edward was according to Christ's institution, and ' the practice of the Apostles and the antient Church for many ' ages: and that He and Peter Martyr, or other four or five, such ' as he should choose, would be ready to defend, not only their ' Book of Common Prayer and the other Rites of their Service, ' but the whole Doctrine and Order of Religion set forth by the ' late King, as more pure and more agreeable to the word of God ' than any sort of Religion that had been in England for a thousand years before it: provided, that all things should be judged ' by the scriptures, and that the reasonings on both sides should ' be faithfully written down; that the world may examine ' and judge them, and that no man may start back from his writing. And we will join with them in this point, that the Doctrine and Usage is to be followed which was in the Church fifteen hundred years past. And we shall prove that the Order of ' the

‘ the Church, set out at this present in this Church of England by
‘ Act of Parliament, is the same that was used in the Church fif-
‘ teen hundred years past : and so shall they never be able to prove
‘ theirs.’

This paper the Archbishop shewed to Scory, desiring him to consider it ; who indiscretely gave Copies of it, one of which had been publicly read in Cheapside on the 5th of September, which made people apprehend that Cranmer would be sent to the Tower. And these apprehensions were so strong, that some advised the Archbishop to escape by flying beyond seas. To whom he answered, ‘ were I accused of theft, parricide, or some other crime, al-
‘ though I were innocent, I might peradventure be induced to
‘ shift for myself : but being questioned for my allegiance, not to
‘ men, but unto God, the truth of whose Holy Word is to be as-
‘ serted against the errors of Popery ; I have at this time with a
‘ constancy befitting a Christian Prelate resolved rather to leave my
‘ life than the kingdom.’

On the 8th of September he was called before the Star Chamber, and asked whether he was the Author of that seditious Bill that was given out in his name. He acknowledged the Bill to be truly His, but he was sorry it had gone from him in such a manner ; for he had resolved to have enlarged it in many things, and to have ordered it to be affixed to the doors of Paul’s and of the other churches in London with his hand and seal to it. Contrary to expectation he was dismissed for the present : but that day se’n-
night he was again called before the Council with Latimer, who was then committed, and gave Ridley a beloved companion in the Tower ; the next day Cranmer made up the venerable Fraternity there, being committed for matters of treason against the Queen, and for aggravating his offence by spreading abroad seditious bills, moving tumult, to the great disquietness of the present state.

As

As soon as Cranmer was removed out of the way, they prepared for the Queen's Coronation, which was performed October 1 by the Bishop of Winchester, whom the Queen had made her Chancellor. The 10th of October the Parliament sate; in which Parliament the Queen's Illegitimation was taken off, and all the statutes made in King Edward's time for administration of Common Prayer and the Sacrament in the English tongue were repealed. And on the 16th began the Convocation, when Dr. Weston was chosen their Prolocutor. He opened the first Session on Wednesday the 18th, with a Speech certifying the House that it was the Queen's pleasure that they should debate of matters of religion; and censuring the Catechism set forth in the late reign, and the Book of Common Prayer (which he called very abominable) he recommended to them to begin with confirming the natural Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, and Transubstantiation: inviting all on the ensuing Friday to speak their consciences freely in these matters, that all doubts might be removed. By imprisoning some Protestant Bishops, and releasing some Popish ones, and practising to get such members returned as they wished, they had got a Convocation to their minds. So that on the Friday, when the Prolocutor had proposed that all should speak their consciences freely, he came prepared with two instruments, one establishing the natural presence of Christ's Body in the sacrament, and the other rejecting the Catechism, to which he required them to subscribe as he had done. And only six were found who refused to comply with this extraordinary request. One of these, Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, observed that it was against reason, and very prejudicial to Truth, that men should be urged to subscribe before the points were thoroughly examined and discussed. And whereas there were so many antient learned men present on that side, as the like in number were not to be found again in the whole realm; and that on the side of them who had not subscribed there were
but

but five or six, both in age and learning far inferior, he desired that the Prolocutor would move the Lords that some of those learned men who were now absent in prison might be brought into the House; and that particularly Dr. Ridley and Mr. Rogers with Two or Three more might be licensed to be present at this disputation, and be associates with them. This was thought reasonable, but could not be obtained of the Lords. By the account of these Disputations in Fox the Protestants had greatly the advantage: and indeed by Weston's conclusion it seems to be acknowledged; who, as Bishop Burnet relates, pointing out wherein the strength of both causes lay, said, *You have the word, but we have the sword.*

While these things were passing in the Convocation, Archbishop Cranmer, with the Lord Guilford Dudley and the Lady Jane, and two more Sons of the Duke of Northumberland were brought to trial on the 3d of November, and were all attainted of High Treason, for levying war against the Queen. The Parliament, having confirmed their attainders, was dissolved as well as the Convocation early in December. And on the 21st of that month mass began to be celebrated throughout England.

The Archbishop, grieving to suffer as a Traytor, made most humble Submission to the Queen, intreating for his pardon; representing and appealing to the Council, in proof, with what difficulty and reluctance he had been constrained to sign to the late King's will; and that not before those, whose profession it was to understand the Laws, had assured him of the Legality of it. The rest of the Council, though none of them had dared the King's and the Duke of Northumberland's displeasure so honestly as he had done in right of her succession, were presently received to favor: but his pronouncing her Mother's Divorce from King Henry, by which she had been illegitimated, could not be forgiven. At last, after some months, she quieted the Archbishop's mind by a Pardon for

his Treason, having *mercifully* determined to burn him for Herefy. Of which mercy Ridley also partook, being never questioned for his Sermon at Paul's Cross, as the Queen had resolved to punish him more severely than by the ax.

Notwithstanding which resolution Ridley might have redeemed himself, and recovered her favor, if he would have brought over the weight of his learning and authority to countenance her proceedings in Religion. He was therefore soon treated with more respect and indulgence than the other Prisoners in the Tower; having the liberty of walking about in it, to see whether he would voluntarily be present at the Mass or not. And Mr. Fox says he once was there: but upon Bradford's writing to him what offence might be given thereby, he refrained always after. I cannot but think Fox was misinformed, from a passage or two in Ridley's Conference with Latimer. Where he introduces the Papists inviting him to Mass in these words; 'All men marvel greatly why You, after the liberty which you have granted unto You more than the rest, do not go to Mass. What is it then that offendeth you so greatly, that you will not vouchsafe ONCE either to hear it, or to see it? And admit there be a fault, if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? Do you not know both from Cyprian and Austin that Communion of Sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds?' In answer, he mentions what things offended him in the Mass, and then adds this reason for absenting himself from it, 'lest he should seem by outward fact to allow the thing which he was persuaded was contrary to sound doctrine, and so should be a stumbling block to the weak:' and then acknowledges, that 'if it were any one trifling Ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent (although I would wish nothing should be done in the Church which doth not edify the same) yet for the continuance of the common quietness, I would be content to bear it. But forasmuch as things done in
' the

‘ the Mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ’s Institution, I
 ‘ judge that by no means, either in word or deed I ought to con-
 ‘ sent to it. As to what Cyprian and Austin say, they meant it of
 ‘ those who supposed they were defiled, if any secret vice were ei-
 ‘ ther in the ministers, or in them who communicate with them :
 ‘ not of those who refused to suffer superstition and the wicked
 ‘ traditions of men to be thrust upon themselves or the Church.’

After this we cannot suppose he would act so contrary to his own judgment, as to be guilty of that offence with which Fox accuses him ; neither could Bradford produce better reasons to dissuade him, than those of which he himself already felt the force. If we suppose this presence at the Mass was *before*, and his reasons given were the fruit of Bradford’s remonstrance, how comes he to put the Question, ‘ why will not you vouchsafe ONCE to SEE IT ?’ I think therefore that in this Fox must have been misinformed.

§. 4. Ridley’s conference with the Lieutenant of the Tower, and others.

However, it is certain he was used with great civility in the Tower ; the Papists spared neither courtesy, compliment, nor argument to win him.

Preface to Ridley’s Treatise on the Lord’s Supper.

One day he was invited to dine with some Gentlemen at the Lieutenant’s table, who was Sir John a Bruges, or Bridges, shortly after created Lord Chandois. There were present beside, the Lieutenant’s Brother, Chief Justice Cholmly, Mr. Secretary Bourne, Fecknam Dean of St. Paul’s, and Mr. Pope ; who, it seems, were appointed Commissioners from the Queen to sift him. The report of this Conference, Fox tells us, is from Ridley himself ; which Mr. Bridges, the Lieutenant’s Brother, opened with a Request, as the Bishop relates it :

‘ *Bridg.* I pray you, Master Doctors, for my learning, tell me what an Heretick is.

Secretary Bourne. I will tell you who is an Heretick. Whoso stubbornly and stiffly maintaineth an untruth, He is an Heretick.

Ridl. You mean, Sir, an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our Faith. Yea, that is true, said He. And in this we are soon agreed. Then said Mr. *Fecknam*, I will tell you by St. Austin who is an Heretick; He is an Heretick who broaches or followeth false opinions in flattery to Princes, or for the sake of worldly profit.

Sir, said I, I ween St. Austin addeth another member, *or for the sake of vain glory*. You say even true, Master Doctor, said he. And thus far we did agree all Three.

Fecknam. Whoso doth not believe what the scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain the contrary, He is an Heretick. As in the Sacrament of the Altar, Matthew doth affirm there to be Christ's Body; Mark doth affirm it; Luke affirmeth it; Paul affirmeth it, and none denyeth it. Therefore to hold the contrary is Heresy. It is the same body and flesh that was born of the Virgin: and this is confirmed by Unity, Antiquity, and Universality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this; and He was an Heretick Master Doctor there knoweth full well: I do take to witness his own conscience.

Secretary Bourne. Marry, Sir, Master Fecknam hath spoken well. These be great matters, Unity, Antiquity, and Universality. Do you not think so, Master Doctor?

Here, while I strained courtesy, and pretended no willingness to talk, said one of the Commissioners, Peradventure Master Ridley doth agree with Master Fecknam, and there needs not much debating of the matter.

Sir, said I, in some things I do, and shall agree with him; and in some things which he hath spoken, to be plane, I do not agree with him at all. Masters, ye be (as I understand) the Queen's Commissioners here; and if ye have Commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you planely my faith; if you have not, then I shall pray you, either give me leave to speak

my

my mind freely, or else to hold my peace. There is none here, said Master *Secretary*, that doth not favor you. And then every man shewed what favor they bare toward me, and how glad they would be of an agreement. But as I strained to have licence of them in plane words to speak my mind, some thought they hardly did grant it me, or at least reluctantly. Well, at the last, I was content to take it for licensed, and so began to talk. To Master Fecknam's argument of the manifold affirmation where no denial was, I answered; where there are a multitude of affirmations in scripture, and where there is but one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter: for that which any one of the Evangelists spake, inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of them all. It is as true that St. John saith of Christ, I am the door of the sheep, as if all had said it. For it is not in scripture as in witness of men, where the number is credited more than One, because it is uncertain with what spirit He doth speak. And where Master Fecknam spake of so many, affirming without any negation, Sir, said I, all They do affirm the thing which they meant. Now, if ye take their words, to leave their meaning, then do they affirm what you take, but not what they meant. Sir, said I, if in talk with you, I should so utter my mind in words, that you by the same do, and may planely perceive my meaning; and could, if you would be captious, cavil at my words, and writhe them to another sense, I would think ye were no gentle companions to talk with, except ye did take my words, as ye did perceive I did mean.

Marry, quoth Master *Secretary*, we should also do you plane injury and wrong.

Master *Fecknam* perceiving whereunto my talk went, Why, quoth he, what circumstances can you shew me that should move me to think of any other sense, than as the words planely say, *This is my body which shall be given for you?*

Sir,

Sir, said I, even the next sentence that followeth, *Do this in Remembrance of me.* And also by what reason you say the bread is turned into Christ's carnal body, by the same I may say that it is turned into his mystical body. For as that faith of it, *This is my Body which shall be given for you*; so Paul, who spake by Christ's Spirit, saith, *We being many are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread.*

Here he calleth one bread one loaf, said Master Secretary.

Yea, said I, one loaf, one bread, all is one with me.

But what say you, saith Master Secretary, of the Universality, Antiquity, and Unity, that Master Fecknam spake of?

I ensure you, said I, I think them matters weighty, and to be considered well. As for Unity the truth is before God, I do believe it, and embrace it, so it be with verity, and joined to our head Christ, and such One as Paul speaketh of, *One Faith, one God, one Baptism.* And for Antiquity, I am also persuaded that to be true which Irenæus saith, *That which is first is true.* In our Religion Christ's faith was first truly taught by Christ himself, by his Apostles, and by many good men, that from the beginning did succede next unto them. And for this controversy of the Sacrament, I am persuaded that those old writers, who wrote before the controversy, and the usurping of the See of Rome, do all agree, if they be well understood, in this truth.

I am glad to hear, said Master Secretary, that you do so well esteem the Doctors of the Church.

Now as for Universality (said the Bishop) it may have Two meanings; one to understand that to be Universal which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another to understand Universality for the multitude of our age, or of any other singular age.

No, no, saith Master Secretary, these Three do always agree; and where there is one, there are all the rest.

And

And here He and I changed many words. And finally, to be short, in this matter we did not agree.

There were none, saith Master *Fecknam*, before Berengarius, Wickliff, and Hufs, and now in our days Carlostadius, and Oecolampadius. And Carlostadius saith, Christ pointed to his own Body, and not to the Sacrament, and said, *This is my Body*. And Melancthon writeth to one Micronius—Myconius, said I^a—these or like words. *I can find no sufficiently good reason why I should dissent from the faith of our Ancestors in this matter.*

Thus when he had spoken at length with many other words more; Sir, said I, it is certain, that other before These have written of this matter: not by the way only, as do for the most all the old writers, but even professedly, and their whole books treat of it alone, as Bertram.

Bertram? said the *Secretary*, what man was He? and who was he? and how do you know? with many questions.

Sir, quoth I, I have read his book; he proposeth the same question which is now in controversy, and answereth so directly, that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that the substance of bread remaineth still in the Sacrament; and he wrote to Charles the Great.

Marry, quoth he, mark, for there is a matter. He wrote to Harry, and not to Charles; for no author maketh any such mention of Bertram.

Yes, quoth I, Trithemius in his Catalogue of Illustrious Writers speaketh of him. Trithemius indeed was but of late time; but he speaketh of them that were of antiquity.

Here, after much talk of Bertram, What authors have ye, quoth Master *Secretary*, to make of the Sacrament a Figure? Sir, quoth I,

^a Oswald Myconius had been Schoolmaster at Zurick, and succeeded Oecolampadius at Basil; Martin Micronius had lived some time in England, and assisted à Lasco in the care of the strangers church in London.

I, you know, I think, that Tertullian in plane words speaketh thus; *This is my Body : that is, a Figure of my Body.* And Gelafius faith planely, that *the Substance of bread remaineth.* And Origen faith likewise, *That which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance, passeth away into the draught.*

Master Secretary said to me, you know very well as well as any man. And here, if I would, I might have been set in a foolish paradise of his commendation of my learning, and that I was a man of much reading, and more to like purpose : but this I would not take at his hand. He set me not up so high, but I brought myself as low again ; and here was much ado. As for Melancthon, (quoth I) whom Master Fecknam spake of, I marvel that you will alledge him ; for we are nearer an agreement here in England, than the opinion of Melancthon is to you : for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the Sacrament but one material substance ; and Melancthon, as I ween, faith there are two.

You say truth, quoth Master Secretary ; Melancthon's opinion is so. But I pray you, ye have heard that the Sacrament was in old time so revered, that many were then forbidden to be present at the administration thereof, the Catechumens, and many more.

Truth, Sir, quoth I, there were some called *Audientes*, some *Pœnitentes*, some *Catechumens*, and *Energumeni*, who were commanded to depart.

How, quoth he, and how can you then make but a figure or a sign of the Sacrament, as that book doth which is set forth in my Lord of Canterbury's name ? I wist you can tell who made it ; Did not you make it ? And here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have given me the glory of the writing of that book ; which yet was said of some there to contain the most heinous heresy that ever was.

Master

Master *Secretary*, quoth I, that book was made of a great learned man, and one who is able to do the like again : as for me I assure you (be not deceived in me) I was never able to do or write any such like thing ; he passeth me no less than the learned Master his young Scholar.—Now here every man would have his saying, which I pass over, not much material to tell.—But, Sir, quoth I, methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the people in hand, that any man doth so lightly esteem the Sacrament, as to make of it a figure only ; but that *but* maketh it a bare figure without any more profit ; which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the Reader most planely.

Yes, quoth he, that they do, Sir.

No, quoth I, of a truth : and as for me, I assure you I make no less of the Sacrament than thus ; I say whosoever receiveth the Sacrament, he receiveth either life or death.

No, quoth Master *Secretary*, Scripture saith not so.

Sir, quoth I, although not in the same sound of words, yet it doth in the same sense : and St. Austin saith, in the sound of words also, for Paul saith ; *the bread which we break is it not the partaking or fellowship of the body of Christ ?* And Austin, *Eat life, drink life.*

Then said Master *Pope*, what can ye make of it when ye say, there is not the real body of Christ : which I do believe, and pray God I may never believe other. How can ye bring as ye say either life or death, when Christ's body is not there ?

Sir, quoth I, when you hear Christ's word truly preached, if ye do believe it, and abide in it, ye shall and do receive life with all ; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death : and yet Christ's body is still in heaven, and not carnal in every Preacher's mouth.

I pray you tell me, quoth he, how can you answer to this, *which shall be given for you* : was the *figure* of Christ's body given for us ?

No, Sir, quoth I, but the very body itself, whereof the Sacrament is a sacramental figure.

How say you then, saith he, to these words, *which shall be given for you?*

Forsooth, quoth I, Tertullian's exposition maketh it plane; for he saith, *the Body is a figure of the Body*. Now put to it *which shall be given for you*, and it agreeth exceeding well.

In faith, quoth he, I would give forty pounds that you were of a good opinion. For I assure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you.

I thank you, Master *Pope*, for your heart and mind; and you know, quoth I, I were a very fool if I would in this matter dissent from you, if that in my conscience the truth did not enforce me so to do. For I wils, as ye do perceive I trow, it is somewhat out of my way, if I would esteem worldly gain.

What say you, saith he, to Cyprian? Doth he not say planely, *the bread which the Lord did deliver being changed, not according to the form, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word is made flesh*.

True, Sir, so he doth say, and I answer the same which once by chance I preached at Paul's Cross in a sermon, for the which I have been as unjustly reported of, as any poor man hath been. For there, I speaking of the Sacrament, and inveighing against them that esteemed it no better than a piece of bread, told even the same thing of *Pœnitentes, Audientes, Catechumeni*, and *Energumeni* that I spake of before: and I bad them depart, as unworthy to hear the mystery; and then I said to those that be *Sancti*, Cyprian the Martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying, *Bread is the body, meat, drink, and flesh*; because unto this material substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name: and this place then took I to utter as the time would then suffer, that the material substance of bread doth remain. — Master Fecknam (who, as is reported to me, did belie me openly in the same matter,

matter at Paul's Cross) heard all this my talk, as red as scarlet in his face, and herein answered me never one word.

You do know well, quoth Master *Secretary*, that Origen and Tertullian were not Catholick, but erred.

Sir, said I, there is none of all the Doctors that are holden in all points, but are thought to have erred in some things. But yet I never heard that it was either laid to Origen's charge, or to Tertullian's, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the Sacrament.

What, said Master *Cholmley*, late Chief Justice, doth not Christ say planely, that it is his very flesh, and his very blood, and we must needs eat him, or we can have no life?

Sir, replied I, if you will hear how St. Austin expoundeth that place, you shall perceive that you are in a wrong box. And then I began to tell St. Austin's mind in his Book *Of Christian Doctrine*.

Yea, yea, said Master *Secretary*, that is true, St. Austin does take it figuratively indeed.

Forty years ago, said Master Fecknam, all were of one opinion in this matter.

Forty years ago, said I, all held that the Bishop of Rome was supreme Head of the Universal Church.

What then? was Master *Fecknam* beginning to say: but Master *Secretary* took the tale, and said, that was but a positive Law.

A positive Law, said I; no, Sir, He would not have it so: for it is in his decrees, that he challenged it by Christ's own word. For his Decree saith, *The Church of Rome was advanced above all other churches, not by any Synodical Constitutions, nor by Councils, but by the expresse voice of the Lord, according as the Lord said to Peter, Thou art Peter. And in another place, Thou art Cephas, that is to say, the Head.*

Tush, it was not counted an article (said Master *Secretary*) of our Faith.

Yes, said I, if you call that an Article of our Faith, which is to be believed under pain of damnation. For he saith, *We absolutely determine, declare, and pronounce*, that every creature is subject to the obedience of the Bishop of Rome upon necessity of Salvation.

And here when we spake of laws and decrees Master Roger Chomley thought himself much wronged, that he could not be suffered to speak, the rest were so ready to interrupt him : and then he up and told a long tale what laws were of Kings of England made against the Bishop of Rome ; and was vehement to tell how they alway of the Clergy did fly to him. And here, because he seemed to speak of many things beside our purpose, he was answered of his own fellows, and I let them talk.

Finally, we departed in peace ; and Master *Secretary* promised in the end, that of their talk there should come to me no harm. And after I had made my moan for lack of my Books, he said they were all once given to him : but since I know (said he) who hath them now, write me the name of such as you would have, and I will speak for you the best I can.

Till the Kentish Insurrection under Wyatt had furnished the Tower with crowds of Prisoners the Bishops appear to have had separate rooms, with the opportunity of meeting some times, when they were indulged to take the benefit of the air in the garden of the Tower : but at those interviews they were guarded. Ridley was desirous of a serious conference with his Fellow Prisoners to sift his own opinions, and correct or strengthen them from the experience of those Veterans. He knew his life was at stake, and he verily believed the Truth of Christ was so also : he would not willingly rush on death through tortures for a mistaken question, or a point of little importance ; nor weakly betray the cause of Truth, either
overreached

overreached by their sophistry, or terrified by their cruelties. He therefore desired the sincere advice of these true Friends, either to point out his errors, or confirm his resolution. For which purpose he wrote to them, setting down his own reasons, and leaving a blank under each, which he wished those venerable Fathers to fill up with their observations or corrections. Latimer's answers are preserved.

§. 5. Conference
between Dr. Ridley
and Master Latimer.

N. Ridley. In the name of Jesus let every knee bow. Phil. II.

A Bishop ought to be unreprieveable, as the Steward of God, cleaving fast to the true word of doctrine, Tit. II. All worldly respects put apart, of shame, death, loss of goods, and worldly commodities: let me have, I pray you, your advice in these matters following. That is, your assent and confirmation in those things which you judge that God doth allow; and your best counsel and advertisement, where you think otherwise; and your reasons for both the same. For the wise man saith, One Brother which is helped of another, is like a well-defended city. Prov. XVII.

The causes that move me to abstain from the Mass be these;

I. It is done in a strange tongue, which the people do not understand, contrary to the doctrine of the Apostle. I Cor. XIV.

H. Latimer. Where is no understanding, there is neither edifying or comfort: for beside that they speak into the air, the mind receiveth no profit. They are one to another as aliens, the Parishioners will say their Priests are mad: whereas all things might be done so as they may edify: *Let every man know that the things which I write (saith St. Paul) are the commandments of the Lord:* such absurdities are to be eschewed.

N. Ridley. II. There is also wanting the shewing of the Lord's death, contrary to the mind of the Apostle: *As often as ye shall eat*

eat this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he come, 1 Cor. xi. What shewing can be there, where no man heareth, that is to say, understandeth what is said? No man; I mean, of the common people, for whose profit the prayer of the Church ought specially to serve.

H. Latimer. Christ saith, *Wo be unto you that take away the key of knowledge, Luke xi.* The Papists study by all means to make the people ignorant (lest their ignorant Sir Johns should be had in less estimation, or despised) which is clean contrary to St. Paul's practice, who wished that all men might be fulfilled with all knowledge, and to be perfect in Christ Jesus, Coloss. i. The institution of Christ, if it were rehearsed in the vulgar tongue, should be not only a consecration, but also a fruitful preaching, to the edification of the Hearers: whereas in the Popish Mass it is neither understood, nor heard, whilst the common people are utterly ignorant what their Priests do, or what they go about, whether they bless or curse. The Apostles understood Christ, when he celebrated his Supper. Therefore do these Papists swerve from Christ in their Mass.

N. Ridley. III. There is no Communion, but it is made a private table; whereas indeed it ought to be a Communion. For St. Paul saith, *The bread which we break is the partaking of the Body of Christ, 1 Cor. x.* And Christ brake, distributed, and said, *Take and eat, Matth. xxvi.* But they make it a private table, it is open. For where they be many Priests which will communicate, they do it not at one table or altar, but every one of them have their altars, masses, and tables.

H. Latimer. To make that private which Christ made common, and willed to be communicated, may seem to be the workmanship of Antichrist himself. The Canons of the Apostles do excommunicate them, who being present at common Prayer, do not also receive the holy Communion. And unto the same agreeth
the

the decree of Anaclitus : when the Consecration is done, says he, let all such communicate, as intend not to be excommunicate. (De Conf. Dist. 1. Cap. Ep. 1.) Tertullian saith, That which is first, is true : that which is latter is counterfeited. But the Papists say, we do it privately, because we do it for others. But where have you your commission to mass and sacrifice for others ?

N. Ridley. IV. The Lord's Commandment of communicating the Cup unto the Lay people is not observed, according to the word of the Lord, *Drink ye all of This*, Matth. xxvi.

H. Latimer. Paul saith, *As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death*, 1 Cor. xi. So that not the partaking of the one only, but of both, is a shewing of the Lord's death ; because in his death the blood was divided from his body, it is necessary that the same division be represented in the supper, otherwise the supper is not a shewing of the Lord's death. *Let a man examine himself*. But this word Homo is of both genders, therefore it is as well commanded to the woman to drink of the cup, as the man. But the King's argument once against me was this, *when ye come together to eat* ; he saith not (saide he) *to drink*. I answered it was not needful, seeing that a little before he had mention of both in these words, *And so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup*, 1 Cor. xi. Homo, that is to say, as well the woman as the man. Under the name of bread, which betokeneth all sustenance of the body, drink is also understood in the scriptures. Otherwise they would say, that Christ did not drink after his resurrection with his Disciples, except Peter had saide, *We did eat and drink with him after he arose from death*, Acts x.

N. Ridley. V. They do slavishly serve the holy sign (as St. Austin speaketh) instead of the thing signified, whilst the sacramental bread (by a solemn or common error) is adored and worshipped, for the flesh taken of the Son of God.

H. Latimer.

H. Latimer. If you deny unto them their corporal presence and transubstantiation, their fantastical adoration will (by and by) vanish away. Therefore be strong in denying such a presence, and then you have won the field. Furthermore, in the first Supper celebrated of Christ himself, there is no mention made of adoration of the elements, who said, *eat ye, and Drink ye, not, worship ye.* Therefore against adoration may be spoken that saying of Christ concerning divorce, *From the beginning it was not so,* Matth. xxix. But the devil secretly (and by little and little) infected all Christ's ordinances: and as for the private Mass, with all the fineness thereof, what manner of a thing it is, may be easily perceived by the ready acceptation of the people, whose hearts are prone to evil even from their youth, Gen. viii.

N. Ridley. VI. They pluck away the honor from the only sacrifice of Christ, whiles this sacramental and mass Sacrifice is believed to be propitiatory, and such a one as purgeth the souls both of the quick and dead: contrary to that is written in the Hebrews, *With ONE offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified.* And again, *where remission of those things (that is, Jesus) is, there is no more offering for sin,* Hebr. x.

H. Latimer. By his own person he hath purged our sins, Hebr. ii. These words *by his own person* have an emphasis or vehemence, which driveth away all sacrificing Priests from such office of sacrificing: seeing that which he hath done by himself, he hath not left to be perfected by other; so that the putting away of our sins may more truly be thought past and done, than a thing to come and to be done. *If any man sin,* 1 John ii. He saith not, let him have a Priest at home to sacrifice for him, but, *we have an Advocate,* the virtue of whose One oblation endureth for ever. St. Paul saith, *they that serve the altar are partakers with the altar;* even so the Lord hath ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel, 1 Cor. ix. Why doth he not rather say, They that sacrifice in the Mass?

N. Ridley.

N. Ridley. VII. There be manifold abuses and superstitions which are done in the Mass, and about the Mass: salt is conjured, that it may be a conjured salt for the salvation of the believers, to be a salvation and health both of the mind and of the body unto everlasting life, to all them that receive it. Water is conjured, to chase away all the power of the enemy, to chase away all devils. Bread also hath his second Blessing, that it may be health of mind and body to all them that receive it. If we do think that such strength is to be given to salt, water, and bread, or if we judge that these things are able to receive any such virtue or efficacy, what leave we to Christ our Saviour? But if we think not so, why then do we pray on this sort? forasmuch as all prayer ought to be done of faith.

H. Latimer. As touching the abuses of the Mass, I refer you to a little book, the title whereof is *Mistress Missa*, where she was justly condemned and banished under pain of burning. But the devil hath brought her in again, to bring us to burning.

N. Ridley. VIII. The Priest turneth himself from the altar, and speaketh unto the people in an unknown tongue, saying, *Dominus vobiscum. Orate pro me, fratres et sorores.* i. e. 'The Lord be with you. Pray for me, Brothers and Sisters.' And turning from the people, he saith in Latin, 'Let us pray.' And, 'The peace of the Lord be alway with you.' Also the people (or at least He which supplieth the place of the people) is compelled three times to say, *Amen*, when he hath heard never a word of that the Priest hath praid, or spoken, except those few words, *Per omnia secula seculorum.* Whereas to the answering of *Amen* St. Paul willeth the Answerer, not only to hear, but also to understand the things that were spoken.

H. Latimer. Yea, and *Ite Missa est* must be sung to them with a great rolling up and down of notes, so bidding them go home fasting, when he hath eaten and drank up all himself alone. A

fellow once rebuked for going away before Mass was ended, answered, that it was not good manners to tarry till he was bidden to go. After that, he was blamed for not taking Holy bread : he answered, that he was bidden go away before.

N. Ridley. IX. The Priest, when he lifteth up the Sacrament, murmureth to himself these words : *Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.* i. e. *As often as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me.* He seemeth by his words to speak unto the people, but he suffereth not his voice to be heard of the people.

H. Latimer. I cannot tell to whom the mass man speaketh as he is a lifting, seeing that neither Christ bad him lift, neither is the people allowed to do those things ; and as for that form of words, it is of their own framing. But the Papists do all things well, be they never so much deceitful workers, taking upon them the visor and title of the Church, as it were sheep's clothing, as though they were the ministers of righteousness ; whereas indeed they are the devil's ministers, *whose end shall be according to their deeds,* 2 Cor. 11. They roll out their Latin language by heart, but in so doing they make the poor people of Christ altogether ignorant : and so much as in them lieth, they keep them back from that which St. Paul calleth the best knowledge, 1 Cor. 12. which is to know rightly the things which are given unto us of Christ. But this is the matter, so long as the Priests speak Latin, they are thought of the people to be marvellous well-learned.

N. Ridley. X. More yet of the Canon : ' Upon the which
' vouchsafe to look with thy merciful and chearful countenance.'
What meaneth this Prayer for the Sacrament itself, if it be as they say, the Body of Christ, if it be God and Man ? How should the Father not look with a chearful countenance upon his only well-beloved Son ? Why do not we rather pray for ourselves, that we
(for

(for his sake) may be looked upon of the Father with a chearful countenance?

H. Latimer. To this let them answer that so pray: except peradventure this prayer was used long before it was esteemed to be the Body of Christ really and corporally: and then this Prayer maketh well to destroy the Popish opinion, that it is not the opinion of the Church, nor so antient as they babble. There be other prayers of the Mass, which peradventure be of like effect, but I have forgotten all massing matters, and the Mass itself I utterly detest, and abhor: and so I confessed openly before our Diotrophes and others. [Meaning Gardiner and the Council.]

N. Ridley. XI. The Canon again: 'Command these to be carried by the hands of thy holy angel unto thy high altar.' If we understand the body and blood of Christ, wherefore do we so soon desire the departure of them, before the receipt of the same? And wherefore brought we them thither by making of them, to let him go so soon?

Write again, I beseech you, Fathers and Brethren, most dearly beloved in Christ, spare not my paper: for I look ere it be long, that our common enemy will first assault me, and I wish from the bottom of my heart, to be holpen not only by your prayers, but also by your wholesome counsels.

H. Latimer. As Peter when he saith, *let us make here Three Tabernacles*, Matth. xvii. spake, and wist not what; so peradventure our mass men cannot tell what they say, speaking so manifestly against themselves. So that the old proverb may well be spoken of them, Liars had need to have good memories.

Then, much paper being purposely left for his further thoughts, Latimer wrote a considerable deal against the sacrifice of the Mass, proving that there is no mention of it in scripture, the latter part of which is as follows.

‘ *H. Latimer.* If an Angel from heaven shall teach any thing beside that ye have received (in the scriptures of the Law and the Gospel) let him be accursed, Galat. 1. Our Diotrephes (the Bishop of Winchester) with his Papists are under this curse. But how are the scriptures (say they) to be understood? St. Austin answereth, giving this rule, ‘ The circumstances of the scriptures (saith he) enlighten the scriptures, and so one scripture doth expound another, to a man that is studious, well willing, and often calling upon God in continual prayer, who giveth his Holy Spirit to them that desire it of him’. De Doctrin. Christian. lib. 3. c. 28. So that the scripture is not of any private interpretation at any time. For such a one though he be a Layman, fearing God, is much more fit to understand the scripture, than any arrogant and proud Priest: yea, than the Bishop himself, be he never so great, and glistering in all his Pontificals. But what is to be said of the Fathers? How are they to be esteemed? St. Austin answereth, giving this rule also: that ‘ we should not therefore think it true, because they say so, excell they never so much in holiness and learning: but if they be able to prove their saying by the canonical scriptures, or by good probable reason.’ (Epist. 19 ad Hier.) Meaning that to be a probable reason (as I think) which doth orderly follow upon a right collection and gathering out of the scripture.

Let the Papists go with their long faith, be you contented with the short faith of the saints, which is reveled unto us in the word of God written. Adieu to all Popish fancies, Amen. For one man having the scripture and good reason for him, is more to be esteemed himself alone, than a thousand such as They, either gathered together, or succeding one another. The Fathers have both herbs and weeds, and Papists commonly gather the weeds, and leave the herbs. And they speak many times more vehemently in sound of words, than they did mean indeed; or than they would

would have done, if they had forseen what sophistical wranglers should have succeeded them. Now the Papists are given to brawl about words, to the maintenance of their own inventions, and rather follow the sound of words than attain unto the meaning of the Fathers, so that it is dangerous to trust them in citing the Fathers.

In all ages the divil hath stirred up some light heads to esteem the sacraments but lightly, as to be empty and bare signs, whom the Fathers have resisted so fiercely, that in their fervor they seem in sound of words to run too far the other way, and to give too much to the sacraments, when they did think more measurably. And therefore they are to be read warily, with sound judgment. But our Papists, if they seem but a little sounding to their purpose, they will outface, brave, and brag all men, it must needs be as they will have it. Therefore there is no remedy, namely when they have the master bowl in their hand, and rule the roast, but patience. Better it is to suffer what cruelty they will put unto us, than to incur God's high indignation.

Wherefore, good my Lord, be of good chear in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him, *God is faithful, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength*, 1 Cor. x. Be at a point what ye will stand unto, stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal. Neither yet shall they do that when they list; but when God will suffer them, when the hour appointed is come. To use many words with them, it shall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly Law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that you give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you, 1 Pet. iii. Else you know, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep silence, after the example
of

of Christ, Luke xxiii. Let them not deceive you with their sophisms and fallacies : you know that many false things have more appearance of Truth, than things that be most true. Therefore Paul giveth us a watch word, saying, *Let no man deceive you with likeliness of speech*, Coloff. ii. Neither is it requisite that with the contentious you should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries.

Fear of death doth most persuade a great number. Be well ware of that argument, for that persuaded Shaxton (as many men thought) after that he had once made a good profession, only before the judgment seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit will refresh the weakness of the flesh. The number of the cryers under the altar must needs be fulfilled ; if we be congregated thereunto, happy be we, Apocal. vi. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world to be such Philippians to whom it is given, not only to believe, but also to suffer for his sake, Philip. i.

But who is able to do these things ? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency is of God. He requireth, and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea in the midst of the fire. When that number is fulfilled, which I ween shall be shortly, then have at the Papists, when they shall say peace, all things are safe, when Christ shall come to keep his great Parliament, to the redress of all things that be amiss. But he shall not come as the Papists feign him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep, as it were, under a piece of bread : but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all Papists, but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. *Comfort yourselves one another with these words*, 1 Thess. iv.

Lo,

Lo, Sir, I have blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously : but so I thought better, than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me : pray for me I say, pray for me I say ; for I am sometime so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse hole ; sometime God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his duty, as many do, and almost all the world.

Fare you well,

H. Latimer.

What credence is to be given to Papists, it may appear by their racking, writhing, wringing, and monstrously injuring of God's Holy Scripture, as appeareth in the Pope's Law. But I dwell here now in a school of oblivion. Fare you well once again. And be ye stedfast and unmoveable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well, notwithstanding he saith unto him, *Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the Gospel*, 2 Tim. i. And again, *Harden thyself to suffer afflictions*, 2 Tim. iv. *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life*, saith the Lord. Apocal. ii.

This judgment and advice of Latimer was so pleasing to Ridley that he desired another conference, in which he mentions the artifices and threatnings of Gardiner and Boner, under the borrowed names of Diotrephes and Antonius, with his manner of replying to them. Both of those Bishops harboured an implacable resentment against him, as he had sat Commissioner at the Depri-
vation of both of them : yet such was Ridley's character, that they thought their cause wanted his countenance and assent to recommend it, and make it universally victorious. They therefore had their emissaries to tamper with him, and if possible inveigle him to the Mass, as if his bare presence at it would reconcile the people

ple to it. This is the point they labor, and he resolves against in this second Conference with Latimer: which shews that he had been attacked on this point, and determined not to be persuaded or tempted to comply in that respect; and that being disappointed they gave way to their original resentment, and threatened him with the severity of the Laws against those who would not act in compliance with them.

§. 6. *A second Conference betwixt N. Ridley and H. Latimer.*

N. Ridley. In writing again you have done me an unspeakable pleasure: and I pray that the Lord may requite it to you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words: but yet I am not so filled withall, but that I thirst much more now than before, to drink more of that cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I pray you, good Father, let me have one draught more to comfort my stomach. For surely, except the Lord assist me with his gracious aid in the time of his service, I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered Knight. But truly my trust is in him, that in mine infirmity he shall try himself strong, and that he can make the coward in his cause to fight like a man. Sir, now I look daily when Diotrophes with his warriors shall assault me; therefore I pray you, good Father, for that you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me I pray you to buckle on my harness: and now I would have you to think that these darts are cast at my head of some one of Diotrophes's or Antonius's soldiers;

Antonius. Objection I. All men marvel greatly, why you (after the liberty which you have granted unto you more than the rest) do not go to mass; which is a thing (as you know) now much esteemed of all men, yea and of the Queen herself.

N. Ridley.

N. Ridley. Because *no man that layeth hand on the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God*, Luke ix. And also for the self-same cause, why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised; which is, *that the truth of the Gospel might remain with us uncorrupted*, Galat. ii. And again, *If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor*. This is also another cause, lest I should seem by outward fact, to allow the thing which I am persuaded is contrary to sound doctrine: and so should be a stumbling block unto the weak. But *wo be unto him by whom offence cometh; it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea*, Matth. xviii. Mark ix.

H. Latimer. Except the Lord help me, you say: truth it is. For *without me (saith He) ye can do nothing*, John xv. much less suffer death of our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it followeth, *If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask what ye will, and it shall be done for you*. What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer yourself so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean by travailling thus with me. You use me, as *Bilney* did once when he converted me, pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought ways and means to teach me: and so do you, I thank you therefore most heartily. For indeed you minister armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided; saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge.

Antonius. Objection II. What is it then that offendeth you so greatly in the mass, that you will not vouchsafe once either to hear it, or see it? And from whence cometh this new Religion upon you? Have not you used in times past to say masses yourself?

N. Ridley. I confess unto you my fault and ignorance. But know you that for these matters I have done open penance long ago, both at Paul's Cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cam-

bridge : and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence, for I did it upon ignorance. But if ye be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear, what things do offend me in the mass, I will rehearse unto you those things which be most clear, and seem to repugn most manifestly against God's word : and they be these ; the strange tongue : the want of the shewing the Lord's death : the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion : the sacrament is not communicated to all, under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord : the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing signified : Christ's passion is injured, forasmuch as this mass sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins. To be short, the manifold superstitions and trifling fondness which are in the mass, and about the same.

H. Latimer. Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much. You shall prevale more with praying, than with studying, though mixture be best. For so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words after a reasonable account of my faith given, for it shall be but in vain. They will say as their Fathers said, when they have no more to say, *We have a law, and by our law he ought to die*, John XIX. *Be ye stedfast and unmoveable*, saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. And again, *Stand fast*, 2 Tim. III. And how oft is this repeated, *If ye abide*, John xv. Coloss. i. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not ? So that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men.

Antonius. Objection III. But you know how great a crime it is to separate yourself from communion or fellowship of the church, or to make a schism, or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and
of

of the Hereticks called Cathari, that they would not communicate with the church.

N. Ridley. I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but for a Popish device, whereby both the commandment and institution of our Saviour Christ (for the oft frequenting the remembrance of his death) is excluded, and the people of God is miserably deluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians ought of right to be condemned; forasmuch as without any just or necessary cause, they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the Congregation. For they did not alledge that the sacraments were unduly ministered; but turning away their eyes from themselves, wherewith according to St. Paul's rule, they ought to examine themselves, 1 Cor. xi. and casting their eyes upon other, either Ministers or Communicants with them, they always reprov'd something; for the which they abstained from the Communion, as from an unholy thing.

H. Latimer. I remember that Calvin beginneth to refute the Interim after this sort, with this saying of Hilary, 'The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair, but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ's.' I would you had that little book, there should you see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul when he requirerth unity, he joineth strait withal *according to Jesus Christ*, Rom. xv. no farther. Diotrophes now of late did ever harp upon unity, unity. Yea, Sir, quoth I, but in verity, not in popery. Better is a diversity than an unity in popery. I had nothing again but scornful jeers, with commandment to the Tower.

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Antonius

Antonius. Objection IV. But admit there be in the Mass that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better : yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault, if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain ? Do not you know both by Cyprian and Austin ^a that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds ?

N. Ridley. If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent, (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church, which doth not edify the same) yet for the continuance of the common quietness, I could be content to bear it. But forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means either in word or deed, I ought to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the Fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood : but it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled, if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them : and is not meant of them which do abhor superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves, or upon the church instead of God's word, and the truth of the Gospel.

H. Latimer. The very marrow bones of the mass are altogether there detestible, and therefore by no means to be borne withall : so that of necessity the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For if you take away oblation and adoration, which do hang upon Consecration and Transubstantiation, the most Papist of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For if the English Communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them, as the mass hath been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mass. From thence groweth the grief.

Antonius.

^a Cypr. lib. 1. ep. 2. Aug. Ep. 152.

Antonius. Objection V. Consider in what dangers you cast yourself, if you forsake the church : and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity. Without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark and Peter's ship. Ye know this saying well enough, ' He shall not have God to be his Father, who acknowledges not the church to be his mother.' Moreover, without the church (saith St. Austin*) be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven.

N. Ridley. The Holy Catholick or Universal Church, which is the Communion of saints, the House of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the Body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the Truth : this church I believe according to the Creed. This church I do reverence and honor in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And *as many as walk according to this rule*, I say with St. Paul, *peace be upon them, and upon Israel which pertaineth unto God*, Galat. vi. The guide of this Church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this Church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these ; the sincere preaching of God's word : the due administration of the sacraments : charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that church or Congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those which be born from above. This is the mother of us all. And by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church. Forth of this, I grant, there is no salvation, and I suppose the rest of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this Church only. ' In times past, saith Chrysostom ', ' there were many ways to know

* Lib. 4. de Symb. cap. 10. In Epist. post Col. contra Donat.

* In opere imperfec. Hom. 49. in Matth.

‘ know the church of Christ; that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by administering the sacraments: but from that time that heresies did take hold of the churches, it is only known by the scriptures which is the true Church. They have all things in outward shew, which the true Church hath in truth. They have Temples like unto ours, and in the end concludeth, wherefore only by the scriptures do we know which is the true Church.’ To that which they say, the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer, the bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ’s mystical Body, 1 Cor. x. *For we being many are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we are all partakers of one bread.* But in the mass the Lord’s institution is not observed, for we be not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all. So that (as it is used) it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one, is represented.

H. Latimer. Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with Antichrist? Therefore is it not lawful to bear the yoke with Papists. *Come forth from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord, 2 Cor. vi.* It is one thing to be the Church indeed, and another thing to counterfeit that Church. Would God it were well known what is the forsaking of the Church. In the King’s days, who was the Church of England? The King and his Fautors, or Massmongers in corners? If the King and the Fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the Church, abiding in the same proceedings? If clanculary Massmongers might be of the Church, and yet contrary the King’s proceedings, why may not we as well be of the Church, contrarying the Queen’s proceedings? Not all that be covered with the title of the Church, are the Church indeed. *Separate thyself from them that are such,*
faith

saith St. Paul, 1 Tim. vi. From whom? the text hath before,
If any man follow other doctrine, he is puffed up and knoweth nothing.
 Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of
 contentious disputations. But wherefore are such men said to
 know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the
 old verses,

Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire:

Si Christum bene scis, satis est si cætera nescis.

That is, 'This is to be ignorant, to know many things and not
 ' know Christ: if thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough,
 ' though thou know no more.' Therefore would St. Paul *know*
nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified, 1 Cor. ii. As many as
 are Papists and Massmongers, they may well be said to know no-
 thing, for they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their massing
 they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ.

Antonius. Objection VI. That Church, which you have de-
 scribed unto us, is invisible: but Christ's Church is visible and
 known. For else, why would Christ have said, *Tell it unto the*
Church, Matth. xviii. For he had commanded in vain to go un-
 to the Church, if a man cannot tell which is it.

N. Ridley. The Church, which I have described, is visible, it
 hath members which may be seen, and also I have before declared
 by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our
 eyes be so dazzled that we cannot see it, or that Satan hath brought
 such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the Church,
 that is not the fault of the Church, but either of our blindness,
 or of Satan's darkness. But yet in this most deep darkness there
 is one most clear candle, which of itself alone is able to put away
 all darkness. *Thy word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my*
paths, Psalm cxix.

Antonius. Objection VII. The Church of Christ is a Catho-
 lick or Universal Church dispersed throughout the whole world:
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this Church is the great House of God; in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff: it is the net which gathereth all kinds of fishes: this Church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth; and that the gates of hell shall not prevale against it, that he will be with it unto the end of the world: whatsoever it shall lose or bind on earth shall be ratified in heaven: this Church is the pillar and stay of the Truth: this is it for the which St. Austin saith, he believeth the Gospel. But this Universal Church alloweth the Mass, because the more part alloweth thereof.

N. Ridley. I grant that the name of the Church is taken after three divers manners in the scripture. Sometime for the whole multitude of them which profess the name of Christ, of the which they are also named Christians. But as St. Paul saith of the Jew, *Not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly*, Rom. II. *Neither yet all that be of Israel are counted for the seed*, Rom. IX. Even so not every one which is a Christian outwardly is a Christian indeed. For *if any man hath not the spirit of Christ, the same is none of his*, Rom. VIII. Therefore that Church which is his Body, and of which Christ is the head, standeth only of living stones, and true Christians, 1 Pet. II. not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth.

But forasmuch as this Church, (which is the second taking of the Church) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within that great House, and hath with the same outward society of the sacraments, and ministry of the word, many things are spoken of that Universal Church (which St. Paul calleth the mingled Church) which cannot truly be understood, but only of that purer part of the Church. So that the rule of Tyconius concerning the mingled Church may here well take place. (August. de doctr. Christian. lib. III. cap. 32.) When there is attributed unto the whole Church that which cannot agree unto the same, but
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by reason of the one part thereof, that is either for the multitude of good men, which is the Church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant Church, and Synagogue of Satan: and is also the third taking of the Church, of the which although there be seldomer mention in the scriptures in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this Church hath borne the greatest swing. This distinction presupposed, it is an easy matter by a figure called Synecdoche, to give to the mingled and universal Church, that which cannot be truly understood, but only of the one part thereof.

But if any man will stiffly affirm, that universality doth so pertain unto the Church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the Church, it must needs be understood of that: I would gladly know of the same man, where that Universal Church was in the time of the Patriarchs and Prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses, (at such time as the people would have stoned him) of Elias, of Jeremiah; in the times of Christ and the dispersion of the Apostles; in the times of Arius, when Constantius was Emperour, and Felix Bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted what Lyra writeth upon Matthew; The Church, saith he, doth not stand in men, by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be Ecclesiastical or Secular; for many Princes and Popes, and other Inferiors have been found to have fallen away from God: Therefore the Church consisteth in those persons in whom is true knowledge, and confession of the faith, and of the Truth. Evil men, as it is in a gloss of the Decrees^a, are in the Church in name, and not in deed. And St. Austin (*contra Cresconium grammaticum*, saith) ‘Whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness
‘of this question, let him ask counsel at the same Church of it;
‘which Church the scripture doth point out without any doubt-
3 O fulness,

^a De peni. dist. 1. ca. ecclesia. lib. 1. cap. 33.

‘fulness.’ All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such Authors as I have read in this matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such, as will not let me have the least of all my written books*. Wherein I am forced to complain of them unto God, for they spoil me of all my labors, which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I have used for the most part, to gather out notes of my reading, and so place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be God’s will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had (as methought) in store, to the intent that I now destitute of that, should from henceforth learn only to know, with Paul, *Christ and Him crucified*. The Lord grant me herein to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death, nor life, wealth, nor woe make me ever to forget that. Amen. Amen.

H. Latimer. I have no more to say in this matter, for you yourself have said all that is to be said. The same vehement saying of St. Austin, ‘I would not believe the Gospel [but for the ‘Church,]’ was wont to trouble many men; I remember I have read it well qualified of Philip Melancthon, but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effect: ‘The Church is not a ‘judge, but a witness.’ There were in his time who lightly esteemed the testimony of the Church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Austin into that excessive vehemence. In the which, after the bare sound of the words, he might seem to such as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the Church far before the Gospel; and that the Church hath a free authority over

* So that Mr. Secretary Bourne’s promise had no good effect, who promised to speak for whatever books Bishop Ridley should ask for by writing, which had been his own.

over the same: but that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, which think the open ministry to be a thing not necessary; if they any thing esteemed such testimonies, I would not stick to affirm that the more part of the great House, that is to say of the whole Universal Church, may easily err: and again I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a Mass of the Holy Ghost going before. For in the first, Christ ruleth; in the latter, the Devil beareth the swing: and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From his latter shall our six articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness. But it is demanded whether the founder or better part of the Catholick Church may be seen of men, or no? St. Paul saith, *the Lord knoweth them that are His*, 2 Tim. II. What manner of speaking is this, in commendation of the Lord, if we know as well as He who are his? Well thus is the text: *the sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are His. And, Let every man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.* Now how many are there of the whole Catholick Church of England, which depart from iniquity? How many of the Noblemen, how many of the Bishops or Clergy, how many of the rich men or Merchants, how many of the Queen's Counsellors, yea how many of the whole realm? In how small room then I pray you is the true Church within the realm of England? and where is it? and in what state? I had a conceit of mine own, well grounded (as they say) when I began, but now it is fallen by the way.

Antonius. Objection VIII. General Councils represent the Universal Church, and have this promise of Christ, where Two or Three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. If Christ will be present with Two or Three,

then much more where there is so great a multitude : but in General Councils the mass hath been approved, and used.

N. Ridley. Of the Universal Church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think ; whensoever They which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the rest of the whole mystical Body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock toward everlasting life ; then undoubtedly Councils gathered together of such Guides and Pastors of the Christian flock, do indeed represent the Universal Church ; and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift, and guiding of his spirit into all truth.

But that any such Council hath at any time allowed the Mass, such a one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions, that I utterly deny, and I affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial ; so surely superstitions, and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship, and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of us, that is, in spirit and truth, can never agree together.

But ye will say, where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible, but there are Two or Three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer, if there be One Hundred Good, and Two Hundred Bad, forasmuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices, what can the less number of voices avale ? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, ‘ Oftentimes the greater part ‘overcometh the better.’

H. Latimer. As touching General Councils, at this present I have no more to say than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience to think of our Country Parliaments and Convocations ; how and what ye have there seen and heard. The more
part

part in my time did bring forth the Six Articles, for then the King would so have it, being seduced of certain : afterward the more part did repeal the same, our good Josias willing to have it so : the same Articles now again (alas !) another greater, but worse part, hath restored. O what an uncertainty is this ? But after this sort most commonly are man's proceedings. God be merciful unto us. Who shall deliver us from such torments of mind ? Therefore is death the best Physician, but unto the Faithful, whom she together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You must think this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted.

Antonius. Objection IX. If the matter should go thus, that in General Councils men should not stand to the more number of the whole multitude, I mean of them which ought to give voices, then should no certain rule be left unto the Church ; by the which controversies in weighty matters might be determined : but it is not to be believed that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard.

N. Ridley. Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his espoused Church, *who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself*, Ephes. v. did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation : but yet so, that the Church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things, and keep itself within the bonds of the commandments, and not to seek any thing which he teacheth not as necessary to salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ himself hath left unto the Church, not only Moses and the Prophets, whom he willeth his Church in all doubts to go unto, and ask counsel at, but also the Gospels, and the rest of the New Testament. In the which whatsoever is heard in Moses and the Prophets, whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened. So that now we have no need to say, *who shall*

shall climb into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell what is needful to be done, Rom. x. Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared unto us in his word written: so that hereafter if we walk earnestly in his way, to the searching out of his truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Christ's spirit, which he hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. *Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living?* faith Isaiah. (cap. viii.) Let them go together *to the law and to the testimony.* And Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth, unto the scriptures, saying, *Search the scriptures,* John v. I remember a like thing well spoken of Jerome, 'Ignorance of the scriptures is the mother and cause of all error.' (in Matth.) And in another place, as I remember, in the same Author, 'The knowledge of the scriptures is the food of everlasting life.'

But now methinketh I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to shew, either out of the Scriptures themselves, or out of the antient writers, how much the Holy Scripture is of force to teach the truth of our Religion. But this is it that I am now about, that Christ would have the Church his spouse, in all doubts, to ask counsel at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and the New. Neither do we read that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burthen upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the Universal Church. *Whatsoever things are written* (faith Paul, Rom. xv.) *are written for our learning.* And it is true that Christ gave unto his Church *some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Shepherds and Teachers, to the edifying of the Saints, till we all come to the unity of Faith.* (Ephes. iv.) But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define of the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God.

H. Latimer.

H. Latimer. There is a diversity betwixt things pertaining to God, or faith, and politick or civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they be well understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them which have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer. Neither are there any men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world: but in the other, that is in civil and politick matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a less evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this saying oft in their mouths, 'Better an inconvenience than a mischief.' And it is the property of a wise man (saith one) to dissemble many things: and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule. In which saying, they bewray themselves that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, what is not. Wherefore, forasmuch as mens laws, if it be in this respect only, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity to suffer many things out of square, and are compelled sometime to wink at the worst things, seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise; they do ordain that the more part shall take place. You know what these kinds of speech mean. *I speak after the manner of men. Ye walk after the manner of men. All men are liars.* And that of St. Austin, (lib. 1. Re-tract. cap. 10.) 'If ye live after man's reason, ye do not live after the will of God.'

Antonius. Objection X. If ye say the Councils have sometime erred, or may err, how then should we believe the Catholick Church? For the Councils are gathered by the authority of the Catholick Church.

N. Ridley. From *may be* to *be indeed*, is no good argument: but from *being* to *may be*, no man doubteth but it is a most sure argument. But now that Councils have sometimes erred, it is manifest

manifest. How many Councils were there in the East part of the world which condemned the Nicene Council? And all those which would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name (as they thought) Homousians. Were not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous Hereticks, and that by wicked Councils? How many things are there in the Canons and Constitutions of the Councils which the Papists themselves much mislike? But here peradventure a man will say unto me, we will grant you This in provincial Councils, or Councils of some one nation, for they may sometime err; forasmuch as they do not represent the Universal Church: but it is not to be believed that the General and Full Councils have erred at any time. Here, if I had my books of the Councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Austin, which, in my judgment, may suffice in this matter instead of many. ‘Who knoweth not (says he) that the Holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it; and that the letters of Bishops may be reprov’d by other wiser mens words, and by Councils: and that the Councils themselves which are gathered by Provinces and Countries, do give place to the authority of the General and Full Councils: and that the former General Councils are amended by the latter, when as by some experience of things, either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hid is known.’ Thus much of Austin. But I will plead with our Antonian upon matter confessed. Here with us when Papistry reigned, I pray you how doth that Book, which is called the Bishop’s Book, made in the time of King Henry the eighth, whereof the Bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first Father,

father, or chief gatherer, how doth it (I say) sharply reprove the Florentine Council, in which was decreed the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the Emperour of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those days our learned antient Fathers and Bishops of England did not stick to affirm, that a General Council might err.

But methinketh I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, These which you have called Councils, are not worthy to be called Councils, but rather assemblies and conventicles of Hereticks. I pray you, Sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name? Because, saith he, they decreed things heretical, contrary to true godliness, and sound doctrine, and against the faith of Christian Religion. The cause is weighty for the which they ought of right so to be called. But if it be so, that all Councils ought to be despised, which decree any thing contrary to sound doctrine, and the true word which is according to godliness; forasmuch as the Mass, such as we have had here of late, is openly against the word of God, forsooth it must follow of necessity, that all such Councils, as have approved such Masses, ought of right to be fled and despised, as conventicles and assemblies of men that stray from the truth.

Another man alledgeth unto me the authority of the Bishop of Rome, without which neither can the Councils (saith he) be lawfully gathered, neither being gathered determine any thing concerning Religion. But this objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny, and usurped dominion over the Clergy; which tyranny we Englishmen long ago, by the consent of the whole realm, have expelled and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth *De utraque potestate**, that is, 'Of both the Powers,' doth

3 P

clearly

* The title of this book was, *De vera differentia inter Regiam Potestatem et Ecclesiasticam*, written by Fox Bishop of Hereford 1534: and translated by Henry Lord Stafford 1548.

clearly shew. I grant that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to itself, and to usurp such a privilege of old time: but the Council of Carthage, in the year of our Lord 457, did openly withstand it, and also the Council at Milevite, in the which St. Austin was present, did prohibit any appellations to be made to Bishops beyond the sea.

Antonius. Objection XI. St. Austin saith, ‘ the Good men are
‘ not to be forsaken for the Evil, but the Evil are to be borne with-
‘ all for the Good ’. Ye will not say, I trow, that in our Con-
gregations all be Evil ?

N. Ridley. I speak nothing of the goodness or evilness of your Congregations, but I fight in Christ’s quarrel against the Mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife shall be broken down. Now to the place of St. Austin for bearing with the Evil for the Good’s sake, there ought to be added other words, which the same hath expressly in other places, that is, ‘ If those evil men do cast abroad no
‘ seeds of false doctrine, nor lead other to destruction, by their ex-
‘ ample ’.

Antonius. Objection XII. It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the Church, which lacketh example of Good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act unto the which the example of the Prophets of Christ, and of the Apostles are contrary. But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the Church by reason of the Mass, the example of the Prophets, of Christ, and of the Apostles are clean contrary. The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus ; In the times of the Prophets, of Christ, and of his Apostles, all things were most cor-
rupt;

^a Ep. 48.

^b Aug. contra literas Parm. cap. 2, 3.

rupt; the people were miserably driven to superstition, the Priests despised the law of God, and yet notwithstanding we never read that the Prophets made any schisms or divisions: and Christ himself haunted the Temple, and taught in the temples of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer. Paul, after the reading of the Law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yea further no man can shew that either the Prophets, or Christ and his Apostles did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacraments of Moses' law.

N. Ridley. I grant the former part of your argument: and to the second part I say, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt state in the times of the Prophets, of Christ and the Apostles, and of the temple being haunted of Christ and his Apostles; yet notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not well proved: for ye ought to have proved, that either the Prophets, either Christ, or his Apostles did in the temple communicate with the people, in any kind of worshipping which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can no where be shewed. And as for the Church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all other things whatsoever may agree with the word of God. St. Austin speaking of the Ceremonies of the Jews (I suppose in the Epistle ad Januarium, Epist. 119.) although he grant they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burthens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumptions of men, which notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, might after a sort be borne withall. But now seeing they are contrary to those things which are in the word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of any Christian man or no, let him judge which

is spiritual, which feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life more than this short and transitory life. To that which was said, my fact lacketh example of the godly Fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobit. Of whom it is said (cap. 1.) that when all other went to the golden calves which Jeroboam the King of Israel had made, he himself alone fled all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the Man of God threaten grievous plagues both to the Priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fancy? 3 Kings XIII. Which plagues King Josias, the true minister of Christ, did execute at the time appointed, 4 Kings II. And where do we read that the Prophets or Apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry? When as the people went a whoring with their hill altars, for what cause, I pray you, did the Prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word? For what was so much as that was? Wherefore the false Prophets ceased not to malign the true Prophets of God: therefore they beat them, and banished them, Jerem. x. How else (I pray you) can you understand that St. Paul alledgeth, when he saith, *What concord hath Christ with Belial? Either what part hath the Believer with the Infidel?* Hebrews XI. *Or how agreeth the temple of God with images?* 2 Cor. VI. *For ye are the temples of the living God, as God himself hath said, I will dwell among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people,* Levit. VI. *Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, (saith the Lord) and touch no unclean thing, so will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty,* Is. LII.

Judith, that holy woman, would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the Saints of God which truly
feared.

feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing, which they knew to be contrary to God's law, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the Laws of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death, for the defence of the law, yea and at length died manfully in defence of the same. ' If we do praise (saith St. Austin cont. 2 Ep. Gaudent. c. 23.) the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death for the laws of their country; how much more ought we, to suffer all things for our Baptism, and for the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.' But the Supper of the Lord, such a one (I mean) as Christ commandeth us to celebrate, the Mass utterly abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully.

H. Latimer. Who am I, that I should add any thing to this, which you have so well spoken? Nay I rather thank you that you have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful arms to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saving that he cannot be left destitute of help which rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that He will be an helper unto me in time of need.

Antonius. Objection XIII. Seeing you are so obstinately set against the Mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a tongue not understood of the people, and for other causes, I cannot tell what, therefore it is not the true Sacrament ordained of Christ: I begin to suspect you, that you do not think catholically of Baptism also. Is our Baptism which we do use, in a tongue unknown to the people, the true Baptism of Christ, or no? If it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the Mass. If it be not the Baptism of Christ, tell me how were ye baptized? Or whether you will (as the Anabaptists do) that all which were baptized in Latin should be baptized again in the English tongue?

N. Ridley.

N. Ridley. Although I would wish Baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue for the people's sake who are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet notwithstanding, there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in Baptism as is in the Lord's Supper. Baptism is given to children, who by reason of their age, are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what tongue soever it be. The Lord's Supper is and ought to be given to them that are of riper years. Moreover, in Baptism, which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that Baptism to be a perfect and true Baptism, and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful for any man so christened to be christened again. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the Catechism of the Christian faith, when they shall come to years of discretion: which Catechism, whosoever despiseth or will not desirously embrace, and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a Christian man. But in the Popish Mass are wanting certain substantials; that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in ministration of the Lord's Supper: of the which there is sufficient declaration made before.

H. Latimer. Where you say I would wish; surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said that it is of necessity, that all things in the Congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present. Notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue.

Antonius. Objection XIV. For so much as I perceive you are so stiffly (I will not say obstinately) bent, and so wedded to your own opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind: there remaineth,

remaineth, that which in like cases was wont to be the only remedy against stiff-necked and stubborn persons; that is, you must be hampered by the law, and compelled either to obey whether you will or no, or else to suffer that which a Rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm, bewrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? It is better that you should bear your own sin, than that, through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say, you will be the Queen's true subject, whereas you do openly profess that you will not keep her laws?

N. Ridley. O heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom and understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me wretched creature, and send thy Holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back; but also when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that he which by words and gentleness cannot be made yield to that is right and good, should be bridled by the strait correction of the laws: that is to say, he that will not be subject to God's word, must be punished by the laws. It is true that is commonly said, He that will not obey the Gospel, must be tamed and taught by rigor of the law. But these things ought to take place against him which refuseth to do that is right and just, according to true godliness: not against him which cannot quietly bear superstition, and the overthrow

overthrow of Christ's institutions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God. To that which ye say, a transgressor of the common laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken. For a faithful Christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws, but that saying ought only truly to be understood of such laws as be not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whosoever loveth their country in truth, (that is to say, in God) he will always judge (if at any time the laws of God and man be the one contrary to the other) that a man *ought rather to obey God than man*, Acts iv. And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to their country, forasmuch as they make their country to fight as it were against God, in whom consisteth the only state of the country: surely I do think that such are to be judged most deadly enemies and traytors to their country. For they that fight against God, who is the safety of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction? But they that do so are worthily to be judged enemies to their country, and be traytors of the realm.

But this is the readiest way, ye say, to stir up sedition to trouble the quiet of the Commonwealth, therefore are these things to be repressed in time by force of laws. Behold, Satan doth not cease to practice his old guiles, and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in a readiness to whirl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them (if he can) in danger of the higher powers: for so hath he by his ministers always charged the Prophets of God. Ahab said unto Elias, *Art thou he that troubleth Israel?* (3 Kings xviii.) The false Prophets also complained to their Princes of Jeremiah, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered (cap. xxvi.) Did not the Scribes and Pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one
that

that spake against Cæsar. (Luke xxiii.) Did they not at the last cry, *If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend?* (John xix.) The Orator Tertullus how doth he accuse Paul before Felix the high Deputy? *We have found this man* (saith he) *a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer of sedition unto all the Jews in the whole world.* (Acts xxiv.) But I pray ye, were these men as they were called, seditious persons, Christ, Paul, and the Prophets? God forbid. But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore, I pray you? but because they reprov'd before the people their guiles, superstition and deceits. And when the other could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons, and troublers of the Commonwealth, that being by these means made hateful to the people and Princes, they might the more easily be snatched up to be tormented and put to death. But how far they were from all sedition, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation doth well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his Prince, which professed openly that he will not observe the laws which the Prince hath made: Here I would wish that I might have an indifferent Judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer therefore, a man ought to obey his Prince, but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his Prince against God, doth not a duty to the Prince, but is a deceiver of the Prince, and an helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, which giveth not the Prince that is the Prince's, and to God that is God's. Here cometh to my remembrance that notable saying of Valentinianus the Emperour for chusing the Bishop of Milain: 'Set him (saith he) in the Bishop's seat, to whom, if we (as man) do offend at any time, we may submit ourselves.' (Theodor. Eccles. Histor. lib. 4. cap. 5.) And Polycarpus the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief Ruler,

ler, and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, he answered with a mild spirit : ‘ We are taught to give honor unto Princes, and those powers which be of God, but such honor as is not contrary to God’s religion ’.

Hitherto you see, good Father, how I have in words only made (as it were) a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after ; and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversaries of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off ; and after what sort I may smite him again with the sword of the spirit. I learn also hereby to be in ure with armour, and to assay how I can go armed.

In Tyndale, where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my Countrymen watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, that is, in their Jacks, and their spears in their hands (you call them Northern gads) especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickerings some of them spent their lives, yet by such means like pretty men they defended their country. And those that so died, I think, that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny all the country loved the better for their fathers sakes. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality : yea in the quarrel of Faith and Christian Religion wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch ? Shall we not go always armed ; ever looking when our adversary (which like a roaring Lion seeketh whom he may devour) shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness ? Yea, and wo be unto us, if he can oppress us at unawares ; which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. Let us awake therefore I say, and let us not suffer our house to be broken up. *Resist the Devil*, says St. James, *and he will flee from you.* (cap. iv.)

Let

^a Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 4. c. 4. Niceph. lib. 3. cap. 35.

Let us therefore resist him manfully, and taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our Captain Christ, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and allureth us, that after all these afflictions, which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of his Father, and that through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honor and glory now and for ever. Amen. Amen.

Good Father, forasmuch as I have determined with myself to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom; here methinketh I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then look upon me with your propheticall countenance, and speaking unto me with these or like words; 'Trust not, my Son', (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honor of this name, for in so doing I shall think myself both honored and loved of you) 'trust not, I say, my Son, to these word weapons, for *the Kingdom of God is not in words, but in power, 1 Cor. iv.* And remember always the words of the Lord, *Do not imagine beforehand what and how you will speak, for it shall be given you, even in that same hour, what ye shall speak; for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you, Matth. x. Mark xi.* I pray you therefore, Father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit when the time is. I beseech you therefore, Father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, *I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall*

save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse. But the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy, Ps. CXLIV. Ps. CXLVII. I beseech you pray, pray that I may enter this fight only in the name of God : and that when all is past, I being not overcome, through his gracious aid may remain and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.

Now, Father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better, for you know the deepness of Satan, being an old Soldier, and you have collared with him e'er now : blessed be God that hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay, but truly he will not be so willing (I think) to join with You, as with us younglings. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babbling unto you ; and now and then as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book : spare not to blot my paper, I give you good leave.

As touching this Antonian, whom I have here made mine Adversary, lest peradventure any imagination might carry you amiss, and make you think otherwise than I meant : know you that I have alluded to one Antony^a, a most cruel Bishop of the Arians, and a very violent Persecutor of them that were Catholick and of a right judgment. To whom Hunric, a tyrant of the Vandals, knowing Antony's fierceness, committed his whole authority, that he should either turn the Christians, which believed well, unto his false religion ; or else to punish and torment them at his pleasure. Which thing Antonius took in hand to do, and executed the same against two godly Bishops, and most constant in the doctrine which was according to godliness. The name of the one was Eugenius, an aged man, the other was named Habet Deum. This latter, as

^a Victor. lib. 2. de Persecut. Africae.

it appeared by Victor's history of the persecutions of the Vandales, both the tyrant and the false counterfeit Bishop desired much to have turned unto their most pestilent heresy. This Habet Deum was Bishop of the city Tamallune, where Antony had been Bishop before : and when Antony had vexed him (as the story saith) with divers and sundry persecutions, and had found the soldier of Christ always constant in his confession : it is said, that at length in a great rage he swore, and said to his friends, ' If I make him not of my Religion, then am I not Antony.' It is incredible what harms and troubles he put him to, what cruelty he practised against him, and it were too long now to describe the same unto you. But the Man of God stood always unmoveable, and in the confession of Christ's faith remained ever unto the end the constant and unfoiled soldier of Christ. This good Bishop Habet Deum I pray to God our heavenly Father to give me grace, that I may faithfully follow, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

H. Latimer. Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out : for it is not only no bare armour, but also well buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayer you shall not lack, trusting that you do the like for me. For indeed *there* is the help. Many things make confusion in memory. And if I were as well learned as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gall them, and spurgall too, when and where occasion was given, and matter came to mind ; for the Law will be their sheet anchor, and refuge.

Fare you well in Christ.'

This Conference in writing passed between these venerable Fathers, as I apprehend, in January, when they were in separate apartments, after the Mass was publicly restored, which was December 21, and before Wyatt's rebellion had so crouded the Tower with

State

State Prisoners that the three Prelates were confined in one apartment together, and this rebellion broke out the 26th of January. Thus did this good Bishop employ himself in his Prison, examining himself and trying his own spirit carefully, lest either ignorance or prejudice should in any degree mislead him : seeking the advice of the elder and more experienced ; proposing his reasons, and submitting them to the censure of others, that he might be either better informed, and set right, or confirmed by their approbation in his opinion : and yet not confiding in the mere exercise of reason, but requesting the prayers of good men for God's grace to enlighten his mind in the search of truth, and to strengthen his constancy in the open acknowledgment of it. And while he sought he gave assistance : for in laying his reasons before Latimer, and confirming them by the Fathers, he furnished that old Father with arguments and proofs, which the loss of his books and the failure of his memory had made him forget, though he held the conclusions firmly. For which Latimer heartily thanks him.

When the three Prelates were together they prepared themselves for the conflict which they shortly expected, by mutual conferences, and reading over very diligently with one another the New Testament. Much was at stake, and a dreadful alternative was before them, either Apostacy or Burning. They therefore carefully examined what evidence could be found in the New Testament for Transubstantiation, and the Pope's Supremacy : could they have found any, preservation of life, and honors had attended the discovery : but not being able to do this, they endeavoured to arm each other in defence of the Truth, whatever sophistry or terrors might be employed against them. In short all through his life never man used more serious industry to acquaint himself with the Truth, than this truly Christian Bishop did ; and when assured, no man ever shewed more resolution in maintaining it.

THE
LIFE
OF
Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

BOOK VII. From March 1554 to
June 1555.

RIDLEY Confessor.

Whosoever shall confess me before men, Him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven. MATTH. x. 32.

§. 1. Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer sent to Oxford to dispute. Complaints having been made of the partial proceedings in the last Convocation, when the ablest Protestants were confined in prisons, and could not be present to bear their parts at the disputations, a solemn farce was determined to be played in the next, at Oxford; in which these three principal Professors should be appointed, like Criminals in the amphitheatre, to be first baited, and then sacrificed. And although the Prolocutor

Prolocutor Weston had before truly stated the strength of the respective parties, saying, *You have the WORD, and we have the SWORD*; yet, desirous to make the best appearance they could, they selected the choicest Disputants as a Committee to represent the Convocation; who were also to be assisted by the ablest Divines in both Universities, to oppose these Prelates. In order hereto, on the 10th of March a letter was sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver the bodies of Dr. Cranmer the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, and Master Latimer to Sir John Williams, created Lord Williams presently after, to be conveyed by him to Oxford. There they came a little before Easter, which fell on the 25th of March; they were not suffered to have any thing with them but what they carried on their backs, their own servants were taken from them, and each had a stranger to attend him, and they were kept severally apart from one another.

The new Parliament met the second of April; the Convocation framed the Questions to be disputed on at Oxford, which were these three;

I. Whether the natural Body of Christ was really in the Sacrament?

II. Whether any other Substance did remain, after the words of Consecration, than the Body and Blood of Christ?

III. Whether in the Mass there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the Dead and Living?

And then chose their Committee, Hugh Weston, S. T. P. Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, Owen Oglethorpe, John Seton, W. Chedsey, S. Th. P. P. Henry Cole, W. Geoffry, L. L. P. P. William Pye, John Feckenham, John Harpsfield, S. Th. B. B. representing the whole Lower House of Convocation, who were to repair to Oxford, and defend the Popish Propositions; with whom were joined in Commission the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, Professors, and Doctors of the University of Oxford, namely,

ly, Tresham, V. C. Holyman, Marshal, Morwent and Smith, S. Th. P. P. They likewise sent these Questions down to Cambridge to be approved of by that University, who ^a determined them the same way : and chose John Young, (Successor to Bishop Ridley in the Headship of Pembroke Hall,) their Vice Chancellor, Glyn, Atkinson, Watson, Scot, Longdale, and Sedgwick, S. Th. P. P. in the name of the whole University, as their Commissioners, to repair to Oxford, and maintain these Doctrines against the three Bishops, members formerly of their University, who opposed them. Their Instrument bears date the 10th, and on Friday the 13th of April they arrived at the Cross Inn, and waiting on the Prolocutor and Vice Chancellor at Lincoln College, they delivered their Letters ; and then it was concluded that a Procession, Sermon, and Convocation should be the next day, and the Doctors of each University incorporated into the other.

This was done the next morning ; and after Mass of the Holy Ghost, the Register openly read the Commission under the Bishop of London's seal, and signed beside by the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, Worcester, Chichester, Lincoln, Bath, Rochester, Hereford, St. Davids and Oxford. They next read the Letters from Cambridge ; and then chose three Notaries who should testify of their doings : these were ordered to provide parchment, that all who had not subscribed the Articles at London in the Convocation, or at Cambridge in the Senate House, might now do it, while Mass was celebrating. Such was the freedom of this Enquiry ; the Questions predetermined, the Judges bound by their subscription to maintain one side, and the Opposers adjudged as Hereticks to the flames before the disputation began.

After dinner the Commissioners returned to the Choir of St. Mary's Church, and sat before the altar to the number of thirty three
 3 R persons.

^a April 7.

persons. Then they ordered the Mayor to bring in Dr. Cranmer, who appeared guarded by a number of rusty billmen. His address to the Commissioners was with great reverence and humility, standing with his staff in his hand, and refusing to sit, though a stool was offered him. The Prolocutor, with a short preface in praise of Unity, desired the Archbishop to return to that Unity again; and acquainted him that the Queen's Grace had sent them of the Convocation and other learned men to restore him to it, if it might be so; and then shewed him the Articles agreed on in Convocation, willing him to subscribe them. The Archbishop dilated on the benefits and advantages of Unity, expressing a great desire to come to an Unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his word. Then ruminating on the Questions, asked, whether they meant by a true and natural Body an Organical sensible Body? Their answer was confused, but in general they agreed that it was the same Body that was born of the Virgin. Upon which, the Archbishop denied it directly. And when he had looked on the other two, he said, they were all false and against God's Holy Word; and therefore he would not agree in that Unity with them. The Prolocutor willed him to write his mind of them that night, and caused a Copy of the Articles to be delivered to him, assigning him Monday next to answer to them: and then delivered him to the Mayor again to be had to Bocardo.

Next, Dr. Ridley was brought before them: who hearing the Articles read over, answered without any musing or delay, they were all false; and that they sprang out of a bitter and sower root. The Commissioners charged him with preaching a Sermon, while he was Bishop of Rochester, in maintenance of Transubstantiation. This he denied, defying them to produce one witness who heard him; which they could not do. They asked him next, whether he did not, about the same time, desire the present Lord Chancellor to stick to the Mass? He answered, that the Lord Chancellor would

would say no such things or words of him ; for if he did, he reported not the truth. It was then demanded of him, whether he would dispute or no ? He answered, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his Truth : but that he required time and books. They said he should dispute on Tuesday, and till that time he should have books and time also to look for his disputations. Then giving him a Copy of the Articles, they required him to write his mind concerning them that night, and delivered him to the Mayor.

Last of all Latimer was brought, with an handkerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, and was set in a chair ; for so the Prolocutor permitted. After his denial of the Articles, Wednesday was appointed him for disputation. But the good Father alledged age, sickness, disuse, and want of books ; saying that he was almost as meet to dispute as to be Captain of Calais : but he said, he would declare his mind, either by writing or by word, and would stand to all that they could lay upon his back ; complaining at the same time, that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book, but only the New Testament there in his hand, which he told them he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the Mafs in it, neither the marrow bones nor the sinews of it. At which words the Commissioners were greatly offended ; and the Prolocutor told him, that he would make him grant, that it had both marrow bones and sinews in the New Testament. To which Latimer returned, That you will never do, Master Doctor. Upon which he was silenced, and could not be permitted to explaine what he meant by those terms.

In the Disputation Fox says that Ridley's answers were *sharp, witty, and very learned* : but I must not conceal that they have

been represented in a different light, not only by Pierſon, who ſays, ‘ Sure I am that the learning which he ſhewed at his diſputations in Cambridge, and in his anſwerings at Oxford were but ‘ very vulgar and ordinary :’ but alſo by a late ingenious Writer of our own Church, who, in his zeal for the comparative excellence of Latimer, paſſes over the diſputations of Cranmer and Ridley, with this remark ; ‘ I ſhall only ſay in general, for the ſake ‘ of truth, that the Papiſts do not ſeem to have juſtice done them ‘ by their Proteſtant Adverſaries. Let theſe put what gloſs upon ‘ the affair they pleaſe, the Papiſts certainly had the better of the ‘ argumentation on both thoſe days. The caſe was this, they drew ‘ their chief proofs in favor of Tranſubſtantiation from the Fathers ; ‘ many of whom, and ſome of the more eſteemed writers among ‘ them, ſpeak on this ſubject in a language by no means Evangelical. The two Biſhops accordingly being preſſed by an authority ‘ which they durſt not reject, were not a little embarraſſed. And ‘ indeed how could a Proteſtant Divine defend ſuch a paſſage as ‘ this from St. Chryſoſtom ? “ What a miracle is this, He who “ ſits above with the Father, at the very ſame inſtant of time, is “ handled with the hands of men.” Or ſuch a paſſage as this from ‘ the ſame writer, “ That which is in the cup is the ſame which “ flowed from the ſide of Chriſt ?” Or this from Theophylaſt, “ Be cauſe we would abhor the eating of raw fleſh, and eſpecially “ human fleſh, therefore it appeareth as bread, though indeed it “ is fleſh ?” Or this from St. Auſtin, “ Chriſt was carried in his “ own hands, when he ſaid, This is my Body ?” Or this from ‘ Juſtin Martyr, “ We are taught that when this nourishing food “ is conſecrated, it becomes the fleſh and blood of Chriſt ?” Or ‘ this from St. Ambroſe, “ It is bread before it is conſecrated, but “ when that ceremony hath paſſed upon it, of bread it becomes “ the

“the flesh of Christ?” Of all these passages and many others of the same kind, the Papists, with not a little dexterity, made their avale. The two Bishops in the mean time, instead of disavowing an insufficient authority, weakly defended a good cause; evading and distinguishing after the manner of Schoolmen.^a Cranmer’s defence, he says, was no ways extraordinary: through his great modesty he seems to be over-awed by his audience. Ridley’s indeed (he acknowledges) was very animated; for he had great quickness of parts as well as learning: but yet he would have acted as wise a part if he had taken his Friend Bishop Latimer’s advice, and contented himself with giving a reasonable account of his Faith.^b

Such is the censure of this Gentleman on these two great Prelates! Such the advice he would have given them how to have proceeded! Which was, to follow the example of a superannuated Scholar, worn out with age and the vivacity of his own genius, into such a state of forgetfulness, as to be, according to his own confession, as meet to be a Captain of Calais as to dispute. But was the case the same with the other two? Or does this Protestant Writer indeed imagine that the Truth was with the Papists in their Argumentation on those two days? Or had it been a wiser part in the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had appeared at the head of the Reformation, and of the Bishop of London, to whose learned enquiries both the Archbishop and Latimer owed their information in this very point, if they had contented themselves with giving a rational account of their faith, and by disavowing the authority of the Fathers as insufficient, had acknowledged, that they themselves held contrary to the Church through all ages, and that their faith was built on their own private singular opinion? Surely this had been in Them a very blameable desertion of the Truth.

Latimer

^a Gilpin’s Life of Hugh Latimer, p. 164, 165.

^b Ibid.

Latimer did right in his circumstances, as Mr. Addison very judiciously observes, (though this Gentleman is not satisfied with the reason which the Spectator gives *) ‘ This venerable old Man, ‘ says he, knowing how his abilities were impaired by age, and ‘ that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons which ‘ had directed him in the choice of his Religion, left his Companions, who were in the full possession of their parts and learning, ‘ to baffle and confound their Antagonists by the force of reason. ‘ As for himself, he only repeted to his Adversaries the articles in ‘ which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he was ‘ determined to die.’ In the conduct and behaviour of all the three *Wisdom was justified of her Children*: but had those two great Leaders declined the disputation, as Latimer did, the Papists must have been permitted to presume, what now I am sure they cannot justly boast, that their arguments were such as these Chiefs could not answer.

That the Reader may the better judge of the merits of this disputation, it will be proper to give a general state of the Controversy, from the treatises that were written on both sides; in which the writers were at liberty to pursue their own method: but in the schools, where the Bishops had the Respondent’s part assigned them, they could only follow where their Opponents lead them, and we can have but a partial view of the Question: yet enough to see that victory was manifestly with the Protestants.

§. 1. *General view of the Controversy.* The Papists represented their doctrine of Transubstantiation as founded on these three firm pillars, Scripture, the interpretation of the primitive Writers, and the determination of the Church.

I. The Scripture in express terms affirms, in the words of Christ himself, *This is my Body*; consequently, say they, *This* was transubstantiated

* Number 465.

substantiated from the bread it had been, into the Body of Christ. And Christ being Truth itself and the Wisdom of the Father, to refuse credit to his declarations, or to suppose that when he said one thing he meant another, is impiety and infidelity^a.

If the Protestants expressed, as indeed they did, the greatest reverence for Christ's words, and maintained that themselves understood his words in the true sense, while the Adversaries dishonored him by interpreting them in an absurd one; the Papists urged

II. The Consent of Antiquity; for that all the primitive writers interpret the words as the Papists do, and submitting their imaginations to the wisdom of God, boldly insist upon that sense which the Protestants call absurd; and expressly avow that *Christ bare himself in his own hands*^b: that *he eat Himself*, ipse cibus et conviva^c: that *he took his flesh to heaven, and left it at the same time on earth*^d. And that while he sitteth at God's right hand, he is in a thousand places at once on earth. Unus in multis, idem in diversis locis^e. Therefore that the Protestants who fly to a figurative interpretation convict themselves of holding new fangled doctrines, which they lick out of their own fingers, contrary to all the ancient Doctors; and contrary

III. To the determination of the Church, the pillar and ground of the Truth, for Popes, Synods, and General Councils had decreed Transubstantiation: which the Protestants themselves do not deny.

Now would it have been a sufficient defence in these Bishops to have contented themselves with disavowing the authority of all the ancient Fathers and the Church through all ages; and to have insisted that although they were all against the Protestant opinion, yet the Protestant opinion was right, and all the Fathers and Church mistaken quite from our Saviour's time down to the middle.

^a Tonstall de veritate Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Eucharistiâ.

^b Austin in Ps. xxxiii.
ad pop. Antioch. Hom. i.

^c Jerom in Hos. lib. iii. cap. ii.

^e Barnard. Serm. in cœnam Domini.

^d Chrysost.

dle of the sixteenth Century? Or would it have been as wise a part in them, by their silence, or by disavowing the authority as insufficient, to have conceded to their Adversaries, that all this authority was against them, when they *could*, and *did* prove the contrary? as may be seen in Cranmer's *Defence of the true and Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ*; and Ridley's *Brief Treatise of the most Blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ*; and in his Preface to the Disputation, which I have added at the end of the Book.

I. As to Scripture, Ridley observes ^a the four Evangelists and St. Paul do agree, saying, that *Jesus took bread, gave thanks, brake and gave it to the Disciples, saying, Take, eat, This is my body.* Here it appeareth planely that Christ called very bread His Body: But say the Papists, (that is, Innocent III. Duns Scotus, and their Followers) when he gave thanks and blessed the bread, he changed its substance; so that he brake not bread, which then was not there, but only the form thereof. But St. Paul saith it still continueth bread after the Consecration; *the BREAD which we break is it not the partaking or fellowship of the Lord's Body?* Whereupon it followeth, that after the thanksgiving it is Bread which we break. And how often in the Acts of the Apostles is the Lord's Supper signified by *breaking of bread* ^b? And that the natural substance of the Wine continues is proved from the words of Christ; for after he had said of the Cup *This is my blood of the New Testament*, he says expressly, *I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vinetree, until that that day when I shall drink it new in my Father's kingdom.* Here note, how Christ calleth planely his Cup the fruit of the vinetree: but the fruit of the vinetree is very natural wine: wherefore the very natural substance of the wine doth remain still in the Sacrament of Christ's blood ^c.

And

^a Page 13.

^b Page 14.

^c Page 15.

And as they are not transubstantiated at all, but continue in their substance what they were before Consecration, that is, bread and wine, so neither can they be transubstantiated into the natural body and blood of Christ, but are received *in remembrance of Him*, namely, of his body given for us, and of his blood shed for the remission of sins^a. They (the Protestants) deny the Presence of Christ's body in the natural substance of his human and assumpt nature, and grant the presence of the same by Grace, that is, they affirm and say, that the substance of the natural body and blood of Christ is only remaining in heaven, and so shall be unto the latter day, when he shall come again in glory accompanied with the angels of heaven to judge the quick and the dead: but by Grace the same body of Christ is here present with us; as we say the sun, which in substance never removeth his place out of the heavens, is yet present here by his beams, light, and natural influence, where it shineth upon the earth^b. For all grant that St. Paul's words require, that the bread which we break should be the Communion of the body of Christ; and that the Cup of Blessing should be the Communion of the blood of Christ; and also that he who eateth of that bread and drinketh of that cup unworthily, should be guilty of the Lord's death, and that he eats and drinks his own damnation, not considering the Lord's body^c. Wherefore the Papists did most falsely and injuriously accuse the Protestants with making the Sacrament no better than a piece of common broken bread^d, and but a bare sign and figure to represent Christ^e. Of this great injustice and misrepresentation Ridley complains, and says, Alas! let us leave lying, and speak the truth every man not
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^a Page 5.^b Pages 10, 11.^c Pages 7, 8.^d Tonsall in the Preface to his Book De Veritate, &c.^e Gardiner Confutat. Cavill, passim.

only to his neighbour, but also of his neighbour ; for we are all members one of another ^a.

II. And because they objected to the Protestants that they interpreted Scripture in a sense contrary to the Primitive Writers, which sense they invented out of their own heads ^b ; therefore Ridley establishes the Protestant opinion by the Authority and Doctrine of the old ecclesiastical Doctors. Choosing six as Representatives of the Universal Church ; three of the Greek, and as many of the Latin ^c.

Of the Greek, I. Origen ^d ; ‘ That meat which is sanctified by
‘ the word of God and Prayer, as concerning the matter thereof
‘ it goeth away into the belly, and is avoided into the draught :
‘ but for the Prayer which is added unto it, for the proportion of
‘ the faith, it is made profitable, making the mind able to per-
‘ ceive, and see that which is profitable ; for it is not the material
‘ substance of the bread, but the word which is spoken upon it
‘ that is profitable to the man, who eateth it not unworthily.—
‘ And this I mean of the Typical and Symbolical, that is, Sacra-
‘ mental body.’ To evade this Evidence, some objected, that the
place was suspected, because lately set forth by Erasmus. Others,
that Origen erred in some points—but he was never accused of Er-
ror concerning the Lord’s Supper. Beat from these objections the
Papists had recourse to others. 1. That Origen speaks not of the
Sacramental bread and wine—Contrary to Origen’s words. 2. Sup-
pose he spake of the Lord’s Supper, says Gardiner ^e, it is no in-
convenience to say, that as the material substance did depart at
the entering in of Christ’s body under the aforesaid forms, so when
the said forms be destroyed and do not remain, then cometh again
the substance of bread and wine : so that what began with a mira-
cle

^a Page 7.

^b Page 26.

^c Tunstall in Prefat.

^d Confutat. Cavill. p. 413.

^e Page 25.

^f In Matth. xv.

cle should end with a miracle.—Without shadow or pretence of evidence.

2. Chrysoſtom^a; ‘ If it be a fault to tranſlate the hallowed veſſels in the which is not contained the true body of Chriſt, but the myſtery of his body to private uſes; how much more amiſs is it to abuſe and defile the veſſels of our bodies which God had prepared as an habitation for himſelf^b?’ Their answers are various and confuſed, as uſual. 1. The Author is ſuſpected—but never before theſe our days. 2. This Chryſoſtom was not the famous Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople.—No matter; all grant he was a writer of that age. 3. Chryſoſtom ſpeaks here of the Veſſels uſed in the Temple under the Old Law.—But theſe were never ſaid to contain what was called the body of Chriſt. Laſtly, Gardiner ſays ‘ Chriſt’s body is not contained in thoſe veſſels at the Lord’s Table *as in a place*, but *as in a myſtery*.—Wincheſter himſelf acknowledges^c that Chryſoſtom would not ſpeak with ſuch ſubtleties. The ſame Chryſoſtom^e ſays, ‘ Before the bread be hallowed we call it bread, but the Grace of God ſanctifying it by the means of the Prieſt, it is delivered now from the name of bread, and eſteemed worthy to be called Chriſt’s body, although the nature of bread abideth in it ſtill^f.’

3. Theodoret^g; ‘ He that called the natural body corn and bread, and alſo named himſelf a vinetree, even He, the ſame, hath honored the ſymbols, that is, the ſacramental figure, with the name of his body and blood; not changing indeed the nature itſelf, but adding Grace unto the nature.’ And again, ‘ Thoſe myſtical ſymbols or ſacraments after the ſanctification do not go out of their own nature, but they tarry and abide ſtill in their ſubſtance, figure and ſhape^h.’ Their answers are, 1. The Author

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wrote

^a Cap. 5. Hom. 11. Operis Imperfecti. edition.

Monachum.

^c Confut. Cavill. p. 477.

^f Page 31.

^b Page 29 or page 84 of the Latin

^d Ibid.

^e Ad Cæſarem

^g Contra Eutychem.

^h Page 31, 32.

wrote before the determination of the Church.—Therefore the determination of the Church by Innocent III. was the novel opinion. 2. The Author was suspected of being a Nestorian.—He was acquitted of this charge by the Council of Chalcedon. 3. Dr. Morman in the Convocation of last year, says, that by *substance* Theodoret meant *accidents*. — Like the Lawyer's gloss on the Decree, who interpreted *statuimus*, i. e. *abrogamus*, *We decree, that is, we abrogate and disannul.*

From the Latin Church he produces, 1. Tertullian^a; 'Jesus made the bread, which he took and distributed to his Disciples, his body, saying, This is my body, that is to say, a figure of my body.' Their answers are, 1. Tertullian writes as none hath done either before him or after him.—But Origen, Hilary, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Austin and other old Authors call the Sacrament a figure of Christ's Body. 2. Tertullian wrote this in the heat of disputation with an Heretick coveting rather to overcome his adversary than to speak with exactness. — Thus Gardiner thought it necessary for *his* cause to represent the authority of the Fathers as insufficient.

2. Austin^b; If Sacraments had no similitudes or likenesses of those things whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments; and for their similitude and likenesses commonly they have the names of those things whereof they are sacraments.' Again^c, 'We ought not to consider in sacraments what they be, but what they signify; for they be signs of things, being one thing in themselves, and yet signifying another thing; for the heavenly bread by some manner of speech is called Christ's body, when indeed it is the sacrament of his body.' Again^d, 'By his Divine Majesty, by his Providence, by his unspeakable and invincible

^a Adversus Marcionem.

^b 23 Epist. ad Bonifac.

^c Contra Maximum.

^d 50 Tract. in Joan.

‘ fible Grace, that is fulfilled which he spake, *behold I am with you unto the end of the world* : but as concerning the flesh which he took in his Incarnation, . . . which was born of the Virgin . . . apprehended by the Jews, and crucified upon the Tree . . . was buried, and rose again, and appeared after his Resurrection, as concerning that Flesh, he said, ye shall not ever have me with you ^a.

3. Gelasius, who was himself a Bishop of Rome ^b ; ‘ The sacraments of the body and blood of Christ are godly things, by which we are made partakers of the Divine Nature : and yet nevertheless the substance or nature of bread and wine doth not depart or go away.’

These few authorities are sufficient to shew the uniform sense of the Fathers both of the Greek and Latin Church how they understood those words of Christ, *This is my Body. This is my Blood* ; for although they (as themselves tell us) sometimes in conformity to those expressions, speak of the bread and wine as converted into the body and blood of Christ, yet they meant, as themselves inform us, that the bread and wine still continued ; that they were figures, similitudes, representations, and significations of Christ’s real body and blood ; and that they who faithfully receive them according to Christ’s institution, do really by grace and divine efficacy partake of the benefits of Christ’s passion.

III. As to the Church, Her opinion and doctrine in this point is sufficiently seen in the general consent of the primitive Fathers : the first General Council that determined the point of Transubstantiation was so late as 1215 under Pope Innocent III. down to his time, as Tonstal himself confesses ^c, it was free to believe, either that
Christ’s

^a Page 37, 38.

^b Contra Eutychem.

^c In his treatise on the Eucharist, p. 45, written in 1551, but not published till Christmas 1553, at Paris, about the time that Gardiner published his *Confutatio Cavillationum* at Louvain.

body and blood were *in* the bread and wine, or together *with* it, or that the elements were *annihilated*; or that they were *transubstantiated* into Christ's natural body and blood. And that this decree had no necessary foundation in Scripture, the *Schoolmen*, the sturdiest defenders of Transubstantiation, by their metaphysical subtleties, planely acknowledge. Thus Gabriel Biel, who wrote most largely on the Canon of the Mass, and whom Du Pin calls one of the best Scholastick Divines in his time, about 1480, says, It is to be noted, that although it be taught in Scripture, that the body of Christ is truly contained and received of Christian people, under the kinds of bread and wine, yet *how* the body of Christ is there, whether by conversion of any thing into it, or without conversion the body is there with the bread, both the substance and accidents of bread remaining there still, it is not found expressed in the bible. Yet forasmuch as of the Sacraments men must hold as the Holy Church of Rome holdeth, as it is written, De Hæreticis, ad abolendam; and that Church holdeth and hath determined, that the bread is transubstantiated into the body of Christ, and the wine into his blood; therefore is this opinion to be received of all them that be Catholick, that the substance of bread remaineth not, but really and truly is turned, transubstantiated and changed into the substance of the body of Christ. Thus the words of Christ do confessedly not necessarily infer Transubstantiation: nay Scotus, the subtlest of all the Schoolmen, acknowledges further, that the words of Scripture might be expounded more easily and more planely, without Transubstantiation: but the church did choose this sense (which is more hard) being moved thereto, as it seemeth, chiefly because that of the Sacraments, men ought to hold as the Holy Church of Rome holdeth*.

Thus

* Cranmer's Defence, fol. 30.

Thus we see these two bishops had no occasion to be embarrassed with the authority of the Fathers, nor disavow it as insufficient : but without evading or distinguishing after the manner of Schoolmen, fairly produce them to explaine themselves, and challenge their authority *against* Transubstantiation ; only distinguishing, as the Fathers do, between the Natural Body of Christ, and the Divine Grace and Efficacy, and between the Sign and thing signified ; although the name of the latter be given to the former. In the disputation itself, the Papists, who had the opponents part, spent the time chiefly in producing these rhetorical and highly figured expressions of the Fathers ; to which the bishops could make no other proper answer but that which they did make, that those expressions were figurative, and that the Fathers spake of mystical things mystically, and of sacramental sacramentally.

Monday, the 16th of April was the Archbishop's day, which I shall pass over, only observing the ominous blunder that the Prolocutor Fox. §. 3. *Account of the disputations there.* made at opening the Disputations. ' Brethren, says he, we are assembled here this day to confound the detestable heresy of ' Christ's body in the sacrament : ' which involuntary truth broke from him unawares, and was received with laughter by some, and with concern and regret by others.

On Tuesday the 17th, Dr. Ridley was brought to the answerer's place, where no less than Fourteen opposed him.

The disputation is published in Fox, and by Dr. Gilbert Ironside, from a MS. of Bishop Ridley's ; whose general account of it is as follows.

I never yet since I was born, saw, or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the disputation which was with me, in the Schools at Oxford. Yea, verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found
amongst

amongst men, recounted to be of knowledge and learning in this realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like stage-players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than grave Divines in Schools to dispute. The clamors of the Sorbonne, which at Paris I have seen in times past, when Popery most reigned, might be worthily thought (in comparison of this Thraasonical ostentation) to have had much modesty. And no great wonder, seeing they which should have been moderators and guides of others, and who should have given good example in words and gravity, they themselves, above all others, gave worst example, and did, as it were, blow the trumpet to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. Whence it manifestly appears, that they never sought for truth, but for the glory of the world, and a bragging victory. But besides the innumerable railings, rebukes, and taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, lest our cause, which indeed is God's cause, and his Church's, should also by the false accounts of our disputations, be evil spoken of, and slandered to the world, and so the truth suffer, and be hindered thereby; I have thought good to write my answers myself, that whosoever is desirous to know them and the truth withal, may thereby perceive those things which were chiefly objected against me, and also in effect what was answered of me to every of them. Howbeit, Good Reader, I confess that it is impossible either to set forth what was (God knows) tumultuously spoken, and confusedly objected on their parts, being so many, speaking many times altogether so thick that one could not well hear another; or that was answered on my part, to such and so many different opponents. Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations, was vainly spent in opprobrious taunts, hissings, clapping of hands, and triumphs, more than could have been borne even in stage-plays, and that in English to prejudice the common people. All which things when I
with

with godly grief did suffer, protesting openly that such excesses and outrageous disorder was unbecoming those schools, and men of learning and gravity, and did but betray the weakness of their cause. I was so far by this my humble remonstrance from doing any good, that what with hissing and shouting, and what with overbearing, I was forced to hear such reproaches, checks, and taunts for my labor, that no person of any honesty, without blushing could abide to hear spoken, by a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words, and that (after the law and manner of the Schools) before I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the Doctors themselves cried out, he speaketh blasphemies, he speaketh blasphemies. And when I on my knees requested most earnestly, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end; whereat the Prolocutor somewhat moved (as it seemed) cried out, let him read it; yet when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, and confusion of voices, crying, blasphemies! blasphemies! as I to my remembrance never heard or read of the like; except it be that one which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silver smith and others of his occupation, crying out against Paul, Great is Diana of the Ephesians! and except it were a certain disputation of the Arians, with the true Believers in Africa, where it is said, that such as the Presidents and Rulers of the disputation were, such was also the end of the disputation. All was done tumultuously, and the slanders of the Arians were so outrageous that nothing could be heard in quiet. As Victor writes in the 11d book of his History. The like cries and tumults of these men against me so prevailed, that, whether I would or no, I was forced to leave off the reading of my proofs, al-

though they were but short. And of the truth hereof I have all unprejudiced persons who were present for my witnesses, who, I am sure, will say that I do not aggravate. But of this I will cease to complain any further.

Martyr's
Letters,
fol. 112.

I would also have the Reader to understand that Mr. Prolocutor did publickly promise me in the disputations, that I should see how my answers were collected and gathered of the notaries, and that I should have licence to add or diminish, to alter or change afterward, as I should think would best make for me, to the answering of the propositions. He promised moreover publickly, that I should have both time and place to bring in freely all that I would, for the confirmation of my answers. Now when he had promised all these things openly, in the hearing of other Commissioners, and of the whole University of Oxford, yet, good Reader, know, that indeed he performed nothing of all that he promised. What faith then shall a man look to find at such Judges hands in God's secret mysteries, who in their promises, so publickly made, and so justly due, are found to be so faithless to God and man? I leave it to the judgment of the sensible Readers.

Know further, that when Mr. Prolocutor did put forth Three propositions, he commanded us to answer particularly to them all. After our answers, neither He nor his Assessors did ever enter into any disputation of any one of them, save only of the first; yet even before he had received or heard my answers to the other Two, when he had asked us whether we would subscribe to the whole, in the form and words there set forth, (which we denied to do) he condemned us all, myself, Dr. Cranmer, and Dr. Latimer, my most honoured fathers, and most dear brethren in Christ, as guilty of a most dreadful heresy, concerning every of these propositions; and so separated us one from another, confining us apart in different houses, to be kept in safe custody against the day of our Burning; and having before commanded that all our servants

servants should be kept from us, he now added at his departure, that the use of pen, ink, and paper should also be denied us. But thanks be to God, who gave me to write this before that interdiction came. Almighty God, who is wont to behold the cause of the afflicted, and to loose the bonds, and hear the sighings of the prisoners, vouchsafe to look upon the cause of his Church in England, and put a speedy end to all its afflictions. Amen, Amen, Amen.

Nic. Ridley.

If therefore to resolve figures into their true sense, according to the analogy of faith, to expound Fathers by their own interpretations; to shew a better acquaintance with the authors which his opponents produced, than they had themselves; and to be able by his great reading and memory to detect their misrepresentations and forgeries, and to answer off hand, without the assistance of books, what they came prepared to object from books, if this be to be embarrassed with an insufficient authority, and weakly to defend a good cause, the abovementioned writer^a had reason for saying, that Ridley had acted as wise a part if he had taken Latimer's advice, and contented himself with giving a reasonable account of his faith: and if ambiguous equivocations, absurdities, false facts, forgeries, breach of promise, taunts, revilings, hissings, noise, and clamor, be commendable and conclusive arguments, then that Gentleman might truly say, that the Papists certainly had the best of the argument. If not, then an intemperate zeal for good old Latimer, has led him to do much injury to those two great and learned Prelates, Cranmer and Ridley, and to the Protestant cause, which they defended. Though Latimer, from his age and infirmities, acknowledged that he was as fit to defend Calais as to engage in a Scholastick disputation; yet

3 T 2

he

^a Of the Life of Latimer.

he had great worth and goodness, a lively wit and an honest heart, and deserved the title commonly given him, of the Apostle of the English : all three had their respective and appropriate merit, sufficient to make them eminent and illustrious ; and if living neither of them would have thanked any advocate who should have attempted to raise his character by an injurious under-valuing the other two.

The following day ^a Dr. Latimer took his turn. He avoided as much as could be entering into a disputation, pleading his age and infirmities, that his memory was lost, that he was unapt for study now, nor ready in producing the fruit of his former studies, and that he understood no Greek. They were not ashamed to take a scandalous advantage of this confession, and falsify the Greek Text, in confidence that he could not disprove them. This is no disgrace to Latimer, who was born thirty years too late to be well acquainted with the Greek, for he was betwixt forty and fifty before it began to be publicly taught in Cambridge ; and the hardships of a prison concurring with old age had, as he complains, greatly impaired his abilities : but it is an indelible infamy on his Opponents to have practised such arts ; and shews how necessary it was to have a Protestant Respondent, who could say St. Paul's Greek Epistles by heart, and was so conversant with the Fathers and Councils as to prevent their producing their false wares, or to expose them when they did. This was necessary, for the future justification of the Protestants, though not for present success : neither the Learning of Cranmer or Ridley, (though the last, in Bishop Burnet's judgment, 'gathered together the chief arguments for his opinion in a strong and nervous discourse, as any he ever saw on that subject') nor the apostolical simplicity of Latimer could secure that. On Friday the 20th all three were brought to St. Mary's.

Hist. Reformat.
vol. II.
p. 282.

^a Wednesday 18.

Mary's before the Commissioners, and required, without disputing on two of the Questions, directly and peremptorily to say whether they would subscribe or not to all the three. Upon their refusing so to do, sentence was pronounced, that they were no members of the Church. And therefore they, their fautors and patrons were condemned as Hereticks. While this sentence was reading they were asked, whether they would turn or no: but they bad them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn.

After sentence of condemnation was passed on them they answered severally;

Cranmer. From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence on the altar I am thus condemned.

Ridley. Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than we should by the course of nature have come.

Latimer. I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by this kind of death.

To whom the Prolocutor made this reply; If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded. They were separately carried away; the Archbishop to Bocardo, Dr. Ridley to the Sheriff's house, and Dr. Latimer to the Bailiff's.

On the Monday following the Commissioners left Oxford; but before their departure, Dr. Glin with Dr. Young the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, and who succeeded Dr. Ridley in the Mastership of Pembroke-Hall, and Dr. Oglethorpe of Oxford, came to the Sheriff's house, where Glin, in presence of the other two, asked Dr. Ridley's pardon for his unscholar like, as well as unfriendly

unfriendly, treatment of him in the schools. Ridley, though at first he took this usage from Him, an old friend and acquaintance, very ill, yet had in his mind excused him; resolving it, not into a malicious contempt, but a time-serving infirmity. He did now from his very heart forgive him, wishing him the clear knowledge of the Gospel Truth, and praying that all offences remitted, not only to Him, but to all others, they might all, being perfectly reconciled, be admitted together to the mansions of their heavenly Father.

Immediately after the sentence was given Dr. Ridley sent the following letter to Dr. Weston.

‘ Mr. Prolocutor,

You remember, I am sure, how you promised me openly in the schools, after my Protestation, that I should see how my answers were there taken and written of the notaries, whom you appointed to write what should be said; and to have had licence to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. You granted me also, at the delivery of my answer unto your first Proposition, a copy of the same: these promises are not performed. If your sudden departure be any cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of promise is to be looked for at a righteous Judge’s hands. Now I send you here my answers in writing to your second and third Propositions, and do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same, and I shall by God’s grace procure the pains of the writer to be paid for and satisfied accordingly.

Mr. Prolocutor, in the time of my answering in the schools, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, you said then openly, that I should have time and place to say and bring whatsoever I could another time; and the same your saying was then and there confirmed of other of the Commis-
sioners,

fioners : yea, and (I dare say) the audience also thought then that I should have had another day, to have brought and said what I could for the declaration and confirmation of my assertions. Now that this was not done but so suddenly sentence given before the cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel.'

He likewise sent a copy of his answers to the three propositions to Cranmer with the following Letter.

Dr. Ridley to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

'I wish you might have seen these my answers before I had delivered them, that you might have corrected them. But I trust in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of God's word. It is reported that Serjeant Morgan the Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas is gone mad^a. It is said also, that Justice Hales has recanted, perverted by Doctor Moreman. Item that Master Rogers, Dr. Crome, and Master Bradford shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with, as we were here; and that the Doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither as Cambridge men came hither. When you have read my answers, send them again to Austin, except you will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our delivery out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetual rest, and to perpetual joy and felicity draweth nigh: the Lord strengthen us with his mighty spirit of grace! If you have not to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer serveth to be rewarded; so he may and will do you pleasure. My man is trusty; but it grieveth both him and me, that when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to Master Latimer, and yours to me. I have
a promise

^a He who had condemned the Lady Jane.

a promise to see how my answers were written in the schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I pray you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his Church, and lighten the eyes of the magistrates, that God's extreme plagues light not on this realm of England.

Turn, or burn.'

When he found on Monday that the Prolocutor was hasting away to London without performing his promise, he wrote this short letter to him, desiring the two Bailiffs and Mr. Alderman Irish to witness it.

Dr. Ridley to Dr. Weston, Prolocutor.

' Mr. Prolocutor,

I desire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and shew all my answers written and subscribed by my own hand unto the Higher House of Convocation, and specially to my Lord Chancellor, my Lords of Durham, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, and Chichester; and also to shew and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines here I write unto you: and that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know you that I did take witness of them by whom I did send it you, and also of those who were then with them present, namely, the two Bailiffs of Oxford, and Mr. Irish, Alderman, then there called to be a witness.

By me Nicholas Ridley.

23d of April 1554.'

At the same time Dr. Cranmer sent letters supplicatory to the Council by the Prolocutor, complaining of the injustice they had received from the Commissioners. Dr. Weston when he had got
near

near half way to London opened them, and not liking the contents sent them back again, and refused to carry them.

On the 3d of May the Council sate, and having ordered the Mayor of Oxford to bring in his bill of allowances for the charges of Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, and that he should have a warrant for the same; it was further resolved by their Lordships that the Judges and Queen's Highness's Council Learned should be called together, and their opinions demanded what they think in law her Highness may do touching the causes of the said Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, being already by both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge judged to be obstinate Hereticks: which matter is the rather to be consulted upon, for that the said Cranmer is already attainted. Thus sensible were they that their zeal had carried them some lengths beyond the point to which Law or Equity would reach. The Prisoners had been committed, Cranmer for High Treason, Ridley and Latimer for sedition; the former had been attainted by Parliament; the other two had never been called to any account. And now all three were excommunicated for offences of another nature, by an authority that had no support; for the Queen claimed no Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters, nor did she insert that title in her directions to Boner to summon this Convocation: Boner, who summoned it, as he could have no authority from the Queen, so neither from the Pope; he was neither Legate *a latere*, or *Legatus natus*; nay, had he been either, the Pope himself had as yet no authority here, and therefore Boner omitted in his summons to the Convocation those customary words *legitimè suffultus*, conscious that he called it without any authority at all. They therefore desired aid from the Judges and the Queen's learned Council to extricate them out of this difficulty in which they had too hastily entangled themselves. We may guess at the Lawyers opinion by the event; none of them were put to death till another Parliament had been called, and the Pope's

Life of
Cranmer,
p. 349.

Supremacy restored. And even then, when they had proceeded to burn some Protestants, one in the Convocation moved a question, by what Law they could justify themselves in doing so? The Prolocutor Weston answered, "It forceth not for a Law; we have a Commission to procede with them; and when they be dispatch-ed, let their Friends sue the Law."

§. 4. *The good in-
fluence of this exem-
plary Confession on o-
thers.*

In this interim while these three Fathers lay under condemnation without authority and without law, they were restrained by a most rigorous confinement, not only from any active scenes, the ornament of History, but even from conversation. The town of Oxford shewed them no respect; the University was more enflamed against them: such as wished them well were forced to fly to secure themselves; among which was Mr. Jewel, one of the Notaries appointed by Ridley and Cranmer to set down the Disputation. Nay, the Bishops were all kept apart, and denied to converse with one another, except before their Keepers at meal times; for I think they usually dined and supped together. So that the remainder of this interval must be furnished chiefly from the Epistolary Correspondence that passed betwixt Ridley and others confined in prison on the same account. Of all whom, as Bishop Burnet observes, Ridley wrote with the greatest connexion and force, both in the matter, and in the way of expression.

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p. 284.

No sooner had these three Holy Confessors so publicly borne their testimony to the truth, not fearing those who could only kill the body, but congratulations were sent them from their Fellow Prisoners in the King's Bench and Marshalsea. Thus wrote Doctor Rowland Taylor to them,

'Right Reverend Fathers in the Lord, I wish you to enjoy continually God's grace and peace through Jesus Christ: and God be praised again and again for this your most excellent promotion
which

which ye are called unto at this present, that is, that you are counted worthy to be allowed amongst the number of Christ's records and witnesses. England hath had but a few learned Bishops that would stick to Christ *ad ignem inclusive, even to the fire*. Once again I thank God heartily in Christ for your most happy onset, most valiant proceeding, most constant suffering of all such infamies, hissings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loss of living and liberty for the defence of God's cause, truth, and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoyce in my heart for you three such Captains in the Foreward under Christ's cross, banner, or standard in such a cause and skirmish; when not only one or two of our dear Redeemer's strong holds are besieged, but all his chief castles, ordained for our safeguard, are traiterously impugned. This your enterprise in the fight of all that be in heaven, and of all good people on earth, is most pleasant to behold. This is another manner of nobility than to be in the Forefront of worldly warfares. For God's sake pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are stronger and stronger in the Lord, his name be praised. And we doubt not but ye be so in Christ's sweet school. Heaven is all, and wholly on our side. Therefore rejoyce in the Lord always, and again I say rejoyce.

Your assured in Christ,

Rowland Taylor.

In like manner wrote Laurence Saunders, Rector of Allhallows Breadstreet in London, in a letter to them from the Marshalsea; in which he says, 'We heretofore have had the fruition of you, most reverend Fathers, by bodily presence to our inexplicable benefit. Praised be our gracious God therefore! and now in spirit we have the experience of unspeakable comfort by your reverend fatherhoods; for that in this so glorious sort, ye become a town set upon a hill, a candle upon a candlestick, a spectacle unto the

world, and to angels and to men. So that, as we to our great comfort do feel, ye also may assuredly say with St. Paul, that *the things which happened unto us, have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel* infomuch that *many of the brethren in the Lord being encouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly speak the word without fear.* And herein as ye have with St. Paul greatly to rejoyce : so We do rejoyce with you, and we do indeed with you give thanks for this excellent worthy favor of our God towards you, that Christ is thus magnified in you ; yea and hereafter shall be magnified in your bodies, whether it be by life or by death. And although for your own parts Christ is unto you life, and death advantage, and that your desire is (as indeed it were better for you) to be loosed, and to be with Christ, yet for the Church of Christ it were much more necessary that ye should abide in the flesh : yea, the merciful God for his Christ's sake, grant that ye may abide and continue for the furtherance of the Church, and rejoicing of faith, that the rejoicing thereof may be the more abundant through Jesus Christ by your restoring again. Amen. Amen. But if it seem better otherwise unto the divine wisdom, that by speedy death he hath appointed you to glorify him ; the Lord's will be done ! Yea even as we do rejoyce both on your behalves, and also on our own, that God is magnified by life, and should be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof ; so we shall no less rejoyce to have the same wrought by death. We shall give thanks for this honor given unto you, rejoicing that you are accounted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, and that it is given you of God, not only that ye should believe in him, but also that ye should suffer for his sake. And herein we shall have to rejoyce in the behalf of the Church of Christ, whose faith may be the faster fixed upon God's verity, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. O thanks be to God for this his unspeakable gift.

Thus

Thus we see what happy effect the noble and publick confession of these Three faithful disciples of the cross had upon others. So treated, in such a cause, they triumphed over the malice of their enemies, and were no longer the objects of contempt or pity, but of a generous envy and emulation. They were shining lights to the flock of Christ, who derived assurance in their doubts, fortitude and resolution in their trials, and unspeakable comfort under all their sufferings from the glorious examples of these Leaders: so great was the victory of their faith. This influence of example Ridley endeavoured to strengthen by a particular address in Latin, to this purpose:

‘To the Brethren in the captivity of the flesh, dispersed in divers prisons, but knit together in the unity of the Spirit, and of their holy religion, in the bowels of Jesus Christ.’

‘Grace be unto you, and peace and mercy multiplied. What thanks can we render unto the Lord for you, my Brethren, for all the consolation which we have received through you in the Lord; who while Satan rages, studying by all kind of fallacies to deceive the world, and labors busily to raise and new settle his kingdom, which had for some time begun to totter, and seemed ready to fall; nevertheless ye remain immoveable most firmly founded, as on a rock. And at this time, when Satan by his guards and servants daily (as we hear) draweth to himself many, so that he may be said even to pluck down the stars from heaven, intimidating some with fear of death, or the loss of this world’s accommodations; enticing others with the fair shew and promise of worldly allurements, such as wealth and all kinds of delicacies, stately houses, large revenues, fat benefices, and what not? so that falling down, not as servants of the Lord, but of the dragon, that old Serpent which is the Devil, they might worship the great beast and his image; and might, with the kings of the earth

earth and the little beast, and false prophets, commit fornication with the whore of Babylon, and wanton and riot with her, and be drunk with the wine of her fornication^a: But blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath given you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his spirit, that you are enabled to despise all these, whether terrors or enticements, as vanities, mere trifles, and entanglements of no worth; and who hath produced such a constancy, implanted such a confidence, and wrought such a love of our Lord Jesus Christ in your hearts, that no engines of Antichrist, however dreadful they may be on the one hand, or however agreeable or plausible on the other, can prevale on you to admit any other Jesus, or any other Christ than him whom the Prophets foretold, the Apostles declared, and the holy Martyrs of God bore testimony to by their blood. In this faith, my brethren, stand ye, and be not again entangled in the yoke of servitude and superstition. For ye know, Brethren, as our Lord has forewarned his followers, that there should come those who would shew another Christ to the world, and recommend him by many deceits and impositions of miracles and delusions as should deceive, if it were possible, the very elect^b; so powerful did our Saviour foretel the illusion to be! but endure my Brethren, and take heart, and remember that our great Captain hath overcome the world for you already; for greater is He that is in you, than he that is in the world^c: and our Lord has promised that the days of tribulation shall be shortened^d. In the mean time, hold out, Brethren, as indeed ye do, I say,

Hold out, and save yourselves for happier days. ÆN. I.

As the Poet sings. Go on to shew yourselves valiant combatants of the Lord, and maintain the faith of the gospel now militant.

Ye

^a Revel. xvii.

^b Matth. xxiv. }

^c 1 John iv.

^d Matth. xxiv.

Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise. For yet a little while, and He that shall come will come, and will not tarry. Now the just shall live by faith: but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. But we are not of them who draw back unto perdition; but of them that believe to the saving of the soul^a. Let us not, my Brethren, permit, for any thunders of this world, those words of Christ to slip out of our minds, Fear not them which kill the body^b, ye know the rest. I write not as to men ignorant of the truth, but as to such who know it well; for this only purpose, that by our common faith we may mutually strengthen and comfort one another. There never was a worthier or nobler cause that could justify our contempt of life, or make us lavish of our blood. There can be no point of more certain truth, clearness, or evidence. For the question controverted is not concerning some unessential ceremony, but the very substance of all our religion, yea even Christ himself. For shall we, or can we receive any other Christ than He who is alone the eternal Son of the eternal Father, the brightness of his glory, and express image of his person, in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily^c; who alone is the way, the truth, and the life. Far, far, my brethren, be such wickedness from us! For although there be who are called Gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there are Gods many, and Lords many^d. But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him. Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge. This, saith St. John, cap. xvii. is life eternal, that we should know thee, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. Therefore if any one would obtrude upon us any other God than Him whom Paul and the apostles preached, let us not hear him, but shun him as one accursed. To the depths of Satan, Brethren, ye are no strangers; for

^a Heb. x.^b Matth. x.^c Heb. i. Col. ii.^d 1 Cor. viii.

for he will not cease to compass you, and seek by all means possible whom he may devour; but play the men, and be strong in the Lord. And although your enemies, and the adversaries of the truth shall be fortified with all the strength and power of this world, and attack you, yet faint not in your mind on this account, but trust in your General Christ, trust to the Spirit of truth, and to the truth of your cause; which however it may be for a time darkened by the wickedness of Satan, cannot be so extinguished. For we have on our side (great thanks be to God for it!) most certainly, most manifestly, most clearly, all the Prophets and Apostles, and without doubt all the antient Church writers down to the very modern times. Let us therefore take courage, and repose ourselves entirely on the Lord, *in nothing terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of Salvation, and that of God: because unto you it is given not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake^a*. And when ye suffer reproach for Christ's sake, remember that by the voice of Peter, nay of Christ himself our Saviour, *Happy are ye: happy with the prophets and Apostles, and Martyrs, for the glory and Spirit of the Lord rests upon you. On their part our Saviour is evil spoken of; but on your part he is glorified^b*. For what can they do to you else, by persecuting, and preparing further cruelties against you, than to make your crowns more glorious, to adorn, and multiply them; and treasure up and aggravate against themselves the heavy wrath of God and their own punishments? therefore, my brethren, let us not wish evil to them, even when they rage against us most violently, knowing that whilst they vex us for Christ's sake, their rage turns most fiercely on themselves, and they heap up coals of fire on their own heads^c; but rather let us wish well to them, knowing that *we are called in Christ to inherit a blessing^d*.

Let

^a Philip. ii.

^b 1 Pet. iv.

^c Rom. xii.

^d 1 Pet. iii.

Let us pray therefore that the Lord would drive away the darkness of error from their hearts, and make the light of truth to shine upon them, that they acknowledging their errors, may with all humble repentance be turned unto the Lord, and with us confess that only true God who is the Father of lights, and his only Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and adore him in Spirit and in truth. Amen.

Your Brother in the Lord, whose name the bearer shall declare unto you, ready by the Grace of God to live and to die with you.'

§. 5. *Publick disputations intended at Cambridge.*

After the Commissioners were returned from Oxford, it was intended that like disputations should be had at Cambridge, whither Bishop Hoper, Bishop Farrar, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Philpot, and Mr. Bradford, were to be conveyed from the Fleet and King's Bench, to be opposed by Weston and his Associates; and a Commission was accordingly prepared for this purpose. Hoper having intelligence of it, gave notice to the rest in a letter dated the 6th of May.

The effect of which was a Protestation drawn up and signed by the several Prisoners two days after, declaring the terms on which only they would dispute, with the reasons why they insist on those terms; and lest they should have no other opportunity of bearing their testimony in publick to the truth, they exhibited an account of their Faith, in which they all agreed, and in which they were resolved to live and die. Of which Fox gives us the following copy.

'Because we hear that it is determined of the Magistrates, and such as be in authority, especially of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King's Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where at this present we are, and of

long time some of us have been, not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the Queen's Highness, or of any of the Council, (God's name be praised therefore!) but only for the conscience we have to God, and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge: because (we say) we hear that it is determined, we shall be sent to one of the Universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed in that behalf: in that we purpose not to dispute otherwise than by writing, except it may be before the Queen's Highness and her Council, or before the Parliament Houses; and therefore perchance it will be bruited abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the truth of God's word, and the consent of the true and Catholick Church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and some of us have written and set forth; by which means the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden duty now whilst we may, by writing to publish and notify the causes why we will not dispute otherwise than is abovesaid, to prevent the offences which might come thereby.

First, because it is evidently known to the whole world, that the determination of both the Universities in matters of Religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against God's word, yea against their own determinations in the time of our late Sovereign Lord and most godly Prince, King Edward: and further it is known, they be our open enemies, and have already condemned our causes, before any disputation had of the same.

Secondly, because the Prelates and Clergy do not seek either Us, or the Truth, but our destruction, and their glory. For if they had sought Us (as charity requireth) then would they have called

us forth about this business before their laws were so made, that frankly and without peril we might have spoken our consciences. Again, if they had sought for the Truth, they would not have concluded of controversies before they had been disputed: so that it easily appeareth, that they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not Us and the Truth. And therefore we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall not further prevail than the setting forth of their glory, and the suppression of the Truth.

Thirdly, because the Censors and Judges (as we hear who they be) are manifest enemies to the Truth, and what is worse, obstinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be cast, by the commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own example. That they be such, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the Convocation House in October last past, do most evidently declare.

Fourthly, because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for study; we think we should do ill thus suddenly, to descend into disputation with them, who may alledge, as they list, the Fathers and their testimonies, because our memories have not that which we have read, so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wrest the Authors to their purpose; or to bring forth that which we may have there for our advantage.

Fifthly, because in disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopt when we should speak; one saying this, another that, the third His mind, and so on; as was done to the godly learned Fathers, especially Dr. Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always interrupting him from prosecuting his argument, and to answer accordingly: we will not speak of the hissing, scoffing, and taunting, which was then used in a surprizing manner.

manner. If on this sort, and much worse, they handled those Fathers, much more will they be shamelessly bold with us, if we should enter into disputation with them.

Sixthly, because the Notaries that shall receive and write the disputations, shall be of their appointment, and such as either do not, or dare not favor the truth; and therefore must write, either to please them, or else they themselves (the Censors and Judges we mean) at their pleasure will put to, and take from that which is written by the Notaries; who cannot, or must not have in their custody that which they write, longer than the disputation lasteth, as their doings at Oxford declare. No copy, or scrole could any man have by their good will. For the Censors and Judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was seen there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him: so must the disputation serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

For these causes we all think it so necessary not to dispute with them, as if we did dispute, we should do that which they desire and purposely seek, to promote the kingdom of Antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) the truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they should hear, by the report of our enemies, our answers and arguments framed (you may be sure) for their fancies, to the flandering of the truth.

Therefore we publish, and by this writing notify unto the whole Congregation and Church of England, that for these aforesaid causes we will not dispute with them, otherwise than with the pen; unless it be before the Queen's Highness and her Council, or before the Houses of Parliament, as is abovesaid. If they will write we will answer; and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible verity, even the very word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most antient Fathers in Christ's Church, this our faith and every piece thereof, which hereafter we in a sum do write and
send

send abroad purposely, that our good Brethren and Sisters in the Lord may know it : and to seal up the same, we are ready through God's help and grace to give our lives to the halter or the fire, or otherwise, as God shall appoint : humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ, beseeching all that fear God, to behave themselves as obedient subjects to the Queen's Highness, and the Superior Powers, which are ordained of God under her, rather after our example to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter against the Lord's Anointed, we mean our Sovereign Lady Queen Mary ; into whose heart we beseech the Lord of mercy plentifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his Holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen.

First, We confess and believe all the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, and all the Books of the New Testament, to be the very true Word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the Judge in all controversies and matters of religion.

Secondly, We confess and believe, that the Catholick Church which is the Spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine of these Books in all matters of religion, and therefore is she to be heard accordingly : so that those who will not hear this Church, thus following and obeying the word of her husband, we account as Hereticks and Schismatics, according to this saying, *If he will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a Heathen.*

Thirdly, We believe and confess all the articles of faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the Apostles, which we commonly call the Creed, and in the symbols of the Council of Nice, kept An. Dom. 324 ; of Constantinople, An. Dom. 384 ; of Ephesus, kept An. Dom. 432 ; of Chalcedon, kept An. Dom. 454 ; of Toletum, the first and fourth. Also in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and of Damasus, which was about the year of
our

our Lord 376. We confess and believe (we say) the doctrine of the symbols generally, and particularly ; so that whosoever doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the truth.

Fourthly, We believe and confess concerning Justification, that as it cometh only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none, who be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only : which faith is not an opinion, but a certain perswasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, by which, as the mind is illumined, so the heart is suppled to submit itself to the will of God, unfeignedly, and so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned in the article of Justification from the righteousness which God endueth us withal in justifying us, although inseparably they go together. And this we do not for curiosity or contention sake, but for Conscience sake, that it might be quiet : which it can never be, if we confound, without distinction, forgiveness of Sin and Christ's Justice imputed to us, with Regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow the Papistical doctrines of Free-will, of Works of Supererogation, of Merits, of the necessity of Auricular Confession, and Satisfaction to Godward.

Fifthly, We confess and believe concerning the exterior service of God, that it ought to be according to the Word of God. And therefore in the Congregation all things publick ought to be done in such tongue as may be most to edify : and not in Latin, where the people understand not the same.

Sixthly, We confess and believe, that God only through Jesus Christ is to be prayed unto and called upon. And therefore we disallow Invocation or Prayer to saints departed this life.

Seventhly, We confess and believe, that as a man departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day generally, and in the mean season is entered either into the state of the blessed for ever, or Damned for ever. And therefore is either past all help,

or

or else needeth no help of any in this life. By reason whereof we affirm Purgatory, Masses of *Scala Cæli*, Trentals, and such suffrages, as the Popish Church doth obtrude as necessary, to be the doctrine of Antichrist.

Eighthly, We confess and believe the sacraments of Christ, which be Baptism and the Lord's Supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantial parts of them. And that they be no longer sacraments than they be had in use, and used to the end for which they were instituted.

And here we planely confess, that the mutilation of the Lord's Supper, the subtraction of one kind from the Lay People, is Antichristian. And so is the doctrine of Transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine after the words of Consecration, as they be called. Item, the Adoration of the Sacrament with honor due unto God, the Reservation and carrying about of the same. Item, the Mass to be a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth God. All these we confess and believe to be Antichrist's doctrine: as is the Inhibition of marriage, as unlawful, to any state.

And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we shall be able to prove all our Confession here, to be most true by the verity of God's Word, and consent of the Catholick Church; which followeth, and hath followed the governance of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his Word. And this through the Lord's help we will do, either in disputation by Word before the Queen's Highness and her Council, either before the Parliament Houses (of whom we doubt not to be indifferently heard) either with our Pens, whenever we shall be thereto, by them that have authority, required and commanded.

In the mean season, as obedient Subjects, we shall behave ourselves toward all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God
for

for them; that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire, and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any rebellion or sedition against our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highness: but, where they cannot obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility, to suffer as the will and pleasure of the Higher Powers shall adjudge. The Lord of Mercy endue us all with the spirit of his truth, and grace of perseverance therein unto the end. Amen.

The 8 May 1554.

Robert Menaven, alias Robert Farrar.

Rowland Taylor.

John Philpot.

John Bradford.

John Wigorn and Gloc, alias John Hoper.

Edward Crome.

John Rogers.

Laurence Saunders.

Edmund Laurence.

I. P. I. M. Miles Coverdale *.

But this challenge to a fair disputation they did not care to accept; and conscious that as yet they had no law to punish them, they amused the People with various reports of what they intended to do; but did nothing till the next Parliament should strengthen them by a new Law.

This unexpected interval gave Bradford leisure to consult his old Patron Bishop Ridley on the resolution taken among them not to dispute, but upon the terms before-mentioned. His letter was accompanied with a treatise on the Communion, and some other tracts, which Bradford sent to Ridley to peruse, and to give his judgment of them; to which Ridley sent him the following answer.

To

* Dr. Edwin Sandys was delivered from prison on the 6th of May, two days before this account of his Fellow Prisoners faith was signed.

‘ To Master Bradford.

Dearly beloved, I wish you grace, mercy and peace. According to your mind I have run over all your papers, and what I have done, which is but small, therein may appear. Sir, what shall best be done with those things now you must consider; for if they come in fight at this time, undoubtedly they must to the fire with their father: and as for any safeguard that your custody can be unto them, I am sure you look not for it; for as you have been partner in the work, so I am sure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the same cup. Blessed be God that hath given you liberty in the mean season, that you may use your pen to his glory, and to the comfort (as I hear say) of many. I bless God daily in you, and all your whole company, to whom I beseech you to commend me heartily. Now I love my countryman indeed and in truth; I mean Dr. Taylor, not now for my earthly country's sake*, but for our heavenly Father's sake, whom I heard say he did so stoutly in time of peril confess: and yet also now for our country's sake, and for all our mothers sake, but I mean of the kingdom of heaven, and the heavenly Jerusalem, and because of the Spirit, which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in your companions such blessed fruits of boldness in the Lord's cause, of patience and constancy. The Lord which hath began this work in you all, perform and perfect this his own deed until his own day come. Amen.

As yet I perceive you have not been baited, and the cause thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more to His, than is

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his

* He was a Northumberland man, born at Rothbury not far from Riddesdale; and a little after Easter this year was sent for by the Lord Chancellor to answer for obstructing a Popish Priest in the celebration of the Mass in Taylor's own church of Hadley. In which appearance before Gardiner he declared against the propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass, and was for it committed to the King's Bench.

Strype's
Mem.

Fox.

his will and good pleasure to suffer them to do for his own glory, and for the profit of them which be truly His; for the Father, which doth guide them that be Christ's to Christ, is more mighty than they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Father's hands: except (I say) it please our Father, it please our Master Christ to suffer them, they shall not be able to stir one hair of your heads. My Brother P. the bearer hereof, would that we should say what we think good concerning your mind: that is, not to answer, except ye might have somewhat indifferent Judges. We are (as you know) separated, and one of us cannot in any thing consult with another, and much strait watching of the Bailiffs is about us that there be no privy conference amongst us. And yet (as we hear) the Scholars bear us more heavily than the townsmen. A wonderful thing! among so many, never yet Scholar offered to any of us (so far as I know) any manner of favor, either for, or in Christ's cause.

Now as concerning your demand of our counsel, for my part, I do not mislike that which I perceive ye are minded to do; for I look for none other, but if ye answer before the same Commissioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was Peter or Paul. And yet further, I think that occasion afterward may be given you, and the consideration of the profit of your Auditory may perchance move you to do otherwise. Finally, to say determinately what shall be best, I am not able: but I trust He, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to do that which shall be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salvation. This letter must be common to you and Mr. Hoper, in whom, and in his prison-fellow good Father Crome, I bless God even from the bottom of my heart; for I doubt not but they do to our Master Christ true, acceptable and honorable service, and profitable to his flock, the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example.

ample of patience and constancy, and all manner of true godliness. But what, shall I need to say to you, let this be common among your brethren? among whom, I dare say, it is with you, as it is with us, to whom all things here are common; meat, money, and whatsoever one of us hath that can or may do another good. Although I said the Bailiffs and our hosts straitly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us in the stead of our servants faithful fellows who will be content to hear and see, and to do for us whatsoever they can: it is God's work surely, blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen. Amen.

As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received of late, both meat, money and shirts; not only from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some, whom this bearer can tell, with whom I had never (to my knowledge) any acquaintance. I know for whose sake they do it: to Him therefore be all honor and glory and due thanks. And yet I pray you do so much as to shew them that we have received their benevolence, and (God be blessed) have plenty of all such things. This I desire you to do, for I know they be of Master Hoper's and your familiar acquaintance. Master Latimer was crazed, but I hear now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth again.

Yours in Christ,

N. R.'

These venerable Fathers in their miserable confinement, and separate from each other, employed their hours of solitude with a spirit as publick as ever busied them in the high stations, in which of late they had been so usefully engaged. Latimer, when recovered from that disorder in his brain, which the hard usage in

his old age had brought upon him, yet unfit for controversy, employed himself in his New Testament, which he read over diligently seven times in his confinement, and found in it an exhaustless treasure of instruction and comfort. Cranmer reviewed and vindicated his writings on the sacrament, in answer to Winchester, under the assumed name of Marcus Constantius. Ridley, though straitly watched, that he should write nothing, deprived the use of his books, and even pen, ink and paper denied him, yet remembering the account he was shortly to give of the charge that had been committed to him by God, and in compassion to the necessities of his flock, snatched every opportunity, and when he could by no other means procure implements of writing, he cut the lead of his prison windows into pencils, and wrote in the margin of books what he thought still wanting to the due discharge of his office. Some of these were,

I. A Treatise shewing how Winchester varied from other Papists in eighteen articles.

II. Another, how Winchester varied from himself in eighteen more.

III. Shewing several things that Winchester yielded, concerning the spiritual use of the Sacrament.

IV. A little Treatise composed by him and Latimer in the Tower : which we have seen before.

V. A Treatise on the Lord's Supper.

VI. Three Positions to the third Question propounded in Oxford concerning the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass.

VII. His Disputation in the schools.

VIII. A Letter ad Fratres in diversis carceribus : which was given above.

IX. De abominationibus Sedis Romanæ & Pontificum Romanorum.

X. Large

X. Large Annotations on the first book of Tonsal on Transubstantiation, and some, though shorter, on his second book. Beside these,

XI. A Treatise on Predestination.

XII. Several Letters.

XIII. A Lamentation.

XIV. His Farewell.

Several of these are now lost, some are here exhibited ; and others may be seen in Fox.

Here we shall leave them at present, to see what was doing abroad that might have any influence on these Prisoners in Bo-cardo.

The Parliament ended on the 25th of May, and on the 29th the Queen set forward on her Progress to meet the Prince of Spain her intended Husband, to whom she was married at Winchester by Gardiner July 25, she being then thirty eight years of age, and King Philip only twenty seven. His design by this disproportionable match was the entire reduction of England under the Spanish yoke, as the Prince of Orange, then of the Privy Council, afterward declared ; for so writes Lord Burleigh in a Letter to a Nobleman of Scotland. “ It is well known how He [Philip] had figured to himself an empire over all this part of the world ; what plots he laid for the compassing thereof. A foundation was laid for the subduing of this land in Queen Mary’s time, he being then our King in right of his Wife. The Conquest was fully concluded afterward under color of Religion : but his designs were broken by the seasonable death of Queen Mary.” Such was one of the yokes to which Gardiner had been corrupting the Parliament to submit the Kingdom. It is true he prevented one hasty stride to-ward

§. 6. *The Queen marries Philip of Spain. The Spaniard’s design in that match.*

ward it ; for as Philip could govern only in right of his wife, his power could rise no higher than Her's, which was limited by the Laws of the Country. So that to make His absolute, Hers was to be made so first. In order to this, the Ambassadour of the Emperour, Prince Philip's Father, presented to the Queen a Project, That the Queen was to declare herself a Conqueror ; or that she having succeeded to the Crown by Common Law, she was not at all to be limited by the Statute Laws, since those were only restrictions upon the Kings, but not on the Queens of England : and that therefore all those limitations of the Prerogative were only binding on the persons of Kings, but that she was free from them ; and might establish monasteries, raise her friends, ruin her enemies, and rule according to her pleasure. This Plan the Queen shewed to Gardiner, and strictly charged him to give her his opinion of it. His sagacity immediately saw, that as it was not sure that his influence over the King would be as powerful as it was over the Queen, to make Her absolute now was probably to make himself a slave to Philip hereafter : but if he subjected Her to the Laws, of which he was in great measure the Interpreter, by relaxing or restraining the sense, or execution of them, he should be able to keep a considerable authority even over Philip. He therefore advised the Queen not to hearken to such Counsels, and brought in a bill this last Parliament, that, because all the Laws of England had been made by Kings, and declared the Prerogatives to be in the King's Person ; from whence some might pretend that the Queen had no right to them : it was therefore declared to have been the Law, that these Prerogatives did belong to the Crown, whether it were in the hands of Male or Female, and whatsoever the Law did limit and appoint for the King, was of right also due to the Queen, who is declared to have as much authority as any other her Progenitors.

But

But however prudently this might have been designed, it had not been sufficient (if the Queen had lived) to prevent the slavery to which he exposed his country by this match; as appears by a letter from one John Bradford (not the Martyr above-mentioned) who formerly was servant to Sir William Skypworth, and after for the space of 2 years, served as Chamberlain to one of King Philip's Privy Council, in Spain. This letter he wrote from Flanders to the Lords Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Pembroke; the whole may be seen in Strype's Catalogue of Originals at the end of his III^d volume of Historical Memorials. An abstract of it will be sufficient to shew the Spanish designs in this marriage with Queen Mary.

'I have purposed, says he, to declare unto you, not that which I know by reports, but that which I know perfectly by experience: I mean that subtle device against you all and the realm. The vileness of the Spaniards I cannot express in words as the truth is; yet I shall declare the premeditate mischief and intended treasons, not only against your Lordships persons, but also against the whole realm, so far as I have heard, seen, and proved, for the space of two or three years, in their company.

In dissimulations until they have their purposes, and afterward in oppression and tyranny when they can obtain them, they do exceede all other nations upon earth; as he says also they do in pride, ambition, disdain, and lustfulness.

But to declare to your Honours (as he procedes) such things as I have heard with my own ears, and seen with my own eyes in their writing, which are intended to your destruction, the loss of your lives, lands, wives, and children, and the ruin of the whole realm, the suppression of the Commonwealth, and bondage of the Country for ever. First the King knoweth perfectly the stout and divellish hearts of the people of England, to work treason and make insurrections, and therefore he will not desire the crown, except

except he may first have some of the strong holds, ports, and towns (mark these three words well) for his refuge at all times, until his Majesty may bring in power to withstand his enemies. For he purposeth to make all our haven towns stronger towards the land, than they be towards the sea, that a few soldiers may keep the realm in quietness, and burn the country on every side three or four times in a year, till they can be content to observe all the Constitutions, Ordinances, and Laws; for say they, if we have the sea to victual us, we shall have power to rule England, so long, till they be able to suffer it no longer. They trust that the Queen's Highness, to maintain the King, will pull the realm so much as in her lieth. They think, that there are but few of the Council but will be contented, either by gifts of the Queen's Majesty, or else for great bribes, to grant the King a just title, or else to receive him in upon the one Part, that he may overcome the other.

Ye will say, how could this fellow know their Counsels? I was Chamberlain to one of the Privy Council, and with all diligence gave myself to write and read Spanish; which I kept secret from my Master and fellow-servants, and served diligently, that I might be trusted in my Master's Closet or Study, where I might read such writing which I saw brought daily into the Council Chamber, which I did as opportunity served; yet I understood not their concluded counsels, only the effect of such letters as I have seen, which were sent from one Counsellor to another. I saw certain letters sent from the Emperour half a year before the King came out of England, wherein was contained these privities: 'That
' the King should make his excuse to the Queen, that he would
' go see his Father in Flanders, and that immediately he would re-
' turn; seeing the good simple Queen is so jealous over my son,
' we shall make her agree unto all our requests before his return,

‘or else keep him here exercised in our affairs, till we may prevale
‘with the Council, who doubtless will be won by fair promises
‘and great gifts politicly placed in time.’ With many other things
how this matter should be handled, and how it should be brought
to pass, how all parties must be followed, whom they may trust,
whom make their friends with bribes, and whom win with fair
words.

In other letters I have read, that the Queen is bound by the
laws of God to endow her Husband in all her Goods and Posses-
sions, so far as in her lieth; and they think she will do it indeed
to the uttermost of her power. But whether the Crown belong
to the Queen or to the realm, the Spaniards know not nor care,
though the Queen, to her damnation, disherit the right heirs ap-
parent, or break her Father’s entail, made by the whole consent
of the realm, which neither she nor the realm can justly alter.
Nevertheless they can be contented to flatter with your Lordships,
until he be allowed, and afterward they must begin to govern,
and bear rule: for which government I would to God ye knew
their counsels, or would credit me in what I have seen or heard.

I have seen other letters, touching Lord Paget, the Lord Trea-
surer, the Lords Talbot and Clinton, whom they love not, nor
dare trust; therefore, think they, if these, and certain other
Lords of the North were made away, they should obtain their
purpose the better. They write also that there be divers other
men in England, whose stoutness must be plucked low, and pow-
er abated. You will find that they think your Lordships, the
Lord Admiral, Oxford, Arundel, Pembroke, and divers others,
to be their Friends. Wherefore their purpose is, if ever they
bear rule, to join with you in counsel for a time, and the state of
the realm once known, immediately to let you die pleasantly with
hanging, racking, heading, and whirling upon wheels, justly ac-
cording to your deserts. Indeed I never saw any such deaths na-

med in their letters; but only *they should be used according to their Law*; which all men know is not to bury any offenders, but to use them as I have told you. Their reason is this; they may not trust them long in their councils, nor keep them in authority, who will be Traytors to their native country. Undoubtedly, say they, that nation that will work treason against their own natural King and Country, will surely, as soon as they begin to smart, or be great, work mischief against us and our King.

They purpose, if ever their will serve them, not to have one living that hath been born these twenty years: but either to drive them into foreign realms, or else to make them slaves, or else to destroy them at home: for we were born out of the Faith, and so, say they, we shall die; and especially all those, which by any means may lay any clame to the Crown. I call God to record, I have heard it with mine ears, and seen the said Persons with mine eyes, who have said, if ever the King obtain the Crown, he would make the Lady Elisabeth safe for ever coming to inherit the same, or any of our cursed nation. Yea, and they trust, that there shall be means found before that time, to dispatch the Lady Elisabeth well enough, by the help of assured Traytors, as they have already in England plenty. I speak not this to move dissention, for that were the best way for the Spaniards to come to their prey. Such a time they look for; and such a time, they say, some nobleman hath promised to provide for them.

The Spaniards say, that if they attain not the Crown, they may curse the time that ever the King was married to a wife so unmeet for him by natural course of years. They say our nobility and Council hath neither learning, wit, nor experience; therefore they doubt not, though not speedily, yet in process of time, to have the upper-hand with learning, wisdom, craft, experience, and policy.

If the King do so little esteem the Queen, when by her Highness he seeketh to obtain the Crown; after what sort will he use himself when he hath obtained his purpose? Does the Queen think that he will remain in England with giving him the realm? The Council of Spain purposeth to establish other matters, and to appoint in England a Vice-Roy, with a great army of Spanish soldiers to keep you in subjection, and let the Queen live at her beads like a good antient Lady. At for the King, he can better away with Antwerp and other places, where he may go a mumming and masking, yea even in the holy time of Lent, night after night.' He therefore recommends due caution from this warning, to behave with fidelity to their country, and union with one another, to keep the Crown from Philip to the right heirs, or threatens them with the loss of possessions, liberties, honor, and lives under the yoke of the Spaniards, whom he describes as proud, imperious, treacherous, designing, lustful, and cruel; and this not only in a few individuals, but as the constitutional vices of the whole kingdom; so general as to be without exception but of one person, whose name on that account deserves to be transmitted with honor, the noble Prince the Duke Medina Celi.

This King was the blessing which Gardiner had provided for his country, and whom in a Sermon which he preached at St. Paul's, on 30th Sept. he did not blush to affirm, was as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate as any Prince that ever was in England; and if he did not prove so, he was content that all his hearers should esteem him an infinite Lyar. In the Parliament that followed, in November, a way was paved for passing the Crown over to Philip, by a request they made to him, that if the Queen died with any Issue, he would take on him the Government of them till they came of age: to which he assented, and they enacted, that if the Queen died before her Children came

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of age, the Government of the kingdom should be in the King's hands. And it was soon reported that the Queen was with child, she being possibly herself deceived as well as the King for some time; in May she was said to have been delivered of a Prince; but some moles or uninformed masses of flesh coming from her, the rumor of her Big Belly was still continued, and June was mentioned as the time of her expected delivery. Whether she was still deceived, or began now to come into a design of deceiving the People, I cannot say; but a declaration which Fox tells us was afterward made to him, (if the woman reported truth) would persuade us to believe the latter. 'That she (the Reporter) lived 'at that time near Aldersgate, and that she was delivered June '11, 1555, being Whitsunday Morning, of a Man-Child. That 'the Lord North and another Nobleman came to her, and with 'very fair offers, desired to have her Child from her; that it 'should be well provided for, if she would swear that she never 'knew, nor had such Child. And after this, other women came 'to her, of whom one, they said, should have been the Rocker: 'but she would in no case part with her child.' But by the 3d of August, the Queen's Great Belly vanished without fruit, and the disorder that occasioned the mistake, rendered it unlikely that she ever should have children; so that Philip's expectations of a Crown from that Event were disappointed. He therefore grew weary of his Queen, and, in 15 months from the marriage, left her to a melancholy, which continued as long as she lived.

The dangerous state the Queen fell into, alarmed Gardiner about the Succession. He desired to have the Lady Elisabeth put out of the way; for notwithstanding some compliances, he knew her education had been amongst the Reformers, and her interest would lead her to oppose the Pope to preserve her own Legitimacy. He therefore set himself to destroy her; and was wont

to say, when they talked of dispatching any Hereticks, *we strip off the leaves, or lop off the branches: but unless we strike at the root, that Hope of Hereticks, we do nothing*^a. How hazardous then must her situation appear, when the cunning of Gardiner concurred with the premeditated designs of Spain to compass her death? But here the secret Providence of God interposed, and by a new scheme of Politicks in Philip defeated the malice of Winchester. He, apprehending the Queen's danger, foresaw that if she died without Issue, and the Lady Elisabeth should be removed, the Crown of England would fall on the head of the Queen of Scotland, and hereby strengthen France, by her alliance with the Dauphin, whom she was to marry; He therefore opposed Gardiner's scheme, and preserved the Princess. On so slight a hair hung all the glories and happiness of England in the reign of Elisabeth.

But the Parliament, which met November 11, 1554, summoned by the Queen without the title of *Supreme Head of the Church*, though not yet by Law taken from her, repealed the attainder of Cardinal Pole, who arrived in London the 24th of this month, as Legate from the Pope, to reconcile the nation to the Apostolick See. The penance enjoined was a repeal of the Laws made against Popery; which the Parliament did accordingly: but not without stipulating for the retention of the Abby Lands. This being agreed to by the Pope, the Parliament revived the statutes against Hereticks, and was dissolved the 16th of January.

Some of the fruits of their reconciliation to the Pope appeared immediately; the Legate opened his Spiritual Court, in which were publickly exposed to sale Absolutions for all kinds of offences past, and licences for most in times to come, according to a Table of rates from the apostolical Chancery at Rome^b. Of whose shameless

^a Godwin's Annals.

^b In quo plus scelerum discas licet, quam in omnibus omnium vitiorum Summistis & Summariis. Et plurimis quidem *licentia*, omnibus autem *absolutio* empturientibus proposita. Espencae Comment. in Titum, cap. 1. digr. 1.

less proceedings the following fact may be a sufficient taste and evidence ; being Mr. William Strickland's own report of what happened to him at this time.

Mr. Strickland, of Bointon, near Bridlington, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, (being then either one of Queen Mary's Council at York, or Secretary to her Council there,) fearing to be questioned for not coming to Mass, which he resolved never to do, and hearing that the Cardinal was come from Rome to reconcile England, furnished with faculties and powers for granting the dispensations and licences above referred to ; sent to his Solicitor in London to procure from the Lord Legate's office a dispensation not to go to church, but to exercise his devotions at home. The Solicitor indeed found it no easy matter, as the suing for such a dispensation created a suspicion that the suitor was an heretick : at length by plausible pretences he removed the suspicion, and obtained the faculty desired, paying properly. While the dispensation was drawing up, an Italian officer of that Court cried out, ' But how old is your Master ? ' ' Would he not also have a licence to keep a Concubine ? ' The Solicitor was abashed, knowing not only that his client was a married man, but a virtuous and strict liver : yet, recollecting that it might help entirely to obliterate the first suspicion, and that he had wisdom enough to make a good use of an ill thing, and that he would be glad to have such an advantage against the Papists, he closed in with the Italian, and asked the price, which was only a French crown more. This dispensation secured him till the last year of Queen Mary's reign, when the Inquisition grew warm in Yorkshire, and he was called before the Commissioners to shew cause for his absenting from Mass. He pleaded the Pope's dispensation ; and being asked for it, and they promising to return it to him again, he produced his double dispensation. The Commissioners, being only English Catholics, and not Italians, were confounded at the sight of it, and heartily ashamed. The first Commissioner

Commissioner taking him home with him, begged him to conceal their reproach, but would never suffer him to have his dispensation back again^a.

Another fruit of this reconciliation was, that as soon as the statutes against Hereticks revived, the Legate granted a Commission for the trial of suspected persons. And the wax was scarce dry before the Bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Salisbury, Norwich and Carlisle sat in St. Mary Overies, in Southwark, to execute this new Commission. January 29 Bishop Hoper and Rogers were cast to be burned; and the next day Bradford, Taylor and Saunders. Rogers was burned at Smithfield the 4th of February; and on the 5th Hoper was carried to Glocester, and Saunders to Coventry to be burned there; and on the 9th of February Taylor suffered at Hadley. Such extreme punishment startled the people: but the Queen had declared she would force nobody in these points; the odium therefore fell upon the King. He, sensible of it, and fearing he should thereby become unacceptable to the nation, procured one of his Spanish Friars to preach before him on the 10th of February, who, in his sermon, greatly blamed the taking away of peoples lives for Religion, and in plane terms inveighed against the Bishops for doing it: he said they had not learned it in Scripture, which taught Bishops in the spirit of meekness to instruct those that opposed themselves, and not to burn them for their consciences. This surprized the Bishops, as well it might, to hear a Spanish Friar declame against burning of Hereticks, at the instigation of a Prince descended from Ferdinand and Isabel, the establishers of the Inquisition in Spain; and who, notwithstanding his intercession in behalf of the Lady Elisabeth, had a zeal fiery enough to expose him to the suspicion of making away with his own Son privately, for too much favoring the

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^a Crashaw's Mittimus to the Jubilee at Rome, p. 30.

the Protestants. But while the King and the Bishops were endeavouring to shift the odium conceived against them by these severities from themselves to the others, neither appear to have used their power or their influence to put an end to them. They still thirsted for the executions, although they did not palate the offence occasioned by them. For though Bradford perhaps was spared at this time much beyond his expectation, on account of this sermon; yet Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, who had been examined by the Commissioners on the 4th of February, and though not then condemned, yet lay ready for it, was not permitted to escape. However, to throw the reproach of the sentence from the Commissioners at London. on the 14th of February he was sent down to Carmarthen, to be examined and sentenced by his Successor Morgan, then Bishop of that Diocese; where he was burned the 30th of March. And I find in the Council Books Letters sent the 18th of March to the Earl of Oxford and Lord Rich 'to be
' present at the burning of such obstinate persons as presently are
' sent down to be burned in divers parts of the County of Essex,
' and to be aiding to the Sheriff of the said shire therein.' And several other letters and writs to noblemen in the month of June for the same purpose in the Counties of Essex, Kent, and Suffex.

Other reasons, in which mercy had no share, preserved the Oxford Bishops at present. For Winchester, ambitious to mount the high throne of Canterbury, and also to exercise the legatine power under the Pope, found that Pole interrupted his views in both, being appointed already Legate *a Latere*, and in possession of the palace at Lambeth, with a promise of the see when it should become vacant. Gardiner therefore, to prevent that vacancy, kept Cranmer alive, and for a while his other two fellow prisoners, alledging, that, could they prevale on those Champions of the Protestant cause to desert their followers, it would have a much better effect in winning over the whole kingdom than burning them.

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In the mean he hoped some event or other might happen to forward his designs. And such an event did fall out in March 1555, in the death of Pope Julius III. to whom succeeded^a Cardinal Marcellus Cervinus; who seems seriously to have intended a reformation of the corruptions of that see, which he found to be so great, that, as if in despair of discharging his duty in it as he ought, he sorrowfully cried out, that 'he did not see how they could be saved who held that high dignity.' Whether this melancholy conviction of His, or a conviction of the Cardinals that he did in good earnest purpose a reformation among them, was the cause, I cannot say: but in twelve days after his election he sickened, and in ten days more his death put an end to all their uneasy apprehensions of being brought back to an Evangelical Simplicity and Purity. Gardiner was now on an Embassy to mediate peace betwixt the French and Spaniards, but could obtain no more than a truce. While he was at Calais the Queen wrote to him to treat with the Cardinal of Lorraine and other state ministers of France to persuade their Master to set up Cardinal Pole, that he might succeed to the Papal Chair. Doubtless Gardiner was Politician enough to have earnestly endeavoured to have procured this great dignity for his Rival, as it would effectually have removed him out of his own way: but the Queen wrote too late, her letter was dated May 29, and Cardinal Caraffa, under the title of Paul IV. was chosen the 23d of the same month. He was of a very different spirit from the last Pope, proud and bloody, and an implacable enemy to Pole. To the English Ambassadors he refused admitting Queen Mary's title of Queen of Ireland, till he had created it into a Kingdom, and made her a present of it. He complained of the Church Lands not being restored, and affirmed the present possessors could not keep them without incurring damnation, and

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that

^a April 6.

that the English must not expect that St. Peter would open Heaven to them, so long as they usurped his goods on earth.

Gardiner took care to feed the Pope's aversion from Pole by ill characters of him, aiming himself at the Purple, and to get the Cardinal recalled, and himself substituted, and then he thought he should secure Canterbury. But, to work this, time was required; and therefore Cranmer's life was necessarily to be prolonged, in order to ripen and perfect Gardiner's schemes. Such influence had the Court Intrigues on the Oxford Prisoners at this time, to whom we now return; whom we left in confinement about the middle of the year 1554.

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§. 7. *Prison Letters to and from Ridley.*

In September a Letter was sent from the Council to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Oxford to deliver the late Bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley and Latimer over to the charge of the new Mayor and Bailiffs that were to succede. About which time Boner and the other Bishops held their visitations, which put many to their shifts; some indeed boldly professed the Faith, and had filled the prisons; others fled the realm, and sought for refuge in other countries; most came over to the established superstition; and not a few, who had not courage enough to endure the fire, attempted to keep the truth in secret, under an outward compliance with the prevailing idolatry. Augustin Bernher, a servant of Latimer's, who travelled betwixt London and Oxford to do good offices betwixt the Prisoners in both places, consulted Ridley on a case of this kind; where an affectionate Husband had advised his wife to such a practice. To which Ridley returned the following answer.

To

‘ To Augustin Bernher.

Brother Austin,

Where you desire so earnestly to know my mind in that piece of the Husband's letter unto his wife, wherein he permits her ‘ to do as she may, when she cannot what she would,’ giving this reason, that ‘ she must keep her religion as she may, in this realm, and ‘ God shall accept her will, and shall impute the fault to others . . . ‘ What blame is in her, if she use the religion here as she may, ‘ though it be not as she would.’ This seemeth to me to be a perilous saying, wherein I fear me the man tendereth his wife too much. I wish rather he had counselled her to depart the realm: for peradventure, she tarrying, to have bidden her openly and boldly, when she should have been commanded to follow ungodliness, to have bidden her (I say) there and then to have confessed the Truth, and to have stood in it; he thought, and peradventure knew, it was more than she was like to do. But, I suppose, if she had considered more deeply her Husband's mind in writing, that his counsel favoured more of a too tender zeal towards her, than of the contempt of all worldly and carnal affection, which ought to be in Christ's cause; and upon the same had required licence to have departed the realm; yea, and then had departed indeed, rather than, after certain knowledge had of their ungodly ways, to seem to allow the same by her (in this case) open fact; and so not to have followed her Husband's former counsel: I think she should less have offended her Husband than she doth now, in that she hath made his privy and secret letter, not so warily written (methinks) as I would have wished it had been, (if it were her deed) to have come to the knowledge of those, that will use it, and construe it to the worst, to the defence and maintenance of ungodly ways.

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N. R.’

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With this answer Bernher on his return to London might probably carry a Letter to Bradford, in which Ridley points out the chief strength of the Roman Cause ; and commissioned Bernher withal to acquaint Bradford what he had written to invalidate these principal and leading Questions.

‘ To Master Bradford.

Brother Bradford,

I wish you and your company in Christ, yea, and all the holy Brotherhood that now with you in divers prisons suffereth and beareth patiently Christ's cross for the maintenance of his Gospel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

Sir, considering the state of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be set to fight under Christ's banner and his cross against our ghostly enemy the Divil, and the old serpent Satan ; methinks I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines, which he hath to impugn Christ's verity, his gospel, his faith : and the same two also to be the most massy posts and most mighty pillars whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth his satanical synagogue. These two, Sir, are they, in my judgment, the one his false doctrine and idolatrical use of the Lord's Supper ; and the other the wicked and abominable usurpation of the Primacy of the See of Rome. By these two Satan seemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom : by these two he driveth down mightily (alas !) I fear me, the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poisonous rotten posts he hath so painted over with such a pretence and color of religion of unity in Christ's Church, of the Catholick faith, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect of God. Wherefore John saith (Revel. 11.) not without
great

great cause, *if any know not Satan's subtleties and the depths thereof, I will wish him no other burthen* to be laden withall.

Sir, because these be his principal and main posts whereupon standeth all his falshood, craft, and treachery, therefore according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little (God knoweth) that I can do, and of my shot I know they pass not. Yet will I not (God willing) cease to do the best that I can, to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Christ's gospel. I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scriblings, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. Good Brother Bradford, let the wicked surmise and say what they list, know you for a certainty by God's grace, without all doubt, that in Christ's Gospel's cause against the foresaid God's enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewell, dear Brother, and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren, to have good remembrance of the condemned hereticks (as they call them) of Oxford in your prayer. The bearer shall certify you of our state. Farewell in the Lord. From Bocardo.

Yours in Christ,

N. R.

Ridley's pieces against Transubstantiation and the Papal Supremacy were returned again by some faithful Bearer, with this Letter.

* To my dear Fathers Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, Dr. Latimer, prisoners in Oxford for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, and his Holy Gospel.

Almighty God our heavenly Father more and more kindle our hearts and affections with his love, that our greatest cross may be
to

to be absent from him, and strangers from our home, and that we may godly contend more and more to please him, Amen.

As always I have had great cause to praise our dear Father through Christ: so methinks I have more and more, in seeing more likely the end of my life, which is due for my sin, to be (through the exceeding grace of Christ) a testimony of God's truth. Thus the Lord dealeth not with every body: not that every body hath not more deserved at God's hands than I, who have deserved more vengeance than any other, I know of my time and state: but that by me I hope the Lord will make the riches of his grace to his glory to be seen more excellent. With me therefore I humbly beseech you all, my most dear Fathers in God, to give thanks for me; and as you do, still to pray for me, that the Lord, as for his love's sake in Christ he hath begun his good work in me, even so of and for the same his love's sake in Christ, he would make it perfect, and make me continue to the end, as I hope he will, for his mercy and truth endureth for ever.

As for your parts in that it is commonly thought your staff standeth next to the door, ye have the more cause to rejoice and be glad, as they which shall come to your fellows under the altar: to the which society God with you bring me also in his mercy, when it shall be his good pleasure.

I have received many good things from you, my good Lord, Master, and dear Father, N. Ridley; fruits I mean of your godly labor. All which I send unto you again by this Bringer: one thing excepted, which he can tell I do keep upon your further pleasure to be known therein. And herewithal I send you a little treatise which I have made, that you might peruse the same; and not only you, but also ye my other most dear and reverend Fathers in the Lord for ever, to give to it your approbation as ye may think good. All the prisoners hereabout, in manner, have seen it, and read it, and as therein they agree with me, nay rather with the truth,

truth, so they are ready, and will be, to signify it as they shall see you give them example. The matter may be thought not so necessary as I seem to make it. But yet if ye knew the great evil that is like hereafter to come to posterity by these men, as partly this Bringer can signify unto you, surely then could you not but be most willing to put hereto your helping hands. The which thing that I might more occasion you to perceive, I have sent you here a writing of Harry Hart's own hand, whereby ye may see how Christ's glory and grace are like to lose much light, if that your sheep *quondam* be not something holpen by them who love God, and are able to prove, that all good is to be attributed only and wholly to God's grace and mercy in Christ without other respect of worthiness than Christ's merits. The *effects* of salvation they so mingle and confound with the *cause*, that if it be not seen to, more hurt will come by them, than ever came by the Papists, inasmuch as their life commendeth them to the world more than the Papists. God is my witness that I write not this, but because I would God's glory and the good of his people. In Free-will they are plane Papists, yea Pelagians, and ye know a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. They utterly contemn all learning. But hereof shall this Bringer shew you more. As to the chief Captains therefore of Christ's Church here I complain of it to you; as truly I must do of you even unto God in the last day, if ye *will* not as ye *can*, help something that the truth of the doctrine may remain to posterity in this behalf, as ye have done on the behalf of matters expugned by the Papists. God for his mercy in Christ guide you, my most dearly beloved Fathers, with his Holy Spirit here, and in all other things as most may make to his glory, and the commodity of his church. Amen.

All here, God therefore be praised! prepare themselves willingly to pledge our Captain Christ, even when he will, and how he will. By your good prayers we shall all fare the better, and therefore

fore we all pray you to continue to cry to God for us; as we, God willing, do and will remember you. My Brethren here with me have thought it their duty to signify this need to be no less than I make it, to prevent the plantations which may take root by these men.

Yours in the Lord,

John Bradford.

Robert Farrar.

Rowland Taylor.

John Philpot.

To which by the same Messenger Ridley returned this answer;

‘ To Master Bradford.

Dearly beloved Brother, Blessed be God our heavenly Father for his manifold and innumerable mercies toward us, and blessed might he be that hath spared us thus long together, that each one of us may bless his mercy and clemency in other unto this day, above the expectation and hope of any worldly appearance.

Whereas you write of the outrageous rule, that Satan our ghostly enemy beareth abroad in the world, whereby he stirreth and raifeth so pestilent and heinous heresies, as some to deny the Blessed Trinity, some the Divinity of our Saviour Christ, some the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, some the Baptism of Infants, some Original Sin, and to be infected with the errors of the Pelagians, and to rebaptize those who have been baptized with Christ's baptism already: alas! Sir, this doth declare this time and these days to be wicked indeed. But what can we look for else of Satan here, and of his ministers, but to do the worst that they can, so far forth as God shall or will suffer them. And now methinks he is less to be marvelled at, at this time, if he bestir him

him by all manner of means that the truth indeed do take no place. For he seeth now, blessed be God! that some go about in deed and in truth, not trifling, but with the loss of all they are able to lose in this world, goods, lands, name, fame, and life also, to set forth God's word and his truth, and by God's grace shall do, and abide in it unto the end: now therefore it is time to bestir him I trow. And as for the diversity of words, what careth he though one be never so contrary to another? He reckoneth all, and so he may, to be His, whosoever prevale, so that truth prevale not. Nevertheless, good Brother, I suppose that the universal plague is most dangerous, which at this day, alas! is fostered and masterfully holden up by wit, worldly policy, multitude of people, power, and all worldly means. As for other the Devil's Galtropes that he casteth in our ways by some of his busy headed yonkers, I trust they shall never be able to do the multitude so great harm. For, blessed be God! these heresies before time, when Satan, by his Servants, hath been about to broach them, have by God's Servants already been so sharply and truly confounded, that the multitude was never infected by them; or else where they have been infected, they are healed again, that now the peril is not so great. And where you say that if your request had been heard, things, you think, had been in better case than they be: know you that concerning the matter you mean [that is God's Election and Predestination] I have in Latin drawn out the places of the Scriptures, and upon the same have noted what I can for the time. Sir, in these matters I am so fearful, that I dare not speak further, yea almost none otherwise than the very text doth, as it were, lead me by the hand. And where you exhort us to help, O Lord, what is else in this world that we now should list to do? I bless my Lord God I never, as methinketh, had more or better leisure to be occupied with my pen in such things as I can do to set forth (when
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they may come to light) God's glory. And I bless my Lord God, through Jesus Christ, my heart and my work are therein occupied, not so fully and perfectly as I would, but yet so as I bless God for the same. Farewell, dear Brother, the messenger tarrieth, and I may not now be longer with you. The Lord I trust verily shall bring us thither, where we shall each one with other, in Christ our Saviour, rejoice and be merry, everlastingly.

Your Brother in Christ,

N. R.

In the Martyr's Letters we are told by Miles Coverdale that on this occasion Dr. Ridley wrote a treatise of Election and Predestination, which was in the hands of some persons at that time, and he hoped would hereafter come to light : but I never heard that it was published ; nor have I been able to meet with it in MS. The great learning and cool judgment of this Prelate, and the entire subjection of his imagination to the reveled will of God, makes the loss of this Treatise much to be lamented.

The Prisoners in Bocardo soon experienced a change from bad to worse, from the officiousness of the Magistrates new in office : And Ridley had the particular mortification to hear that his old acquaintance Hethe, whom he had so friendly and kindly treated during his confinement at Fulham, had passed through Oxford in his return from Worcester to attend Parliament, and never vouchsafed him or his fellow Prisoners the common humanity and civility of a visit. Nay they observed that their confinement was immediately more strait and troublesome. While the malice of their enemies abroad was busy to defame them ; at Oxford, with a report of their attempt to break prison ; and at London, that they began to relent, and had used Mass : on which subject he wrote to Bradford, I suppose toward the end of November.

To

‘ To Master Bradford, Prisoner in the King’s-Bench.

Well Beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all with one heart wish you, with all that love God in deed and truth, grace and health; and especially to our dearly beloved Companions, which are in Christ’s cause, and the cause both of their brethren and of their own salvation, ready and willing to put their neck under the yoke of Christ’s cross. How joyful it was to us to hear the report of Dr. Taylor, and of his godly confession, I ensure you it is hard to express. Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that and all ghostly strength and stomach in the time of adversity. As for the rumors that have or do go abroad, either of our relenting, or massing, we trust that they who know God and their duty toward their Brethren in Christ, will not be too light of credit to believe them. It is not the slanderer’s evil tongue, but a man’s own evil deed, that can with God defile a man; and therefore, by God’s grace, you shall never have cause to do otherwise than you say you do, that is, not to doubt but that we will continue. Like rumor as you have heard of our coming to London, hath been here spread of the coming of certain learned men prisoners hither from London; but as yet we know no certainty whether of these rumors is or shall be more true. Know you that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wish you, and all the rest of our foresaid companions, well in Christ. It should do us much comfort if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome time do stand in Christ’s cause, and in the defence of the truth thereof. We are in good health, (thanks be to God!) and yet the manner of our entreating doth change as four ale doth in summer.

It is reported to us by our keepers, that the University beareth us heavily. A coal chanced to fall in the right out of the chim-

ney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the bailiffs servants sitting by the fire. Another night there chanced a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same he was set in Bocardo*. Upon these things, as is reported, there is risen a rumor in the town and country about, that we would have broken the prison with such violence, as, if the Bailiffs had not played the pretty men, we should have made an escape. We had out of our prison a wall that we might have walked upon, and our servants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields: but now both they and we are restrained of both. The Bishop of Worcester passed by us through Oxford, but he did not visit us. The same day began our restraint to be more, and the book of the Communion was taken from us by the Bailiffs at the Mayor's commandment. No man is licensed to come to us; before, they might, that would, see us upon the wall: but that is so grudged at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained. Sir, blessed be God, with all our evil reports, grudgings and restraints, we are merry in God, and all our care is and shall be, by God's grace, to please and serve Him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporal and momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Peter and Paul, and all the blessed company of the Angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. As yet there was never learned man, or any scholar, or other that visited us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a College of Quondams; for as you know we be no fewer here than three, and I dare say every one well contented with his portion, which I reckon to be our heavenly Father's gracious and fatherly good gift. Thus fare you well. We shall with God's grace one day meet together and be merry: the day assuredly approacheth apace.

* A filthy prison in Oxford for the lowest sort of people, where now were confined an Archbishop of Canterbury and two of his Conprovincials.

apace, the Lord grant that it may shortly come ; for before that day come I fear me the world will wax worse and worse : but then all our enemies shall be overthrown and trodden under foot, righteousness and truth then shall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partners, and all that sincerely love the truth. We all pray you, as you can, to cause our commendations to be made to all such as you know did visit Us and You when we were in the Tower with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mistress Wilkinson and Mrs. Warcup have not forgotten us, but even since we came into Bocardo with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us. Not that else we lack (for God be blessed, who ever hitherto hath provided sufficiently for us) but it is a great comfort, and an occasion for us to bless God, when we see that he maketh them so friendly to tender of us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withall.

Yours in Christ,

N. R.'

Soon after, Grimbold, who had been one of Ridley's Chaplains, was committed to the Marshalsea ; and from a great zeal and regard for his Patron, as he gave out, labored earnestly with Geo. Shipside, brother-in-law to the Bishop, to get his Master's treatises, written in prison, to peruse : and these, either by the negligence of the messenger, or the treachery of Grimbold, fell into the hands of the Papists, who committed Shipside to Bocardo for it, of which misfortune Ridley informed his fellow prisoners in this letter.

' To Master Cranmer and Master Latimer, being separated from him, and prisoners in several places.'

' The cause of my Brother's imprisonment is this, so far as I can perceive. There is a young man called Master Grimbold, which
was

was my Chaplain, a Preacher, and a man of much eloquence both in the English and also in the Latin. To this man, being desirous of all things which I had written and done, since the beginning of my imprisonment, my Brother, (as it is said) hath sent copies (no more, but) of all things that I have done. First, a little treatise which Master Latimer and I wrote in the Tower; where is before my Sayings, N. R. and before Master Latimer's, H. L. also another draught which I drew out of the Evangelists and of St. Paul, that the words of the Lord's Supper are figuratively to be understood, alledging out of the Doctors only Six; three of the Greek Church, which are Origen, Chrysostom ad Cæs. Monachum, and Theodoret, and three of the Latin Church, Tertullian, Augustin, and Galasius. He had of my Brother also a copy of my three positions, in answer to the three questions here propounded to us at Oxford: then also a copy of my disputation in the Schools as I wrote it myself after the disputation. Item the Letter *Ad Fratres in diversis carceribus, To the Brethren in divers prisons.* All these things they have gotten of Grimbald, as my Brother does suppose; not that Grimbald hath betrayed him, but (as is supposed) one whom my brother trusted to carry his letters unto Grimbald: for it will not sink into my head to think that Grimbald would ever play me such a Judas' part. Although these things are chanced far otherwise than I had thought they should (for my mind was that they should not have come abroad until my body had been laid to rest in peace) yet truly I suppose this is not so chanced without God's gracious providence, which he hath over all His, and I trust that God of his goodness shall turn it to his own glory. For it shall evidently appear to the reader of these things abovementioned, which they have, that the cause why I do dissent from the Romish religion is not any study of vain glory or of singularity, but of conscience, of my bounden duty toward God and toward Christ's church, and the salvation

of

of my own Soul; for the which, by God's grace, I will willingly jeopard here to lose life, lands, and goods, name and fame, and what else is or can be unto me pleasant in this world. My brother as yet, because they neither shewed any commission or authority whereby they did examine him, nor also any thing of his letters, (although they said they had them) As yet, I say, my brother hath confessed nothing. But I look for none other, but he shall be forced to tell where he had the copies, and where they be, and I will be content that he shall say the truth, that he had them all of me; let them come and take them, and cast them into the fire, if God knows they will promote his glory, they can do no more than he will suffer them. Because in the book of N. R. and H. L. it is said in the end, that H. L. hath caused his Servant to write it, I would Austin should have word, if any farther search be, to keep him out of the way. God shall reward you both for my Brother; you, my Lord of Canterbury, for your meat and daily comfort, and you, Father Latimer, for your money and comfortable messages. I trust in God my Brother, though he be young, yet will study to learn to bear Christ's cross patiently, as a young scholar in Christ's School. God encrease his Grace in us all. Amen.

This happened, as I apprehend from the Letter to Grindal, about the middle of December. And soon after he received by means of Austin Bernher the liberality of the Dutches of Suffolk to whom he returned a letter which was accompanied with the following.

‘To Augustin Bernher.

Brother Austin,

I thank you for your manifold kindness. I have received my Lady's Grace's alms, six royals, six shillings and eight pence. I have written here a letter to her Grace, but I have made no mention

tion thereof, wherefore I desire you to render to her Grace hearty thanks. Blessed be God, as for myself I want nothing : but my Lady's alms cometh happily to relieve my poor Brothers necessity, whom you know they have cast and keep in prison (as I suppose you know the cause why.) Farewel, Brother Austin, and take good heed I pray you, and let my Brothers case make you the more wary. Read my letter to my Lady's Grace. I would Mrs. Wilkinson and Mrs. Warcup had a copy of it ; for although the letter is directed to my Lady's Grace alone, yet the matter thereof pertaineth indifferently to her Grace and to all good women who love God and his word in deed and truth.

Yours in Christ,

N. R.'

It was but a very little while before Bernher returned again to Oxford with more tokens of Christian Charity from the Dutchesse and other Ladies : but not being permitted to speak with the Bishop in prison, the Bishop sent him this letter.

' To Augustin Bernher.

Brother Austin,

You are heartily welcome to Oxford again, you have made good speed indeed ; and blessed be God for his gracious goodness that all is well with you. That our dearly beloved Brethren in Christ are all in good comfort, hearty in Christ's cause, and stand stedfast in the confession of his true doctrine : it rejoiceth (I assure you) my heart in God to hear it. This day was Dr. Croke with me, and both he and Mrs. Irish mine Hostess told me that Mr. Hoper is hanged, drawn and quartered for treason : but I did not believe them, for it is not the first tale that mine Hostess hath told me of Mr. Hoper. And I trust the tidings that were here spread abroad since
your

your departure, that Mr. Grimbold also should have been arraigned and condemned for treason to be hanged and quartered, was not true: let me hear if there be any such thing. Not three days ago, there was a privy warning given me from a man of God, one Lefley a Glover, that we Prisoners here all three should be shortly and suddenly conveyed into three several Colleges; for what purpose, and how to be ordered God knoweth. At the which time, and at the earnest request of that forenamed Man of God, I did deliver unto him some of the things I had in hand to write out: what they be you shall know of him. Beside the things which he hath, I have some things else, which (if it pleased God) I would wish might come to light, if perchance any thereby might receive the light to love the truth the better, and to abhor the falshood of Antichrist. I have written annotations *in priorem librum Tonsalli plenius, in secundum verò parcius: optarem ut transcriberentur, ne fortassis una mecum fiant subito vulcani cibus*, upon the first book of Tonsal (on the Eucharist) more at large, but upon the second more sparingly: I could wish they might be transcribed, lest perchance they with me may be soon condemned to the fire. I have also many things, but as yet confusedly set together, of the abominable usurpation, pride, arrogancy and wickedness of the See and Bishop of Rome, and altogether in Latin. If those things were written out, I would wish that Mr. Bradford would take them and translate and order them as he should think might best help to open the eyes of the simple to see the wickedness of the synagogue of Satan. But that at your last being here you cast cold water upon mine affection toward Grimbold, else methinks I could appoint where he might occupy himself to his own profit in learning which he liketh, and to no small profit which might ensue to the Church of Christ in England: as, if he would take in hand to interpret Laurentius Valla, which (as he knoweth) is a man of singular eloquence; his book I mean which he made and wrote against that false feign-

ed fable forged of Constantinus Magnus and his donation, and glorious exaltation of the See of Rome : and when he hath done that, let him translate a work of Æneas Sylvius de gestis Basiliensis concilii. In the which although there be many things that favour of the pan, and also he himself was afterward a Bishop of Rome : yet I dare say the Papiſts would glory but little to ſee ſuch books go forth in Engliſh. If you will know where to have theſe books or treatiſes, you may have them both together and many like treatiſes, which paint out the wickedneſs of the See of Rome, in a book ſet forth by a Papiſt called Ortwinus Gratius, intituled, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum*. In that book you ſhall have *Confessionem fratrum Waldenſium*, men of much more learning, godlineſs, ſoberneſs, and underſtanding in God's word, than I would have thought them to have been in that time, before I did read their works. If ſuch things had been ſet forth in our Engliſh tongue heretofore, I ſuppoſe ſurely great good might have come to Chriſt's Church thereby.

To my good Lady's Grace, and to my Lady Vane what thanks can I give, but deſire almighty God to lighten, comfort, and ſtrengthen them evermore in his ways. The other two whom you mention I know not, but the Lord knoweth them ; to whom in them all, and for all their kindneſs I give moſt hearty thanks.

Mr. Bradford deſireth that thanks ſhould be rendered unto you for your comfortable aid, wherewith you comfort him ; but you muſt tell him that he muſt bid ſuch thank you on his account who are not bound to thank you for themſelves ; and if you do ſo, then I ween all we Priſoners of Oxford ſhall ſo ſtop his mouth.

Brother Auſtin, you for our comfort do run up and down, and who beareth your charges God knoweth. I know you muſt needs in ſo doing take much pains. I pray you take this poor token of my good will toward your charges.

N. R.

Bernher

Bernher had seconded Bradford's request to the Bishop that he would answer Harry Hart's treatise on God's Election; and had promised his Master Latimer to return again speedily from London. But Bernher delaying, and the Bishop perceiving the Burgesses were returned, and the Parliament up, which was dissolved the 16th of January 1555, and that they had now obtained, what before was wanting, a Law to burn them; imagining he should soon be called forth to the fire, took the first opportunity of signifying his reconciliation with Bishop Hoper, who had sent him two Letters since their respective confinements, which Ridley had no fair opportunity of answering sooner: but now he would delay it no longer; for whatever jealousies had been between them, mutually suspicious, that one inclined too much to Roman superstition, and the other to German sedition; yet Ridley had made so glorious a stand against Popery, and Hoper had shewn so real a knowledge of the Truth in the great essentials of religion, in some tracts which he wrote in prison, and desired Ridley's opinion about the publication of them, that both were now severally convinced of each other's sincerity and evangelical spirit. Ridley was satisfied that Hoper meant well, and therefore greets him with a warm affection; though still his zeal needed some prudent restraint, which Ridley very honestly advised.

' To my most dear Brother, and Reverend Fellow Elder in Christ,
John Hoper, grace and peace.

My dearly beloved Brother and Reverend Fellow Elder in Christ, I beg your kindness would excuse me that I have not hitherto since your imprisonment and mine returned your love by letters; for I confess that I have received from you (such was your civility) two letters, at several times, but yet at such times as I could not be suffered to write to you again, or when I could I was greatly in doubt whether my letters would have come safely to your hands.

But now, most dear Brother, forasmuch as I understand by your tracts^a, which I have yet but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree, and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our Religion, against which the world at this time so furiously rages, howsoever in time past in smaller matters, and appendages to religion, your wisdom and my plainness (I confess) have in some points varied, each following his several opinion. But now, my dearly beloved Brother, know, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you, in truth, and for the truth's sake, which abideth in us, and, as I am persuaded, shall by the grace of God abide in us for ever. And forasmuch, as I perceive, Brother, the world ceases not to defend its cause, and conspires against Christ our Saviour with all possible force and strength, exciting the supreme powers against the knowledge of God, let us join hands together in Christ, and if we cannot overthrow, yet let us do our best, and as much as in us lieth to shake those powers, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons: and at the same time, Brother, let us prepare ourselves to the day of our dissolution, whereby, after the momentary time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with him in eternal glory.

I pray you, Brother, salute in my name that reverend Father, your fellow-prisoner Dr. Crome, by whom, since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly constancy in confessing the truth of the gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness, the gravity and innocency of that man, almost all England I think hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, who, in such overflowing of ungodliness,

^a These I suppose were, one for the Lord's Supper, another against the Mass, and a third against the Corporeal Presence, which, with several other treatises to the number of twenty four, he wrote in Prison. Fox and Strype.

godliness, and such decay of piety hath given to us in this Father's reverend old age, such a witness for the truth of his gospel. Truly wretched is he, whom the piety and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confess the truth of God. I do not now, Brother, request any answer, for I much fear lest your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands: though you may be assured that I shall always rejoice to hear of your constancy and fortitude in the Lord's quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I had opportunity, sent you my mind touching the matter which in your letters you desired to know, nor can I yet, Brother, be otherwise persuaded. For methinks I foresee so many dangers, that I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your treatises, especially under your own name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion both your own mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the prisoners, by which, otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lord, my most dear Brother, and if there be any more in prison with you for Christ's cause, I beseech you, as you have opportunity, salute them in my name: to whose and your prayers I most humbly recommend myself and my fellow prisoners in the Lord. Once more, and for ever, most dear Brother, farewell in Christ.

This letter was accompanied with another to Bradford.

‘To Master Bradford.

Brother Bradford,

I wish you in Christ our Saviour grace, mercy, and peace, and to all them who are with you, or any where else captives in Christ: to hear that ye be all in good health, and stand constantly in the
confession.

confession of Christ's Gospel, it doth heartily rejoice us. Know ye likewise that we all here be, thanks be to God, in good health and comfort, watching with our lamps lit (I trust in God) when it shall please our Master the Bridegroom to call us to wait upon him unto the marriage. Now we suppose the day doth approach apace, for we hear that the Parliament is dissolved. The Burgesſes of Oxford are come home, and other news we hear not, but that the King is made Protector to the Prince to be born, and that the Bishops have a full authority *ex officio, by their office*, to enquire of heresies. Before the Parliament began, it was a rumor here that certain from the Convocation-house were appointed, yea ready to have come to Oxford; and then there was spied out one thing to lack, for want of a law, to perform their intent. Now seeing they can want no law, we cannot but look for them shortly, I trust to God's glory, let them come when they will.

Brother Bradford, I marvel greatly of good Austin where he is, for that I heard say he promised his Master to have been here before this time; and he had from me that I would be loth to lose, yea to want, when time shall be that it might do, nay help me to do my Lord and my Master Christ service. I mean my scribblings *De abominationibus Sedis Romanæ et Pontificum Romanorum*. I have no copy of the same, and I look daily to be called *in certamen cum antiquo serpente, to the combat with the old serpent*; and so I told him, and I ween you also, by whose means I was more moved to let him have them. I doubt not of his fidelity: I pray God he be in health and at liberty, for I have been and am careful for him. I have heard that Master Grimbald hath gotten his liberty: if without any blemish of Christ's glory I am right glad thereof. My Brother-in-law is where he was, that is, in Bocardo, the common jail of the town. I have written here a letter to Master Hoper, I pray you cause it to be written to him again. Commend me to
all

all your prison-fellows and our brethren in Christ. If Austin were here, I would have had more to say. The Lord grant that all be with him well, who ever preserve you, and all that love our Saviour Christ in sincerity and truth, Amen. Yours, by God's Grace in our Master Christ's cause, unto the stake, and thenceforth without all danger and peril for ever and ever.

I am sure you have heard of our new apparel, and I doubt not but London will have their talk of it. Sir, know you that although this seemeth to us in our case much thanks worthy, yet have we not that apparel that we look for; for this in time will wear, and that which we look for rightly done on, will endure, and is called *stola immortalitatis, the robe of immortality*.

N. R.

In a day or two Austin arrived, and I think with a reply from Harry Hart to the Bishop's Letter to him on the point of God's free Election; but certainly with earnest entreaties from Bradford that Ridley would take in hand to answer Hart's treatise on that subject; and also brought a piece of gold, which Ridley immediately applied to the relief of his Brother Shipside still in prison.

‘To Master Bradford.’

Gratiam & pacem, &c. Although I ween it is not yet three days ago, since you heard from me; yet having such a messenger so diversly enforced, I cannot but say something to you. What? shall I thank you for your golden token? What mean you, man? do you not know that we have victum & amictum è penario regio? *victuals and cloathing from the royal stores?* I was so moved with your token, that I commanded it straitway to be had to Bocardo, which is our common jail. I am right glad of Austin's return; for I was, as I told you, careful for him. Blessed be
God,

God that all is well. I have seen what he brought from you, and shortly surveyed the whole, but in such celerity, that other also might see the same before Austin's return: so that I noted nothing but a confused sum of the matter, and 'as yet what the rest have done, I can tell nothing at all, and it was at the writing hereof in their hands. To your request and Austin's earnest demand of the same, I have answered him (Harry Hart) in a brief letter, and yet he hath replied again: but he must go without any further answer of me for this time. I have told Austin that I for my part, as I can and may, for my tardity and dulness, will think of the matter. We are now so ordered and straitly watched, that scanty our servants dare do any thing for us: so much talk and so many tales (as is said) are told of us abroad. One of us cannot easily, nor shortly be of knowledge of another's mind, and you know I am youngest many ways. Austin's persuasions may do more with me, in that I may do conveniently in this matter, armed with your earnest and zealous letters, than any rhetorick either of Tully and Demosthenes, I ensure you thereof. With us it is said that Master Grimbald was adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; of whom we hear now, that he is at liberty. So we heard of late that Master Hoper was hanged, drawn, and quartered in deed, not for heresy, but for treason: but blessed be God, we hear now that all is true alike! False tongues will not cease to lie, and mischievous hearts to imagine the worst. Farewel in Christ, and token for token now I send you not; but know this, that (as it is told me) I have two scarlet gowns that escaped I cannot tell how, in the spoil, whereof you shall have your part. Commend me to all our Brethren, and your fellow prisoners in the Lord.

Yours in Christ,

N. R.

But

But now the Commissioners were appointed by the Legate to enquire after heresies: on the 29th Hoper and Rogers were delivered to the secular arm: the latter remonstrating, that though he had broken no Law of theirs, he had been unjustly detained a prisoner half a year in his own house, and a year in Newgate, at great costs and expence with a wife and ten children to support, and not a penny from his livings was allowed him. The Chancellor told him he had no wife, and his children were Bastards; and that as to his livings, he had no title to a penny of them; for that Ridley who gave them to him was an Usurper, and consequently he himself had been the unjust possessor of them. Rogers asked my Lord Chancellor, if the King, who gave Ridley the Bishoprick, was an Usurper. In his rash and hasty petulance, the Bishop said he was an Usurper: but cooling a little afterward, he said he had misused his terms to call the King an Usurper. However, he was burned on the 4th of February. The day after his condemnation, on 30th January, Bradford, Taylor, and Saunders received the like sentence: and on the 8th February Bradford wrote as follows;

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III.

‘ To my dear Fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer. Jesus Emanuel. My dear Fathers in the Lord, I beseech God our sweet Father, through Christ, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all. Amen.

I had thought that every of your staves had stood next the door; but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear Brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, and as this day, I think, or to morrow at the uttermost, hearty Hoper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor end their course, and receive their crown. The next am I who hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankful-

ness for this exceeding great mercy, that among so many thousands it pleaseth his mercy to choose me to be one in whom he will suffer. For although it be most true that *justè patior, I suffer deservedly*; (for I have been a great hypocrite and a grievous sinner, the Lord pardon me! yea he hath done it, (he hath done it indeed) yet, *hic autem quid mali fecit? This man, what evil hath he done?* Christ whom the Prelates persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deserveth death. Therefore ought I most heartily to rejoice for this dignation and tender kindness of the Lord toward me, which useth the remedy for my sin, as a testimonial of his testament, to his glory, to my everlasting comfort, to the edifying of his Church, and to the overthrowing of Antichrist and his kingdom. O what am I, Lord, that thou shouldst thus magnify me, so vile a wretch as I have always been? Is this thy wont to send for such an hypocrite as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didst for Elias? O dear Fathers, be thankful for me, and pray for me, that I still may be found worthy, in whom the Lord would sanctify his holy name. And for your parts, make you ready; for we are but your gentlemen ushers. *Nuptiæ agni paratæ sunt, venite ad nuptias. The marriage of the Lamb is ready. Come ye to the marriage.* I now go to leave my flesh there, where I received it. I shall be conveyed thither as Ignatius was to Rome, *Leopardis, to the beasts*: by whose evil I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them better by me*. For my farewell therefore I write and send this unto you, trusting, shortly to see you, where we shall never be separated. In the mean season, I will not cease, as I have done, to commend you to our Father in heaven. And that ye would so do by me I most heartily pray every one of you. You know now I have most need. But *fideliis Deus*

* He means the design there was of sending him into his own country of Lancashire to be burned.

Deus, qui nunquam sinet nos tentari supra id quod possumus: Faithful is God who will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able. He never did it hitherto, and I am assured, he will never do it. Amen. A dextris est mihi, non movebor. Propter hoc lætabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam in inferno, nec dabit me sanctum suum, per gratiam in Christo, videre corruptionem. E carcere, raptim, expectans omni momento carnificem. He is on my right hand, I shall not be moved. For this my heart shall be glad; for he will not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer me his holy one, through grace in Christ, to see corruption. From my prison, in haste, expecting every moment the executioner.

8th Feb. 1555.

John Bradford.

This was answered without delay.

* To Master Bradford.

Oh dear Brother, seeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father, for Christ our Saviour's sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come; happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be awake at the Lord's calling. *Euge! serve bone & fidelis; quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituet, et intrabis in gaudium domini. Well done, thou good and faithful servant; because thou hast been faithful in few things, he shall place thee over many things, and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord.* O dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plenteously poured abroad amongst His, our dear brethren in that country, by this your Mar-

tyrdom. Where the Martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood, and lost their lives, O what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine? If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place; Brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place, wherein thou shalt suffer, and shall be with thy ashes, in Christ's cause, sprinkled over withal. All thy country may rejoice of thee, that ever it brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in His cause, of whom he had received it.

Brother Bradford so long as I shall understand, that thou art in thy journey, by God's grace I shall call upon our heavenly father for Christ's sake to see thee safely home: and then, good Brother, speak you, and pray for the remnant that are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

We do look now every day, when we shall be called on, blessed be God. I ween I am the weakest many ways of our company, and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father, by Christ, that since I heard of our dear Brother Rogers's departing and stout confession of Christ and his truth, even unto the death, my heart, blessed be God, so rejoiced of it, that since that time, I say, I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good Brother, blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewel. Farewel.

Your Brother in Christ,

N. R. Brother, farewell!

And on the same occasion he wrote

To

To Augustin Bernher.

Brother Austin,

I bleſs God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts given unto our dear Brethren in Chriſt, eſpecially to our Brother Rogers, whom it pleaſed to ſet forth firſt, no doubt but of his gracious goodneſs and fatherly favor towards him. And likewise bleſſed be God in the reſt, as Hoper, Saunders and Taylor, whom it hath pleaſed the Lord likewise to ſet in the fore front of the battle, againſt his adverſaries, and hath endued them all (ſo far as I can hear) to ſtand in the confeſſion of his truth, and to be content in his cauſe and for his goſpel's ſake to loſe their lives. And evermore and without end bleſſed be even the ſame our heavenly Father for our dear and entirely beloved Brother Bradford, whom now the Lord, I perceive, calleth for ; for I ween he will no longer vouchſafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that He (for thoſe gifts of grace which the Lord hath beſtowed on him plenteouſly) hath holpen thoſe who are gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the high way, & *ſic currere uti tandem acciperent præmium*, and ſo to run that they may attain the prize. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt; and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had ſuch a one in my houſe. And yet again I bleſs God in our dear Brother, and of this time Protomartyr Rogers, that he was alſo one of my calling to be a Prebendary Preacher of London. And now becauſe Grindal is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will beſtow him) I truſt to God it ſhall pleaſe him of his goodneſs to ſtrengthen me, to make up the trinity out of Paul's Church, to ſuffer for Chriſt, whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witneſs unto, Paul and all the Apoſtles preached. Thus fare you well. I had no paper, I was conſtrained thus to write.

But

But before Ridley could write this Letter the Spanish Friar's Sermon at Court against burning of Hereticks was preached, and probably put a stop at present to Bradford's martyrdom. Such as knew not the true human reason endeavoured to account for it variously according to their fancies; of which Ridley takes notice in another Letter which not long after he sent

‘ To Master Bradford.

Dearly beloved Brother Bradford, I had thought of late that I had written unto you your last Farewel, until we should have met in the kingdom of heaven, by our dear Brother Austin; and I sent it to meet you in Lancashire, whither it was said here you were appointed to be sent to suffer. But now since they have changed their purpose and prolonged your death, I understand it is no other thing than that once happened to Peter and Paul. To which although they were of the first which were cast into prison, and as little shunned peril as any other did, yet God would not have them put to death with the first, because he had more service to be done by their ministry, which his gracious pleasure was they should do: so without doubt, dear Brother, I am persuaded that the same is the cause of the delay of your martyrdom. Blessed be the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost for your three-fold Confession^a. I have read all three with great comfort and joy and thanksgiving unto God for his manifold gifts of grace, wherewith it is manifest to the godly reader that God did assist you mightily. And blessed be God again and again, who gave you so good a mind and remembrance of your oath once made against the Bishop of Rome, lest you should be partaker of the common perjury which all men almost are now fallen into, in bringing in again that wicked usurped power of his; which oath was made
according

^a He was three times examined before the Commissioners.

according to the Prophet, *in judgment, in righteousness and in truth*, and therefore cannot without perjury be revoked : let Satan roar and rage and practice all the cruelty he can. Oh good Lord, that they are so busy with you about the Church ! It is no new thing, Brother, that is happened unto you ; for that was always the clamor of the wicked Bishops and Priests against God's true Prophets ; *the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord* : and they said the law shall not depart from the Priest, nor wisdom from the Elder : and yet in them whom they only esteemed for their Priests and Elders there was neither God's law, nor godly wisdom. It is a marvellous thing to hear what vain communication is spread abroad of you. It is said here that you are pardoned your life, and that when you were appointed to be banished and to go, I cannot tell whither, you should say that you had rather here suffer, than go where you could not live after your conscience ; and that this pardon should be begged for you by Borne the Bishop of Bath, for that you saved his life. Again some say, and among others my Hostess reported, that you are highly promoted, and are a great man with my Lord Chancellor. This I could not believe, but did deny it as a false lie : so surely was I always persuaded of your constancy. What God will do with Us he knoweth. In the mean time wonderful it is to behold how the wisdom of God hath infatuated the policy of the world, and scattered the crafty devices of the worldly wise. For when the state of religion was once altered, and persecution began to wax hot, no man doubted but Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley should have been the first to have been called to the stake. But the subtle policy of the world setting us apart, first assaulted them, by whose infirmity they thought to have more advantage : but God disappointed their subtle purpose. For whom the world esteemed weakest (praised be God) they have found most strong, sound and valiant in Christ's cause unto the death, to give such an onset as I dare say all the Angels

gels in heaven do no less rejoice to behold in them, than they did in the victorious constancy of Peter, Paul, Isaiah, Elias, or Jeremiah. For greater love hath no man than to bestow his life. Good Brother, have me and us all continually in your remembrance to God in your prayers, as God willing we shall not be in our prayers forgetful of you.

Your own in Christ,

N. R.

§. 8. *Some account
of Ridley's Chap-
lains.*

So mistaken was the worldly Gardiner in the nature of spiritual fortitude and the grace of God, that he drove on the execution of these subalterns from a persuasion that their torments would intimidate the great Captains and Leaders themselves, and compel them to come in. But they derived new strength and courage from the constancy with which these martyrs suffered. And great comfort it was to the imprisoned Bishop of London to find, that he had made so good a choice of persons to employ as his Chaplains, and promote as useful Preachers in the Church of St. Paul's. Rogers, the first martyr, had been collated by him to a Prebend in that church; Bradford, whom he had invited to a Fellowship in Pembroke-Hall, was his Domestick Chaplain; and so also was Grindal, whom God had reserved for the restoring his true Religion again under Queen Elisabeth. However, some whom he had distinguished with his favors fell away and apostatized. One of which was young Grimbald his Chaplain, who was at this time returned to the idolatrous Church of Rome, yet kept in prison, as it was believed, to be a spy upon the other Prisoners, and was therefore often visited by Weston, Storie, and other of their great men. Bradford was now so straitly confined, that it would be death to his Keeper if any spoke with him. He therefore desires

ry

Bernher, if he can, to learn what Grimbold had spoken to Dr. Story and others : for the cause of all this trouble both to the Keeper and himself, he says, was thought to come from Grimbold. It is therefore to be supposed, how charitably soever his good Master might be in not seeing it, that his treacherous Chaplain had labored to get from Shipside what writings he could of the Bishop's, that he might make a merit by delivering them up to the men in power. Another instance we meet with in another Chaplain of his, Mr. West, who wrote to him about the beginning of April this year, with great earnestness and affection, to consider the danger he was in, and remember himself; to weigh well the things that pertain to God's glory; to recollect that in the many changes which had been made in the two last reigns, there were some, of which the Bishop himself had expressed a dislike; not to stand in any thing against his learning, and to beware of vain-glory : that for his own part he had so greatly desired to preserve him, that he had made much suit for him; and mentioned some persons to whom he advises the Bishop to write to the same purpose; for that he must either agree or die. To whom the Bishop returned the following excellent letter.

Martyr's
Letters.
fol. 469.

‘ To Master West.

I wish you grace in God and love of the truth, without the which truly established in mens hearts by the mighty hand of Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir, know you this, that I am, blessed be God, persuaded that this world is but transitory, and (as St. John saith) the world passeth away and the lust thereof. 1 John 11. I am persuaded Christ's words to be true : Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven, Matth. x.

And I believe that no earthly creature shall be saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present, nor to come, high nor low, life nor death be able to remove me thence.

It is a godly wish that you wish me 'deeply to consider things 'pertaining unto God's glory : ' but if you had wished also that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity should let me to maintain God's word and his truth, which is his glory and true honor, it would have liked me well. You desire me 'for 'God's sake to remember myself.' Indeed, Sir, now it is time so to do, for so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger than of the loss both of body and soul ; and I trow then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awaken him. He that will not fear him who threateneth to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear ? With this fear, O Lord, fasten thou together our frail flesh, that we never swerve from thy laws.

You say you have made much suit for me. Sir, God grant that you have not in suing for my worldly deliverance impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth. You have known me long indeed, in the which time 'it hath chanced me, 'as you say, to mislike some things.' It is true, I grant ; for sudden changes without substantial and necessary cause, and the heady setting forth of extremities, I did never love. Confession unto the minister, who is able to instruct, correct, comfort ; and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation : and so I assure you I think even at this day.

My doctrine and my preaching you say you have heard often, and after your judgment have thought it godly, saving only for the sacrament ; which thing although it was of me reverently handled, and

and a great deal better than of the rest (as you say) yet in the margin you write warily, and in this world wisely, ‘and yet methought ‘all founded not well.’ Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my Friend, and a man whom I fancied for plaineness and faithfulness as much, I assure you, as for your learning. And have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing that I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good lessons ‘to stand in ‘nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory.’ Truly, Sir, I herein like your counsel very well, and by God’s grace I intend to follow it unto my live’s end.

To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avale me. For this I would have you to know, that I esteem nothing avaleable for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methink I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord’s will be fulfilled how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lord’s words must be verified on me, that I shall appear before the incorrupt judge, and be accountable to him for all my former life. And, although the hope of his mercy is my sheet anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I persuaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore moveth me, considering you were one of my family and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special cure; and of all them who were within my house, which

indeed ought to be an example of godliness to all the rest of my cure, not only of good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power ; but alas ! now when the trial doth separate the chaff from the corn, how small a deal it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away. This conscience, I say, doth move me to fear lest the lightness of my family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction which should have been done. But blessed be God which hath given me grace to see this my default, and to lament it from the bottom of my heart before my departing hence. This conscience doth move me also now to require both you and my Friend Dr. Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you as my friends) but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience, and the love that I bear unto you, biddeth me now say unto you both in God's name, fear God, and love not the world ; for God is able to cast both body and soul into hell fire, *when his wrath shall suddenly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him*, Ps. 11. And the saying of St. John is true ; *all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the father, but of the world ; and the world passeth away, and the lust thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever*, John 11. If this gift of grace, which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation, were truly and unfeignedly grafted and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth, as is now alas ! seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here peradventure you would know of me, what is the truth ? Sir, God's word is the truth, as St. John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore

fore. For albeit man doth vary and change as the moon, yet God's word is stable, and abideth one for evermore : and of Christ it is truly said, *Christ yesterday and to day*, and the same is also *for ever*.

When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth in God's word written that the common Prayer of the Church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I ensure you, I never found man (so far as I do remember) neither Old nor New, Gospeller nor Papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of God's word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth ? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once of us all ? For what is it I pray you else to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same ? This one thing have I brought for an ensample : other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not to rehearse. For he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any one open truth of God's word, if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his truths, rather than he will endanger himself to lose, or to leave that he loveth better indeed than he doth God and the truth of his word.

I like very well your plane speaking, wherein you say I must either agree or die ; and I think you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape this death which is so common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation ? Lord grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement so long as I live !

And

And because, I dare say, you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and I think verily wishing me to live and not to die; therefore bearing you in my heart no less love in God than you do me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord (and that I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers in God) that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge, that which is grounded upon God's word, but will either for fear or gain of the world, shrink and play the apostate, indeed you shall die the death: you know what I mean. And I beseech you all my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say; for this may be the last time, peradventure, that ever I shall write unto you. From Bocardo in Oxford, the 18th day of April, 1555.

N. R.'

Unhappy West shewed what force this letter had on his mind by the event: he was convinced of his great wickedness, but wanted courage to renounce his preferments and the world. His burthened conscience looked up with envy to the lustre in which his Master shone in the midst of all his sufferings, and regretting his own infamous security, pined away with grief and remorse, and presently died: a useful lesson to every base deserter of the truth once known! The good Bishop's constancy gave him a peace in his prison, under the frowns of power, which poor West's preferments and the smiles of the Great could not procure him: the one bravely scorning a temporal death to preserve that peace, outlived the other, who hastened his temporal death, in seeking to avoid it by daring an eternal One; yielding an unhappy testimony to the truth of Ridley's strong reasoning. ' Sir, I know
' I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it to
' make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape
' this

‘this death which is so common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation?’ yet not with arrogant vaunt of his own courage, but praying for the assistance of God’s strengthening grace, ‘Lord grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement so long as I live.’

Another of his chaplains, Grindal, took a middle course, and preserved both his conscience and life to be an instrument of future good, by flight. He left his country, a voluntary exile, and retired to Frankford in Germany, from whence in the following month, he sent this letter to the Bishop.

‘To Dr. Ridley, Prisoner in Oxford.’

Gratiam & consolationem a Domino et Servatore nostro Jesu Christo.
Grace and consolation from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Sir,
I have often been desirous to have written to you, and to have heard from you: but the iniquity of the times hath hitherto always put me forth of all hope and comfort, now at present God seemeth to offer some likelihood that these might come to your hands, which I thought to use, referring the rest to God’s disposition. Your present state not I only (who of all other am most bounden) but also all other our brethren here, do most heartily lament, as joined with the most miserable captivity that ever any Church of Christ hath suffered. Notwithstanding, we give God most humble thanks, for that he hath so strengthened you and others your concaptives to profess a good profession before so many witnesses. And I doubt nothing, but he that hath called you and them not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him, doth not leave you destitute of that unspeakable comfort which he useth to minister abundantly to his in the School of the Cross. He grant that his name may be glorified in you, whether it be by life or by death,

death, as may be most to his honor, and your everlasting consolation !

Sir, I thought it good to advertise you partly of our state in these parts. We be here dispersed in divers and several places. Certain be at Zurick, good students of either University a number, very well entreated of Mr. Bullinger, of the other ministers, and of the whole city. Another number of us remain at Strasburgh, and take the advantage of Mr. Martyr's lessons, who is a very notable Father. Mr. Scory and certain other with him be in Frisland, and have an English Church there, but not very full. The greatest number is at Frankford, where I am at this present by occasion ; a very fair city, the magistrates favorable to our people, with so many other accommodations as exiles can well look for. Here is also a Church, and now (God be thanked) well quieted by the prudence of Mr. Cox, and other which meet here for that purpose. So that now we trust God hath provided for such as will fly forth of Babylon a resting place, where they may truly serve him and hear the voice of their true Pastor. I suppose in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundred students and ministers on this side the seas. Such a Lord is God to work diversly in His, according to his unsearchable wisdom, who knoweth best what is in man. *Primus est victoriæ titulus gentilium manibus apprehensum dominum confiteri. Secundus ad gloriam gradus est, cautâ secessione subtractum, domino reservari. Illa publica, hæc privata confessio est. Ille judicem sæculi vincit, hic contentus Deo suo judice conscientiam puram cordis integritate custodit. Isthic fortitudo promptior, hic sollicitudo securior. Ille appropinquante hora sua jam maturus inventus est, Hic fortasse dilatus est : qui patrimonio derelicto idcirco secessit, quia non erat negaturus, confiteretur utique si fuisset & ipse detentus.* [Cyprian de Lapsis.] *The most victorious triumph is, that, being in bonds for the gospel, we boldly confess our Lord. The next honor, that withdrawing ourselves by a prudent retreat*

treat we reserve ourselves for our Master's service. That is a publick, this a private confession. The first overcomes the temporal Judge, the other, content that God should judge his heart, preserves a conscience unviolated. The former shews a readier courage and intrepidity, the latter purchases his present security at the expence of great anxiety. The first when called upon is found already mature for glory, the latter perhaps stays for ripening. Though he who leaving all retires because he would not deny Christ, would also have confessed him had his retreat been prevented.

We have also here certain copies of your answers in the disputation. Also Antoniana objecta cum responsione. The treatise in English against Transubstantiation, which in time shall be translated into Latin. It hath been thought best not to print them till we see what God will do with you, both for fear of incensing their malicious fury, and also of restraining you and others from writing hereafter ; which should be a greater loss to the Church of Christ, than forbearing of these for a time. If I shall know your will to be otherwise in it, the same shall be followed. Thus much I thought good to let you understand concerning those matters, and concerning the poor state of men here : who most earnestly and incessantly do cry unto God for the delivery of his Church, to behold the cause of the afflicted, and to hear the groans of his imprisoned ; knowing that you, who in this state have more familiar access unto God, do not forget us. God comfort you, aid you, and assist you with his spirit and grace, to continue his unto the end, to the glory of his name, the edification of his Church, and the subversion of Antichrist's kingdom. Amen. From Franckford, the 6th of May 1555.

E. G.

To which Ridley returned this answer on the last day of the same month.

‘ Blessed be God our heavenly Father who inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me, and blessed be he again who hath heard your request, and hath brought your letters safe unto my hands : and over all this I bless him through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state and of other our dearly beloved brethren and countrymen in those parts beyond the sea.

Dearly beloved Brother Grindal, I say to you and all the rest of our brethren in Christ with you, rejoice in the Lord ; and as you love me and the other my reverend Fathers and Concaptives (which undoubtedly are gloria Christi) lament not our state : but I beseech you and them all to give unto our heavenly Father for his endless mercies and unspeakable benefits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For know ye that as the weight of his Cross hath encreased upon us, so he hath not, nor doth not cease to multiply his mercies to strengthen us, and I trust, yea by his grace I doubt nothing, but he will so do for Christ our Master’s sake even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favor and grace with the magistrates, ministers and citizens at Zurick, at Franckford and elsewhere, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here that do indeed love Christ and his true word. I ensure you it warmed my heart to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory and Cox. Oh that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheke, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampson, of Chambers : but I trust to God they be all well. And, Sir, seeing you say that there be in those parts with you of students and ministers so good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God’s glory may be set forth by us. For whensoever God shall call us home (as we look
daily

daily for none other, but when it shall please God to say, Come) ye (blessed be God) are enough through his aid to light and set up again the lantern of his word in England. As concerning the copies ye say ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did wander and could find the way to come to you. My disputation, except you have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have there withal the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

As for the treatise in English *contra Transubstantiationem*, *vix possum adduci ut credam operæ pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur. Cætrum quicquid sit, nullo modo velim ut quicquam quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis Dominus constituerit fieri, vobis prius certo constiterit; against Transubstantiation, I can hardly be brought to think that it would be worth while to translate it into Latin. But whatever it be, I would by no means that any thing should be published in my name in either language, till ye shall first be certain what God shall please to determine concerning us; and thus much unto your letters. Now although I suppose you know a good part of our state here (for we are forth coming, even as when you departed) you shall understand that I was in the Tower about the space of two months close Prisoner; and after that had granted to me, without my labor, the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half a year: and then because I refused to allow the Mass with my presence, I was shut up in close prison again.*

The last Lent save one it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent, there were so many prisoners in the Tower, that my Lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, Master Bradford and I were put altogether in one prison, where we remained still almost to the next Easter, and then we three Canterbury, Latimer and I, were suddenly sent a little before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but what we carried upon us.

About the Whitsuntide following were our disputations at Oxford, after which was all taken from us, as pen and ink, &c. our own servants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a strange man, and we each one appointed to be kept in several places, as we are unto this day.

Blessed be God we three at the writing hereof were in good health, and (in God) of good chear. We have looked long ago to have been dispatched, for we were all three on one day, within a day or two of our disputation, of Dr. Weston being the Head Commissioner, condemned for Hereticks; and since that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us, as I do not doubt but by his grace it shall be to his glory, and our endless salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Likewise the Lord hitherto hath preserved above all our expectation our dear Brother, and in Christ's cause a strong Champion J. Bradford. He is likewise condemned, and is already delivered unto the secular power, and writs, as we have heard say, given out for his execution, and called in again. Thus the Lord so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear say) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, yea not for the fear or pains of death. The names of them whom I knew, and have now suffered are these, Farrar the Bishop of St. David's, Hoper the Bishop of Worcester, Rogers tuus olim Comprehendarius, *formerly your Fellow Prebendary*, Dr. Taylor of Hadley, Master Saunders, and one Tomkyns a Weaver; and now this last day (May 30) Master Cardmaker with another were burned in Smithfield at London, and many other in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the book of life whom yet I do not know.

West, your old Companion, and sometime mine officer alas! hath relented (as I have heard) but the Lord hath shortened his
days,

days, for anon he died and is gone. Grimbald was caught by the heel and cast into the Marshalsea, but now is at liberty again : but I fear me he escaped not without some becking and bowing alas ! of his knee unto Baal. My dear Friend Thomas Ridley of the Bull-head in cheap, who was to me the most faithful Friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My Brother Shipside, who hath married my Sister, hath been almost half a year in prison for delivering (as he was accused) of certain things I ween, from me : but now thanks be to God he is at liberty again ; but so that the Bishop hath taken from him his park.

Of all us three Concaptives at Oxford I am kept most strait, and with least liberty ; *vel quia viro, in cujus ædibus ego custodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo sit prefectus civitatis) mulier vetula, morosa et superstitiosissima, quæ etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur arctissime et cautissime custodire : Vir autem ipse, Irischius nomine, mitis satis est omnibus, uxori verò plusquam obsequentissimus. Licet uxorem (ut nosti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidiana consuetudine quam cum istis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil intelligere quam grave malum & intollerabile jugum sit cum malâ muliere in conjugio colligari. Rectè ergo sapiens dixit, uxor bona donum Dei, Prov. XIX. et iterum, mulieris bonæ beatus vir, Prov. XXXI. Vel hæc, inquam, causa est, vel quia a magnis magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est ut ita fieret, ipsis mandatum : id quod illi si quando de mea nimia severitate apud eos conqueror, sedulo sæpe rursus mihi inculcant.* [As there is no danger of Mrs. Irish seeing this part of the letter we may venture to give in English what the Bishop so carefully wrapped up in Latin. The reason he gives for his being more closely confined than the rest was] *either because in the house where I am kept the wife rules the Husband (although he is Mayor of the city) a morose and most superstitious old woman, and who thinks it for her credit to be said of her that she guards me with the utmost caution and restraint : but the man himself, Mr. Irish, is obliging enough to every body, though to his wife something too obsequious.*

Though

Though I never was married (as you know) yet from the conversation I have had with this married couple I seem able pretty well to guess what a great misfortune and insufferable yoke it is to be linked with a bad woman in matrimony. Rightly therefore did the wise man say, that a Good Wife was the gift of God; again, a virtuous woman will do her Husband good. Either this, I say, is the reason, or else because the higher powers (for what cause I know not) have given command that it should be so: which indeed is the reason which they constantly give me whenever I complain to them of their excessive severity to me.

In Cambridge (as I hear say) *omnes studiorum et statutorum reformationes nuper factæ, nunc sunt denuo deformatæ et deletæ, et omnia sunt in pristinum chaos et in antiquum papismum reducta: omnes collegiorum Prefecti qui synceritati Evangelii favebant, vel qui conjugati erant, loco moti sunt, et alii papisticæ factionis in eorum loca surrogati; quod et de Sociis Collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal, factum esse audio. Nec mirum, nam et istud passim factum est in universo regno Angliæ, in omnibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Decanis, Prebendariis, Sacerdotibus ecclesiarum et in toto clero: All the reformationes in their studies and their statutes which were lately made are now again cancelled and destroyed, and all things are brought back to their former confusion and old popery. All the Heads of Houses who favored the Gospel simplicity, or who were married, are removed, and other of the Popish faction are put into their places; and so I hear are all the Fellows of Colleges served who refused to bend the knee to Baal. Nor is it strange it should be so there, when the like is done every where else throughout the whole kingdom, to all Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Prebendaries, Parish Priests, and the whole Clergy. And to tell you much naughty matter in a few words, Papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat, Popery reigns every where amongst us in all its wonted sway.*

The

The Lord be merciful and for Christ's sake pardon us our old unkindness and unthankfulness : for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favor alas ! we did not serve him, nor rendered unto him thanks according to the same. We pastors many of us were too cold and bare too much alas ! with the wicked world, our magistrates did abuse to their own worldly gain both God's gospel and the ministers of the same, the people in many places were wayward and unkind. Thus of every side and of every sort we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us. But blessed be He that hath not suffered His to continue in those ways, which so wholly have displeased his secret Majesty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Son's cross, unto his glory and our endless salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord. My daily prayer is, as God doth know, and by God's grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you my dear Brethren that are fled out of your own country, because ye will rather forsake all worldly things than the truth of God's word. It is even the same that I use to make to God for all those churches abroad through the world which have forsaken the kingdom of Antichrist, and professed openly the purity of the gospel of Jesus Christ ; that is, that God our eternal Father for our Saviour Christ's sake, will daily encrease in you the gracious gift of his heavenly spirit to the true setting forth of his glory, and of his gospel ; and make you to agree brotherly in the truth of the same, that there rise no root of bitterness among you, which may infect that good seed that God hath sown in your hearts already ; and finally that your life may be so pure and so honest according to the rule of God's word, and according to the vocation whereunto we are called by the gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honesty and virtue's sake ; and so both in the brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and also in the godly virtue of your honest life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

Ex

Ex nostratibus magni aliquot Magistratus Cancellarius Wintoniensis, Comes Arundellus, & Dominus Pachetus jam legatione funguntur, unà cum Cardinali Polo in partibus transmarinis ad componendam (ut aiunt) pacem, inter Imperatorem, Regem nostrum, & Francorum Regem. Post illorum magistratuum nostrorum reditum, et reginæ partum, quem jam quotidie expectamus, & jam aliquandiu expectavimus, quemq; Deus pro sui nominis gloria dignetur bene illi fortunare: nos tunc statim nihil aliud quam nostræ confessionis de hoste nostro antiquo triumphales in Domino coronas expectamus.

Omnia vestrum precibus me humillimè & ex toto corde commendo. In primis tuis o charissime in Christo Frater, & dilectissime Grindalle et charissimorum fratrum et unicè mihi in Domino dilectorum Cbeci, Coxi, Turneri, Leveri, Sampsonis, Chambers, et omnium fratrum nostrorum et Conterraneorum qui apud vos degunt, et diligunt Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reverendissimos Patres & concaptivos meos in Domino, Thomam Cranmerum, jam verè magni Pastoris et Archipresulis nomine dignissimum, et veteranum illum nostræ gentis Anglicanæ verum Apostolum et Christi, H. Latimerum. Condone mihi frater, harum prolixitatem, non enim posthac credo, charissime Frater, meis literis jam amplius aliquando turbaberis. Oxonii.

Some great officers of our country, my Lord Chancellor Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget are now on an embassy beyond sea, together with Cardinal Pole to bring about (as the report goes) a peace betwixt the Emperour, our King, and the French King. After their return, and after the Queen's Majesty is brought to bed, which we now every day expect, and have already for some time expected, and I pray God, for the glory of his name, vouchsafe to send her a happy hour! We then immediately expect nothing else than that our confession from our old enemy shall procure us our triumphal crowns in the Lord.

I must humbly and heartily commend myself to the prayers of you All, especially to yours, most dear Brother in Christ, and most beloved Grindal, and

and those of our dear brethren and beloved in the Lord, Croke, Cox, Turner, Lever Sampson, Chambers, and of all our brethren and countrymen who sojourn with you, and love our Lord Jesus Christ in truth. I also commend to your prayers my most Reverend Fathers, and fellow prisoners in the Lord, Thomas Cranmer, now indeed most worthy the title of the great Pastor and Primate, and that veteran Apostle of our nation and a true one of Christ's, H. Latimer. Excuse, Brother, the length of this letter; for I believe that from henceforth, most dear Brother, you will be troubled with no more of my letters for ever. Oxford.

The bearer of this letter carried with it, I believe, the writer's benefaction to the exiles; for one of those exiles, Turner, tells us, ' while He (Bishop Ridley) was himself in prison, what aid ' he sent out of England to us in our exile in Germany, that learned man, his faithful Achates, Dr. Edmund Grindal, now Bishop of London can testify; and many others who were assisted by his liberality.

Although he despaired of having any future opportunity of writing again, yet it pleased God to let him live to receive another afflicting letter from Grindal, giving him an account of the troubles at Frankford, raised by Knox against the Common Prayer Book used in England, in the reign of King Edward. I have seen only a part of Ridley's answer to this letter in Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindal, which was, ' Alas! that our Brother Knox ' could not bear with our book of Common Prayer; matters against which although I grant a man (as he is) of wit and learning may find to make apparent (meaning plausible) reasons; but ' I suppose he cannot be able soundly to disprove by God's word: ' the reason he maketh against the Litany, and the fault per sanguinem & sudorem he findeth in the same, I do marvel how ' he can or dare avouch them before the Englishmen that be with ' you.

‘ you. As for *Private Baptism*, it is not prescribed in the Book,
‘ but where solemn Baptism, for lack of time, and danger of death,
‘ cannot be had. What would he in that case should be done?
‘ peradventure he will say, it is better then to let them die without.
‘ For this his *better*, what word hath he in the Scripture? And
‘ if he hath none, why will he not rather follow that which the
‘ sentence of the antient writers does more allow. From whom
‘ to dissent without warrant of God’s word, I cannot think it any
‘ godly wisdom. And as for Purification of Women, I ween the
‘ word *Purification* is changed, and it is called *Thanksgiving*.
‘ Surely Master Knox is in my mind a man of much good learning,
‘ and of an honest zeal. The Lord grant him to use them to his
‘ glory.’

Thus this good Prelate employed his prison hours, confessing his Master, and endeavouring to promote his glory in all his trials, conversation, advice, letters, and treatises; he breathed nothing but Christ and his truth against all the wiles and power of his adversaries. Superior to their learning, not intangled by their sophisms, unterrified with their threats, nor deluded by their flatteries and golden promises. He seemed the prime object against which their whole artillery was levelled. Indulged in the Tower beyond his companions; insidiously attacked with their praises and commendations; the Queen’s favor offered to him if he would return, not only to the restoring of his former honors, offices, and preferments, but unlimited promises of her further regard were made to him: when he was found proof against all these assaults, then, changing their measures, he was treated more harshly than his fellow-prisoners; not only stript of all he had, but threatened with loss of life and fame by cruel tortures; his secret papers got from him by the treachery of one of his own chaplains, and was attempted to be seduced by the mistaken affection of another. All these stratagems he opposed with the spirit of a sound mind; till baffled in every attempt, and enraged at his reputation and constancy,

stancy, his adversaries determined to remove out of the world this living reproach to themselves. 'A man, says Fox, so
'reverenced for his learning and knowledge in the Scriptures,
'that even his enemies have reported him to have been an excel-
'lent Clerk : whose life if it might have been redeemed with the
'sum of ten thousand marks, yea ten thousand pounds, the Lord
'Dacres of the North, being his kinsman, would have given it to
'Queen Mary, rather than he should have been burned.' Vol. III.
p. 996.

THE
L I F E
OF
Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

B O O K VIII. From May to
October 1555.

R I D L E Y Martyr.

Whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel's, the same shall find it. MARK VIII. 35.

§. 1. *Publick affairs.* **A**FTER the month of May we find little or nothing of Dr. Ridley's correspondence or employment, and are at leisure to view the blackening of the cloud, which at last broke upon him.

On the 11th of June there was an hearse at St. Paul's for the Queen of Spain, grandmother to the King, and aunt to Queen Mary; of whom I cannot help taking some notice. She was Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and sister to Catherine,

Catherine, Henry VIIIth's first Queen. Ferdinand^a was remarkable for a reservedness, and severity: the first procured him the character of great wisdom, and the latter of no less zeal. He is famous for such a restoration of the Inquisition as to merit to be called the Institutor of it; banishing the Jews out of Spain to the number of eight hundred thousand men, women and children; the Moors in his kingdom, whom he had engaged to protect, and not molest on account of religion, he harassed, and by great cruelties compelled to be baptized: the instruction of these baptized Converts was left in great measure to the Bishop of Granada, who ordered the Psalms, Gospels and Epistles to be translated into Arabick; this greatly offended Ximenes the Archbishop of Toledo, who declared, that 'whenever the Bible should come to be translated into vulgar tongues, it would be of pernicious consequence to Christianity.' But as few or none of these Moors were real Converts, they found great employment for the Inquisition, which in forty years time condemned no less than an hundred thousand of them: of which number four thousand were burnt, thirty thousand reconciled, and the rest escaped to Barbary.

Of this Father came Joanna and Catharine; the latter, being Queen to our Henry VIIIth, by her reservedness and prudery of behaviour gave great disgust to the King. Her unsociableness did doubtless help to revive those scruples, which Archbishop Warham had first raised before the King's marriage: her Sister Joanna was married to Philip Duke of Burgundy, Father to the Emperour Charles v. and in right of her Mother became Queen of Spain; her Husband died soon after, destroyed by his great excesses; his death cast his Queen, whose brain was before distempered, into so deep a melancholy, that those who were about her found it difficult to keep her from famishing herself. The whole time of her Husband's sickness, though great with child, she had never stirred from

^a Geddes's Tracts, vol. II.

from his bedside, day or night. And after he was buried, having been told by a Monk that he had read in some Legend or other of a King, who came to life again after he had been dead fourteen years, she immediately commanded her Husband's body to be brought into her bed chamber, where, having taken it out of the coffin, and laid it in a bed of state with its face uncovered, she kept it twenty years ; after which it was taken from her, and interred in the Cathedral of Granada. Nay, her jealousy of him was all this while alive : for she would suffer no woman but herself to go near his corps, nor any of that sex, but her servants and confidants, to come within the doors of the room where it lay.

This gloomy family-complexion operated in the branches : it drove the Emperour Charles v. from his Palace into a Monastery, where a little before his death he ordered a celebration of his own Obiit, in which he assisted himself : the like humor in Philip II. drew him under the suspicion of getting his own Son murdered for discovering too great a regard for the Protestant doctrines ; and influenced him to believe himself preserved by the singular providence of God to extirpate Lutheranism, which he vigorously set about to effect in the year 1559^a : for the intercourse which the Spaniards had with the Protestants in Germany and England occasioned the seed of the gospel to be carried into Spain. The Emperour himself was supposed to die a Lutheran in the point of Justification, for he said, ‘ the oil of mercy can be put into no other vessel but ‘ that of faith ; and that to trust in one's own merits was not of ‘ faith, but perfidy^b.’ And as soon as the Emperour was dead, his Confessor Constantio was imprisoned for heresy, but died there ; his body was nevertheless burnt, and concluded the horrid scene at Sevil September the 24th, when about thirteen other were cast into the fire for being Protestants. And in October following eight
and

^a Continuation of Selden, page 35.

^b Ibid.

and twenty of the Nobility were burnt to death at Valladolid, Philip himself attending in person to enjoy the cruel execution.

No wonder therefore if Queen Mary, so descended and so allied, thirsted for Protestant blood. Philip saw it was unnecessary to encourage her to this work, he found her sufficiently disposed to carry it to excess, insomuch that he politickly appeared to check the forwardness of her zeal in it. What was there that England had not to fear from the Offspring of such a King and such a Queen, where the divided streams of superstition and cruelty would have united, and flowed together in one full and rapid current? This was the blessing which England was now wearying heaven with their prayers to grant; but God, who sees through futurity, and whose mercy is greater than even human blindness, graciously denied their request, and refused to give life to this Embryo in chaos, so that the long wished for Issue was a lifeless mass. By the third of August all expectations from the Queen's great belly were at an end, and the King, disappointed, by this false Conception, in his views of obtaining England for himself, grew weary of his Queen; and, under a pretence of visiting the Emperour his Father, took leave of her on the 29th of the same month, and in the beginning of September set sail for Calais.

No sooner was the King's back turned than Commissions were ordered out from the Legate, and from the King and Queen for a new process appointed for the conviction of the three Bishops in prison at Oxford; as the former sentence against them was void, the Pope's authority at that time being not received in England, nor justified by any law then in force.

The first Commission was to Brookes Bishop of Gloucester the Pope's Subdelegate, and to Dr. Martin and Dr. Story Commissioners for the King and Queen to examine, absolve, or degrade, and deliver to the secular arm Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury on the
articles.

articles of blasphemy, incontineny, and heresy. They sat at St. Mary's in Oxford on the 12th of September.

As to the Pope's Supremacy and Jurisdiction, the Archbishop protested against it, urging his Oath to Henry VIIIth and Edward VIth, refusing Brookes for his judge as delegated from the Pope; and charged him with perjury in receiving a Commission from the Pope, whom he himself had abjured. Brookes charged Cranmer with compelling him to do it; which Cranmer proved to be false, the Supremacy having been given to the King by Warham, and Brookes as a Doctor had subscribed to it before Cranmer came to the See.

As to Transubstantiation, he was charged with inconsistency, in burning Lambert for denying it, and afterward in changing his opinion, and denying it himself. Cranmer granted that he had believed otherwise than he now held, and that he did so till my Lord of London Dr. Ridley conferred with him, and by many persuasions and authorities of primitive writers drew him quite from the Popish opinion. By his answers to sixteen Interrogatories they presently convicted him of what they called heresy and incontineny, and then remanded him back to prison.

Fox,
P. 487.

§. 2. *The last Examination of Ridley.*

The next Commission was granted from Cardinal Pole, Legate *a latere*, to John White Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Brookes Bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. Holiman Bishop of Bristol, to cite, examine and judge Master Hugh Latimer, and Master Dr. Ridley, pretended Bishops of Worcester and London, for divers erroneous opinions held by them, and maintained in open disputations had at Oxford in 1554. The which opinions if the named persons would now recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the Universal and Catholick Church, planted by Peter in the blessed See of Rome, that then they, the deputed Judges, by the
said

saïd authority of their Commission, should have power to receive the saïd penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the Holy Father the Pope : but if the saïd Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions and assertions, that then the saïd Lords by their Commission should procede in form of judgment, according to the law of Hereticks, that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of Bishops, Priests and all other Ecclesiastical Orders, should pronounce them Hereticks; and therefore clean cut them off from the Church, and so yield them to receive punishments due to all such heresy and schism.

On the thirtieth of September they were cited to appear before the Lords Commissioners in the Divinity School at Oxford, at eight of the clock. At which time Latimer and Ridley were sent for : but intending to examine them severally, Latimer was kept back till they had thoroughly examined Ridley. Whereupon the Commission was read, Dr. Ridley standing bare headed, humbly expecting the cause of his appearance; as soon as he had heard the Cardinal named, and the Pope's Holiness, he put on his cap.

After the Commission was read, the Bishop of Lincoln began; Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my Lords here, in respect of our own persons, do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my Lord Cardinal's Grace, Legate *à latere* to the Pope's Holiness, as well in that he is of a notable parentage (and therewith Dr. Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance) descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, godly life, and especially in that he is here in England Deputy to the Pope's Holiness, it should have became you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore, except you will of your own self take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the saïd

Cardinal, as of the Pope's Holiness, uncover the same, lest that this your contumely exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend persons (which thing we may in no case suffer) you shall cause us to take the pain to cause some man to pluck off your cap from you.

Then Dr. Ridley, asking licence to speak, answered; As touching that you said, my Lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap nor knee, but only require the same, in consideration that you represent the Cardinal's Grace and person, I do you to wit and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the Cardinal's Grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear toward your own persons, neither for any derogation of honor toward the Lord Cardinal's Grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence and honor, in that he came of regal blood; and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue; and as touching these virtues and points, I with all humility (and then he put off his cap, and bowed his knee) and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honor his Grace: but in that he is Legate to the Bishop of Rome (at which word he put on his cap) whose usurped supremacy, and abused authority, I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honor unto him; lest that my so doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine Oath, and derogate from the verity of God's word: and therefore that I might not only by confession profess the verity in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and in all my doings express the same, I have put on my cap, and for this consideration only; and not for any contumacy to your Lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, neither derogation of any honor due to the Cardinal's Grace, both for his noble parentage, and also for his excellent qualities, have I kept on my cap.

Lincoln.

Lincoln. Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy toward us, who look for no such honor of you; neither for any contempt of this audience, which although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeisance of you; neither in derogation of any honor due to my Lord Cardinal's Grace for his regal descent (at which word Dr. Ridley moved his cap) and excellent qualities; for although in all the premises honor be due, yet in these respects we require none of you: but only in that my Lord Cardinal's Grace is, here in England, Deputy of the Pope's Holiness, (at which word the Lords and other put off their caps, and Dr. Ridley put on his) And therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain to cause some man to take it from you: except you allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good.

Ridley. The premises I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your Lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling myself to your Lordships with cap and knee. As for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease, as I have been this long season; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped Supremacy at Rome, and therefore condemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your Lordships, and I shall be content.

Then the Bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the Beadles to pluck his cap from his head. Dr. Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to

take away his cap. Then the Bishop of Lincoln made this exhortation ;

Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of this our Commission, with good advisement, considering both points thereof ; that authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the Church, which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time, if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, content to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the Gospel, received and always taught in the Catholick and Apostolick Church ; the which the King and Queen, all the Nobles of this realm, and Commons of the same, all Christian people have and do confess, You only standing alone by yourself ; you understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number of the Catholicks and Christ's Church, from which you have so long strayed, out of which no man can be saved. Which thing I and my Lords here, yea and all, as well Nobles as Commons of this realm most heartily desire ; and I for my part (and then he put off his cap) most earnestly exhort you to do.

Remember, Master Ridley, it is not a strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us, you have taken degrees in the schools. You were made a Priest, and became a Preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made Bishop according to our laws ; and to be short, it is not so long ago, since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy became a setter forth of that divellish and seditious doctrine, which in these later days was preached amongst us. For at what time the new doctrine of *faith only* began to spring, the Council willing to win my Lord Chancellor, sent you
to

to him (I then being in my Lord's house, unknown as I suppose to you) and after you had talked with my Lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my Lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your persuasion; and amongst others this was one, that you should say, Tush, my Lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend herein to them: but for God's love, my Lord, stand stoutly in the verity of the sacrament, for I see they will assault that also. If this be true, as my Lord is a man credible enough in such a matter, hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the truth of the blessed Sacrament.

Also in a Sermon of yours at Paul's cross, you as effectually and as catholickly spake of that blessed Sacrament as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came; that is, together with us to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend Father in God the Pope's Holiness, who (as I said) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ promised before his death to build his church; the which Supremacy or prerogative, the most antient Fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge. (And here he brought a place or two out of the Doctors, but especially stayed upon this saying of St. Austin, *Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis et longè remotis terris Romanæ Ecclesiæ subiectus est. All the Christian world beyond the sea, and in countries far remote, is subject to the Church of Rome.*) Here, says he, you see, Master Ridley, that all Christendom is subject to the Church of Rome. What should stay you therefore to confess the same with St. Austin and the other Fathers?

Ridley. My Lord, I most heartily thank your Lordship, as well for your gentleness, as for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favorable

vorable zeal in this learned exhortation : in which I have marked especially three points, which you used to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but on the infallible truth of Christ's gospel ; and am thoroughly persuaded not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially, which moveth me most, contrary to the expressed word of God.

The first point is this, that the see of Rome taking its beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally, from Bishop to Bishop, been brought to this time.

Secondly, that the Holy Fathers, from time to time, have in their writings confessed the same.

Thirdly, that I was once of the same opinion, and together with you did acknowledge the same.

First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your Lordship gathered the foundation of the Church upon Peter ; truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstances of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a Prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he said, *Whom say ye that I am ?* Then Peter said, *I say that thou art Christ, the Son of God.* To whom Christ answered, I say, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my Church ;* that is to say, upon this stone, not meaning Peter himself, (as though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brittle a foundation of his stable and infallible church ;) but upon this rock-stone, that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my Church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and

and mind, to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him, and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed in his forehead, who confesseth not that Christ is the Son of God.

Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confession that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his Church, to declare that without this faith no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our Church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's Church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

Now, as touching the lineal descent of the Bishops in the see of Rome, true it is that the Patriarchs of Rome in the apostles time, and long after, were great maintainers and setters forth of Christ's glory; in which especially above all other countries and regions was preached the true Gospel, the Sacraments were most duly ministered; and as before Christ's coming it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it, and after Christ's passion divers of the Apostles there suffered persecution for the Gospel's sake: so after that the Emperours, their hearts being illuminated, received the Gospel, and became Christians, the Gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most: whereby the Bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honor, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies; not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was more revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the Bishop of Lincoln in sessions and sittings hath the preeminence of the other Bishops, not that he is the Head and Ruler of them, but for the dignity of the Bishoprick. Wherefore the Doctors in their writings

things have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the Prerogative which your Lordship did rehearse the antient Doctors to give to the see of Rome.

Seemly, I cannot, nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honor the see of Rome, as long as it continueth in the promotion, and setting forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the Gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after that the Bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honor, set themselves above Kings and Emperours, challenging to themselves the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a Bishop of Rome also, confess, that the Bishop of that place is the very true Antichrist, whereof St. John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with the said St. Gregory, *He that maketh himself a Bishop over all the world, is worse than Antichrist.*

Now whereas you say that St. Austin should seem not only to give such a Prerogative, but also Supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith all the Christian world is subject to the Church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection; I am sure that your Lordship knoweth, that in St. Austin's time there were four Patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome; which Patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the Archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers Bishopricks in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their Patriarch. Also your Lordship knoweth right well, that at what time St. Austin wrote this book, he was then Bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the sea called the Mediterranean, so that all the countries in Europe to him who is in Africa may be called *Transmarine*, countries beyond the sea. Hereof St. Austin saith, *Totus Orbis Christianus in transmarinis et longè remotis terris,*

ris Ecclesiæ Romanæ subjectus est, All the Christian Countries beyond the seas, and in remote regions, are subject to the see of Rome. If I should say all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me, now being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense St. Austin saith, All the countries *beyond the sea* are subject to the see of Rome; declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the Four Patriarchs, and under it Europe. By what subjection I pray you? only for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the Bishopricks in England are subject to the Archbishopricks of Canterbury and York.

For this pre-eminence also the other Doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of Churches; as the Bishoprick of Lincoln is mother to the Bishoprick of Oxford, because the Bishoprick of Oxford came from the Bishoprick of Lincoln, and they were both once One. And so is the Archbishoprick of Canterbury mother to the other Bishopricks which are in her province. In like sort the Archbishoprick of York is mother to North Bishopricks: and yet no man will say, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is either of them supreme head to other Bishopricks; neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the Doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be mother of Churches.

Now where you say I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same: yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But in that you say, I was one of you not long ago, in that I doing my message to my Lord of Winchester should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord, in very deed I was sent, (as your Lordship said) from the Council to my Lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractory, I said to him, Why, my Lord,

why make you so great a matter herein? you see many Anabaptists rise against the Sacrament of the Altar; I pray you, my Lord, be diligent in confounding them: for at that time, my Lord of Winchester and I had to do with two Anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my Lord to be stiff in the defence of the Sacrament against the detestable errors of the Anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

In like sort, as touching the Sermon which I made at Paul's Cross, you shall understand that there were at Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the Sacrament, terming it *Jack of the box, the Sacrament of the halter, round Robin*, with like unseemly terms; for the which causes, I, to rebuke the un-reverend behaviour of certain evil disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof, affirming in that Sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectuously by grace and Spirit; which words the unlearned understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being, which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body having life and motion should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine.

Then the Bishop of Lincoln interrupted him, and said, Well, Master Ridley, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure; for where St. Austin saith, that the whole Christian world is subject to the see of Rome, without any limitation, and useth these words *in transmarinis et longè remotis terris, beyond the seas in remote regions*, only to express the latitude of the dominion of the see of Rome, willing thereby to declare, that all the world, yea countries far distant from Rome, yet nevertheless are subject to that see: yet you would wrest it, and leave it only to Europe.

I am

I am sure you will not deny but that *totus mundus, the whole world*, is more than Europe.

Ridley. Indeed, my Lord, if St. Austin had said absolutely *totus mundus, the whole world*, and not added *in transmarinis, in parts beyond the seas*, it had been without limitation; but in that he said *totus mundus in partibus transmarinis, the whole world beyond the seas*, he himself doth limit the universal proposition, declaring how far he meant by *totus mundus, the whole world*.

Lincoln. Well, if I would stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the Fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, according to which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles, and used this in the way of exhortation, in which you interrupted me; wherefore I will return thither again.

You must consider that the Church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the Church of Christ is *Catholica, Catholic*: so that Christ's Church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your Church is.

Wherefore, Master Ridley, for God's love be you not singular; acknowledge with all the realm the truth, it shall not be (as you allege) prejudicial to the Crown; for the King and Queen's Majesties have renounced that usurped power taken of their Predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the Sword, the other by the Keys. The Sword is given to Kings and Rulers of Countries; the Keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successors. As touching our goods, possessions, and lives, we with you acknowledge ourselves subjects to the King and Queen,

who have the Temporal Sword ; but as concerning matters of religion, as touching God's quarrel and his word, we acknowledge another head : and as the King's and Queen's Highness do in all worldly affairs justly challenge the Prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be Heads and Rulers, but members of Christ's Body. Why therefore should you stick at that matter, the which their Majesties have forsaken and yielded ?

Wherefore, Master Ridley, you shall not only not do injury to the Crown, and be prejudicial to their Majesties Honor, in acknowledging with all Christendom the Pope's Holiness to be supreme Head of Christ's church here militant in earth, but do a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of their Highness. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errors, acknowledging with the residue of the realm the common and the publick fault, you shall do that which all men most heartily desire ; you shall bring quietness to your conscience, and health to your soul ; then shall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the Cardinal's Grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the same : but if you shall still be singular, if you shall still obstinately persist in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our Commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the Church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrify and corrupt the whole body ; then must we confess and publish you to be none of Ours ; then must we yield you up to the Temporal Judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the King and Queen's Highness, you must receive punishment by the laws of this realm due to Hereticks.

Wherefore, Master Ridley, consider your state, remember your former degrees, spare your body, especially consider your soul, which

which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood; do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in God's sight; enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the Church: for we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die (as most untruly hath been reported of us) but that is the temporal Judge's office; we only declare you to be none of the Church, and then must you, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the Rulers, abide their determination; so that We, after that we have given you up to the temporal Rulers, have no further to do with you.

But I trust, Master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do what we may: I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our Commission which we most heartily desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoin you to the unity of the Church.

Ridley. My Lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can err, without the which no man can be saved, which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the Faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confess the same to be spread throughout all the world; and where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, his Gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's church shine as a city upon an hill, and as a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you, that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, who appoint the same to Rome, that there, and no where else, is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is every where founded, in every place where his Gospel is truly received, and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise counsel of Vincentius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who giving precepts how the catholick church may be in all schisms and heresies known, writeth in this manner;
• When

‘When, saith he, one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part : but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity.’

In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the See of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church ; which I find clean contrary to the Pope’s Decrees, as in that the Priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the Laity to receive in both kinds, and such like ; wherefore it requireth, that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church before the novelty of the Romish church.

Lincoln. Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the See of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbid the Laity, but that they might, if they demanded it, receive under both kinds. You know also, that Christ after his resurrection, at what time he went with his Apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread. You know that St. Paul after his long sailing toward Rome, brake bread, and that the Apostles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread only ; and yet the church had just occasion to decree, that the Laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people’s faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought good to decree, that the Laity should receive only in one kind ; and it is no news for the church, upon just consideration, to alter rites and ceremonies *. For you read in

* The Council of Clermont under Urban II. A. D. 1095, ordered that *Corpus Domini-cum et Sanguis singulatim accipiantur*, which practice prevailed in England : but Archbishop Peckham’s Constitutions at Lambeth, A. D. 1281, forbid the consecrated Cup to the Laity, for the reason which the Bishop of Lincoln here gives, saying, *it is allowed in such small Churches to none but them that celebrate to receive the Blood under the species of consecrated wine :*

in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul writing to some of the Gentiles which had received the Gospel, biddeth them to abstain 'from things strangled and from blood', so that this seemeth to be an express commandment: yet who will say but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? how is it lawful but by the permission of the church?

Ridley. My Lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined the Gentiles for a sufferance, by little and little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors: but Christ's commandment, Do this, (that is, that which he did in remembrance, which was not to minister in one kind only) was not a commandment for a time, but to persevere to the world's end.

The Bishop of Lincoln not attending to Ridley's answer, proceeded thus in his exhortation;

So that the Church seemeth to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the Apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the scripture, ever reserving the foundation: but we came not, as I said before, in this sort to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministered unto us, according to the tenor of which we must procede, proposing certain Articles, to which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively, or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them without further disputations or reasoning; for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter, in such sort as we have done: the
which

wine: yet even then they used in such smaller Churches unconsecrated wine for the more easy swallowing the sacrament which they had taken. From this Constitution Lyndwood infers that in Cathedral and the Greater Churches the Laity might partake of the consecrated Cup in Peckham's days: but afterward it was customarily allowed only to the assisting Priests, if there was a sufficient quantity in the Cup. This will in some measure clear Bishop White's otherwise confused account. See Peckham's Constitutions.

which articles you shall hear now, and tomorrow at eight of the clock in St. Mary's Church we will require and take your answers; and then according to the same procede: and if you require a copy of them, you shall have it, with pen, ink and paper, also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the University.

The Articles.

We John Lincoln, James Glocester, and John Bristol do object to thee Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally, first that thou Nicholas Ridley in this High University of Oxford, Anno 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places beside, that the true and natural Body of Christ, after the Consecration of the Priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. Item, That in the place and months aforesaid thou hast publickly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. Item, That in the said place and months thou hast openly affirmed and obstinately maintained, that in the Mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead.

4. Item, That in the year, place and months aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned, by the scholastical censure of this School, as heretical and contrary to the Catholick faith, by the worshipful Master Doctor Weston, Prolocutor then of the Convocation House, as also by other learned men of both the Universities.

5. Item, That all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous and openly known by publick fame, as well to them near hand, and also to them in distant places far off.

After the Bishops had conferred together, the Bishop of Lincoln said, These are the very same Articles which you in open disputation

putation here in the University did maintain and defend. What say you to the first? I pray you answer affirmatively or negatively.

Ridley. Why, my Lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such, that you would have given me space until tomorrow, that upon good advisement I might bring a determinate answer.

Lincoln. Yea, Master Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers tomorrow. I will take your answers at this time; and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to morrow what you will.

Ridley. Indeed in like manner at our last disputation I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after disputations I should have a copy of them, and licence to change mine answers, as I should think good. It was meet also that I should have seen what was written by the Notaries at that time. So your Lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the High Priests. For you, as your Lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death; so in like sort the High Priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the means therefore that he might.

Then said Dr. Weston, who was present, What do you make the King Pilate?

Ridley. No, Master Doctor, I do but compare your deeds with Caiphas's deeds and the High Priest's, which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not; and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ.

Lincoln. Master Ridley, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering tomorrow, and will take your answers now as now, tomorrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter

what you will. In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every Article, either affirmatively or negatively.

Ridley. Seeing you appoint me a time to answer tomorrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand, first I require the Notaries to take and write my protestation; that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my Judges, in that point you are authorised from the Pope: therefore whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the Pope. And if your Lordship will give me leave, I will shew the causes which move me thereunto.

Lincoln. No, Master Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary, we may not suffer you.

Ridley. I will be short; I pray your Lordships suffer me to speak a few words.

Lincoln. No, Master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers ears.

Ridley. Why, my Lord, suffer me to speak three words.

Lincoln. Well, Master Ridley, tomorrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first Article?

Ridley. My Protestation always saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authority, in that you are Legate to the Pope, I answer thus; In a sense the first Article is true, and in a sense it is false; for if you take *really* for *verè* (*truely*) for spiritually by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *verè et realiter*, *indeed and really*: but if you take these terms so grossly, that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine *verè et realiter*, then *really* is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our Baptism.

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The Notaries not being able to reduce the answer to a simple affirmation or denial of the first article, the Bishop of Lincoln required him, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley. My Lord, you know that where any equivocation is, (i. e. a word having two significations) except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one answer: for both you and I agree herein, that in the Sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the Quick and the Dead; only we differ *in modo, in the way and manner* of being: We confess all one thing to be in the Sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's word thereunto persuaded, confess, Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by Spirit and Grace; because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectuously Christ's body, and drinketh his blood, that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion: and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine.

Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer; that in the Sacrament of the Altar is the natural body and blood of Christ, *verè & realiter, indeed and really*, if you take these terms *indeed and really*, for spiritually by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ: but if you mean *really and indeed*, so that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable body under the forms of bread and wine, then in that sense is not Christ's body in the Sacrament *really and indeed*.

To the Second Article,

Ridley answered. Always my Protestation reserved, I answer thus; that in the Sacrament is a certain change, whereby that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively representation of Christ's Body; and is not *only a figure*, but effectuously representeth his Body, that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's Body, which the eye of faith seeth, as the bodily eye seeth only bread. Such a sacramental mutation, I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change: but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word.

Then the Bishop of Lincoln desiring him to answer affirmatively or negatively without further declaration of the matter, he proceeded.

Ridley. Notwithstanding this sacramental mutation, which all the Doctors confess, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth, with which the body is in like sort nourished, as the Soul is by Grace and Spirit with the Body of Christ. Even so in Baptism the Body is washed with the visible water, and the Soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost; and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still. In like sort in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the bread ceaseth not to be bread.

The Bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the Sacrament of the Altar and Baptism; because that Christ said not of the water, *This is the Holy Ghost*, as he did by the bread, *This is my Body*. Then Dr. Ridley recited St. Austin which conferred both the Sacraments the one with the other: but the Bishop of Lincoln passed it over, and reciting

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The Third Article,

required a direct answer. To whom Ridley thus replied ;

Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of His ; and yet is the Communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving : but to say that thereby sins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of which the Communion is only a memorial) that is a great derogation from the merits of Christ's passion ; for the Sacrament was instituted, that we receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this Sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow that Christ died in vain.

Lincoln. Indeed, as you allege out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice on the cross : yet nevertheless he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that, by the which sins are forgiven ; the which is no derogation from Christ's passion. Then reciting

The Fourth Article,

Ridley answered ; That in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false ; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly ; false, in that it was said they were condemned *scientiâ scholasticâ, by the scholastical censure of the school* ; in that the disputation was in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act.

To the Fifth Article

Ridley answered ; That the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil

evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

Lincoln. Tomorrow at eight of the clock you shall appear before us in St. Mary's church; and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first Article, if it will please you to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you shall require: but if you write any thing saving your answers to these articles we will not receive it. Then charging the Mayor with him, and ordering that he should have pen and ink, he dismissed Dr. Ridley, and sent for Dr. Latimer.

§. 3. *He is delivered over to the Secular Power.*

The next day, October 1, Dr. Ridley was brought before them in St. Mary's church, to whom the Bishop of Lincoln (after like dispute about the cap, in honor of the Pope, as had passed the day before, and that the Beadle had rudely snatched it from Dr. Ridley's head) thus addressed himself.

Lincoln. Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then proposed to you: but because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the Notaries take any determinate answer of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you licence to bring your answer in writing; and thereupon commanded the Mayor that you should have pen, paper and ink, yea any books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licensed you then also to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure; therefore we are come now hither to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday (which we would not wish) or contrary, contented to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points content to submit yourself to the determination of the Universal Church. And I for my part most earnestly exhort you, not because my con-
science

science pricketh me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

Yesterday I brought forth amongst other St. Austin, to prove that authority hath always been given to the See of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to St. Austin's meaning, in that you would have *totus mundus, all the world*, to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world, whereas indeed the process of St. Austin's words will not admit that your interpretation. For he saith not *totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis, all the Christian world beyond the seas*, but first *totus mundus Christianus Romanæ Ecclesiæ subiectus est, all the Christian world is subject to the Church of Rome*, and afterward addeth *in transmarinis partibus, beyond the sea*, only to augment the dominion of the See of Rome.

Ridley. I am sure, my Lord, you have some skill in Cosmography, in which you shall understand that there is a sea called the Mediterranean cast between Europe and Africa: in saying *beyond the sea* St. Austin meant Europe, even as I should say the whole world beyond the sea, meaning to except England, in which I stand.

After this, much disputation followed concerning the sense of St. Austin, which the Bishop of Lincoln endeavoured to establish by the consent of other antient Doctors, from whom he quoted several passages: but Ridley required that the original authors should be produced, and not mangled and altered passages, that the very words and the Context might determine their meaning. But the Bishop, not able to quote the exact words, nor willing to produce the books themselves, pretended to press Ridley in the point of the Sacrament with an authority from Cyril, which he said, as Melancthon himself had quoted it, was against him; and to prove it called for Melancthon: but his works had been burnt before. Then passing that over, he proceeded thus;

Lincoln.

Lincoln. Cyril in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ was come, useth this reason, 'altars are erected in Christ's name' in Britain, and in far Countries, therefore Christ is come.' But we may use the contrary of that reason, altars are plucked down in Britain, therefore Christ is not come. A good argument à contrariis; I will stand to it in the schools by and by with any man. You see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come.

Dr. *Ridley* smiling answered; your Lordship is not ignorant that this word, *altare*, in the scripture signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's Supper. Cyril meaneth there by this word, *altare*, not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying 'altars are erected in Christ's name, therefore Christ is come,' he meaneth that the Communion is ministered in his remembrance, therefore Christ is come: for the strength of his argument is because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except itself be past; then could not all countries celebrate the Communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars it was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews usage. Neither was the Supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, more duly received, than in those later days when all things were brought to the rites and usages of the primitive church.

Lincoln. A godly receiving I promise you to set an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive. And yet when your table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same now East, now North, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church.

Ridley.

Ridley. Your Lordship's irreverent terms do not lessen the value of the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things.

Lincoln. As for that, Master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you caused us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles. Now, Master Ridley, what say you to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it.

Then Dr. Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read what he had written: but the Bishop of Lincoln commanded the Beadle to take it from him. And when he asked licence to read it, saying that it contained nothing but his answers, the Bishop would not by any means permit him.

Ridley. Why, my Lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, my Lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your Lordships may handle it at your pleasures; therefore let the audience be witness to your doings.

Lincoln. Well, Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published: but except you deliver it first, we will take none at all of you.

Then Dr. Ridley, seeing there was no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who immediately gave it to the Bishop of Lincoln. He, having secretly communicated it to the other two Commissioners, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy; therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewith, and so abuse their patience. But Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the sayings of the antient Doctors in confirmation of his assertions.

But the Bishop of Lincoln would not suffer it to be read, and demanded Ridley's determinate answer to the several articles; he referred to his answers then exhibited in writing, and also before at the time of disputation before Dr. Weston. Then the Bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to Dr. Ridley to persuade him to recant.

Gloc. If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be persuaded to acknowledge one Church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you? 'Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit.' So that if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, Master Ridley, that the Prophet speaketh most truly, saying, *Wo, wo be to them who are singular and wise in their own conceits.*

But you will say here, it is true that the Prophet saith; but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit? Yes, Master Ridley, you refuse the determination of the Catholick Church; you must needs be singular, and wise in your own conceit, for you bring scripture for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your conceit: but if you say you will follow the minds of the Doctors and antient Fathers, you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another: how will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit, then cannot you avoid the wo of which the Prophet speaketh.

Wherefore

^a From their own exprefs declarations elsewhere.

Wherefore, if you have no stay but the Catholick Church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the Prophet most truly saith, *wo, wo be to them who are wise in their own conceits*; then for God's love, Master Ridley, stand not singular, be not you wise in your own conceit, please not yourself over much. How were the Arians, the Manichees, the Eutychians, with divers other hereticks which have been in the Church, how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning in disputations? No truly; the Arians had more places of scripture for the confirmation of their heresy, than the Catholicks for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? only by the determination of the Church. And indeed, except we do constitute the Church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring Scriptures and Doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves, then be we singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the wo of which the Prophet speaks.

It remains therefore that we submit ourselves to the determination and arbitrement of the Church, with whom God promised to remain to the world's end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost, which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, Master Ridley, if you will avoid the wo that the Prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the Church.

To this verbose oration Ridley replied in few words; that he said most truly with the Prophet, *wo be to him that is wise in his own conceit*: but that he acknowledged no such singularity in himself, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he said Master Cranmer leaned to him,

that was most untrue, in that he was but a young Scholar in comparison with Master Cranmer; for at what time he was a young Scholar Master Cranmer was a Doctor, so that he confessed Master Cranmer might have been his Schoolmaster these many years.

He would have said more, but the Bishop of Gloucester interrupted him. And then the Bishop of Lincoln with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to return. But Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded that the religion which he defended was grounded upon God's word, and therefore without great offence toward God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord: but desired the Bishop to perform his grant, in that his Lordship said the day before, that he should have licence to shew his cause why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the Pope. The Bishop said, that whereas then he had demanded licence to speak three words, he was contented that he should this day speak forty, and that grant he would perform. Then started up Dr. Weston, and said, why, my Lord, he hath spoken four hundred already. Dr. Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither concerning that matter. The Bishop of Lincoln bade him take his licence: but he should speak but forty, and before he had ended half a sentence, the Doctors sitting by cried and said, that his number was out; and with that he was enjoined silence. Then the Bishop of Lincoln addressed him thus:

Lincoln. Now I perceive, Master Ridley, you will not permit us to stay in that point of our Commission which we most desired: for I will assure you there is never a word in our Commission more true than, *dolentes & gementes, grieving and bewailing*. For indeed I for my part, I take God to witness, am sorry for you.

Ridley. I believe it well, my Lord; forasmuch as one day it will be burthen some to your soul.

Lincoln,

Lincoln. Nay not so, Master Ridley; but because I see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth: but seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity procede to the other part of our Commission. Therefore I pray you hearken to what I shall say.

He then read the sentence of condemnation, written in a long process, the tenor of which was, that, forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the Church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be in the Sacrament of the altar: secondly, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration: thirdly, in denying the Mass to be a lively sacrifice of the Church for the quick and the dead, and by no means would be led and brought from these his heresies; therefore the said John of Lincoln, James of Glocester, John of Bristol did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as an heretick, and so adjudged him presently both by word, and also in deed to be degraded from the degree of a Bishop, from Priesthood, and all Ecclesiastical Order; declaring moreover the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the Church, and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws: and further excommunicated him by the great excommunication.

Then they delivered him as a prisoner to the Mayor, and sent for Master Latimer, whom, after like examination, they condemned by the same sentence, from which he appealed to the next General Council which should be truly called in God's name: but the Bishop of Lincoln told him with great truth, that it would be a long season before such a Convocation would be called.

They

They continued another fortnight in their prisons, where Cranmer also was confined, having been cited to appear at Rome within fourscore days. This farce was one of Gardiner's devices to spin out the time for the ripening of his plot to obtain the Archbishoprick.

During the time that Ridley and Latimer lay in prison after their condemnation, every method was tried to win the former. They seemed ashamed to sacrifice a man of such piety and learning, and rather wished to bring him over to add weight to their own party. Brookes the Bishop of Gloucester in great simplicity pointed out to him the only method of reclaiming him to the Church of Rome, 'which was 'to captivate his senses, and subdue his reason,' and then 'he doubted not but he might be easily induced to acknowledge one Church with them.' Now it was, I suppose, that the Lord Dacres offered ten thousand pounds to the Queen if she would preserve so valuable a life: she would have triumphed in his safety if he would submit to the conditions. His retracting would have influenced the greater number of the unresolved, and silenced the more confirmed. For this purpose some leading man in the family, perhaps the same Lord Dacres, endeavoured, by worldly motives, and wrested passages of scripture, to induce him to save himself; and occasioned the following letter to another relation, which might be Mabyll the grand-daughter of that Lord, who had married Nicholas Ridley of Wilmondswick.

Fox.

'To a Cousin of his.

Martyr's
Letters,
fol. 79.

God's holy spirit be with you now and ever, Amen. When I call to remembrance, beloved Cousin, the state of those who for fear of trouble, either for loss of goods, will do in the sight of the world those things that they know and be assured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no less than lament their case, being assured that the end thereof will be so pitiful, without speedy repentance,

pentance, that I tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon some earthly burthen, so that freedom of conscience might be given unto them. I write, as God knoweth, not of presumption, but only lamenting their state, whom I thought now in this dangerous time, should have given both you and me comfortable instructions. But alas, instead thereof, we have persuasions to follow (I lament me to rehearse it) superstitious idolatry: yea, and what is worst of all, they will seek to prove it by the scriptures. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts.

Yours

N. R.

§. 4. Ridley's Farewell. Having now in immediate prospect his crown of martyrdom, he was desirous that his life might continue useful to the last, by discharging, as far as his wishes, his prayers, and his advice might have effect, the affection and duties which the several relations in which he had stood might require: and therefore wrote his Farewell to them, not to be published till after his death, that it might have all the weight of the last words of a dying Friend. The substance of which follows.

His last Farewell to all his true and faithful Friends in God.

At the name of Jesus let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and let every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord unto the glory of God the Father. Amen.

As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure: so likewise now I, looking daily when I should be called for to depart hence from you,
(O all

‘ (O all ye my dearly beloved Brethren and Sisters in our Saviour
‘ Christ, that dwell here in this world) having a like mind towards
‘ you all ; and also, blessed be God for this ! such time and leisure,
‘ do bid you all, after such manner as I can, farewell.

‘ Farewell, my dear Brother George Shipside, whom I have
‘ ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions ;
‘ and now in the time of my cross, over all other to me most friend-
‘ ly and stedfast ; and that which liketh me best, over all other
‘ things, in God’s cause ever hearty.

‘ Farewell, my dear Sister Alice his wife. I am glad to hear of
‘ thee that thou dost take Christ’s cross, which is laid now (blessed
‘ be God !) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank
‘ thou God, who hath given thee a godly and a loving Husband :
‘ see thou honor him, and obey him according to God’s law. Ho-
‘ nor thy Mother-in-law, his Mother ; and love all those that
‘ pertain unto him, being ready to do them good as it shall lie in
‘ thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband but
‘ that He, who hath given him a heart to love and fear God, and
‘ in God them that pertain unto him, shall also make him friend-
‘ ly and beneficial unto thy children, even as if they had been got-
‘ ten of his own body.

‘ Farewell, my well beloved Brother, John Ridley, of the Wall-
‘ town, and you my gentle and loving Sister Elisabeth ; whom,
‘ beside my natural league of amity, your tender love which you
‘ were said ever to bear toward me above the rest of your brethren,
‘ doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this
‘ your loving affection, and to have acquitted it with deeds, and
‘ not with words alone. Your daughter Elisabeth I bid farewell ;
‘ whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given
‘ her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

‘ Farewell, my well beloved Sister of Unthanke, with all your
‘ children my nephews and nieces, Since the departure of my Bro-
‘ ther

‘ther Hugh, my mind was to have been unto them in the stead of
‘their Father : but the Lord God must and will be their Father, if
‘they will love him and fear him, and live in the trade of his
‘law.

‘Farewell, my well beloved and worshipful Cousins Master Ni-
‘cholas Ridley, of Willimontswick, and your wife; and I thank
‘you for all your kindness shewn both to me, and also to all your
‘own kinsfolk and mine. Good Cousin, as God hath set you in
‘that our stock and kindred, not for any respect of your person,
‘but of his abundant grace and goodness, to be as it were the Bel-
‘weather to order and conduct the rest, and hath also endued you
‘with his manifold gifts of grace, both heavenly and worldly,
‘above others; so I pray you, good Cousin (as my trust and hope
‘is in you) continue and increase in the maintenance of truth, ho-
‘nesty, righteousness and all true godliness, and to the uttermost
‘of your power to withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness
‘and all ungodliness, which is forbid and condemned by the words
‘and laws of God.

‘Farewell, my young Cousin Ralph Whitfield—oh your time
‘was very short with me; my mind was to have done you good,
‘and yet you caught in that little time a loss : but I trust it shall be
‘recompensed as it shall please Almighty God.

‘Farewell, all my whole kindred and countrymen, farewell in
‘Christ altogether. The Lord who is the searcher of secrets,
‘knoweth that according to my heart’s desire my hope was of late
‘that I should have come among you, and to have brought with
‘me abundance of Christ’s blessed Gospel, according to the duty
‘of that office and ministry, whereunto among you I was chosen,
‘named and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerless
‘Prince, King Edward, and so also denounced openly in his Court
‘by his Privy Council.

‘ I warn you all, my well beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that
‘ ye be not amazed or astonished at the kind of my departure or
‘ dissolution ; for I ensure you I think it the most honor that ever
‘ I was called unto in all my life ; and therefore I thank my Lord
‘ God heartily for it, that it hath pleased him to call me, of his
‘ great mercy, unto this high honor to suffer death willingly for his
‘ sake, and in his cause. Unto the which honor he called the holy
‘ Prophets, and his dearly beloved Apostles, and his blessed cho-
‘ sen Martyrs. For know ye, that I doubt no more, but that the
‘ causes wherefore I am put to death are God’s causes, and the
‘ causes of the truth, than I doubt that the Gospel which John
‘ wrote is the Gospel of Christ, or that Paul’s Epistles are the very
‘ word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide and stand in
‘ God’s cause, and in Christ’s quarrel even unto death, I ensure
‘ thee, O man, it is an inestimable and honorable gift of God given
‘ only to the true elect, and truly beloved children of God, and in-
‘ heritors of the kingdom of heaven. For the holy Apostle, and
‘ also Martyr in Christ’s cause, St. Peter saith, If ye suffer
‘ rebuke in the name of Christ, that is, in Christ’s cause, and for
‘ his truth’s sake, then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of
‘ the Spirit of God resteth upon you. If for rebuke’s sake suffered
‘ in Christ’s name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holy
‘ Apostle, blessed and happy, how much more happy and blessed
‘ is he that hath the grace to suffer death also ? Wherefore all ye,
‘ that be my true Lovers and Friends rejoice, and rejoice with me
‘ again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly
‘ Father, that for his Son’s sake my Saviour and Redeemer Christ,
‘ he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious
‘ goodness in myself but a sinful and a vile wretch, to call me (I
‘ say) unto this high dignity of his true Prophets, of his faithful
‘ Apostles, and of his holy and elect Martyrs ; that is, to die and
‘ to

‘ to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his
‘ eternal and everlasting truth.

‘ Ye know, who be my Countrymen dwelling upon the borders
‘ where (alas !) the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at
‘ the thief’s hand, if it chance a man to be slain of a thief (as it
‘ often chanceth there) who went out with his neighbour to help
‘ him to rescue his goods again, that the more cruelly he be slain,
‘ and the more stedfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight
‘ against the face of the thief, the more favor and friendship shall
‘ all his posterity have for the slain man’s sake of all them that be
‘ true, as long as the memory of his fact and his posterity doth en-
‘ dure : even so, ye who be my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye,
‘ (howsoever the blind, ignorant and wicked world hereafter shall
‘ rail upon my death ; which thing they cannot do worse than
‘ their fathers did on the death of Christ our Saviour, of his holy
‘ Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs :) know ye (I say) that both before
‘ God and all them that be godly, and that truly know and follow
‘ the laws of God, ye have, and shall have by God’s grace ever
‘ cause to rejoyce, and to thank God highly, and to think good of
‘ it, and in God to rejoyce of me your flesh and blood ; whom God
‘ of his gracious goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blef-
‘ sed company of his holy Martyrs in heaven, and I doubt not in
‘ the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellow-
‘ ship of his elect and chosen people, but that at both their hands
‘ in my cause ye shall the rather find more favor and grace ; for the
‘ Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs who love him
‘ the more loving again to a thousand generations. The Lord is
‘ so full of mercy to them (I say) and theirs which do love him in-
‘ deed. And Christ saith again, that no man can shew more love
‘ than to give his life for his friend.

‘ Now also know ye all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and
‘ countrymen that the cause wherefore I am put to death is even

‘ after the same sort and condition, but touching more near God’s
‘ cause and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all
‘ one; for each is God’s cause, each is in the maintenance of right,
‘ and each for the commonwealth, and each for the weal also of
‘ the Christian Brother: although yet there is in these two no
‘ small difference, concerning the enemies, the goods stolen, and
‘ the manner of the fight.’

Then he compares the reformed Church of England to his neighbour, the Papists to the thief, and Himself to the man slain in defence of his neighbour; observing that ‘ the more cruel, the
‘ more painful, the more vile and spiteful is the kind of death
‘ whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon, without all doubt, our martyrdom to
‘ be.

‘ And thus much dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen
‘ and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death
‘ (of whose life you looked peradventure some time to have had
‘ honesty, pleasures and commodities) ye might be abashed or
‘ think any evil: whereas you have rather cause to rejoice (if ye
‘ love me indeed) for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honor and dignity, than ever I did enjoy before either in Rochester, or in the See of London, or ever should have had in the
‘ See of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named:
‘ yea I count it greater honor before God in deed to die in His
‘ cause (whereof I nothing doubt) than is any earthly or temporal
‘ promotion or honor that can be given to a man in this world.’

After taking leave of his kinsfolk and countrymen he addresses his Farewell to other places to which he had borne any relation.

‘ Now that I have taken my leave of my countrymen and kinsfolk, and the Lord doth lend me life and giveth me leisure, I will
‘ bid my other good friends in God of other places also, farewell.
‘ And whom first or before other, than the University of Cambridge,

‘ bridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and
‘ hearty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my natural
‘ parents only excepted) than ever I did, even in mine own native
‘ country wherein I was born.

‘ Farewell therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender
‘ nurse ! If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if
‘ I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again truly, I
‘ were to be counted ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadst
‘ thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best belo-
‘ ved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me ? Thou didst
‘ bestow on me all thy school Degrees : of thy common Offices, the
‘ Chaplainship of the University, the office of the Proctorship and
‘ of a Common Reader : and of thy private commodities and emo-
‘ luments in Colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner
‘ of ? first to be Scholar, then Fellow, and after my departure
‘ from thee thou calledst me again to a Mastership of a right wor-
‘ shipful College. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy
‘ kindness ; and I pray God that his laws and the sincere Gospel of
‘ Christ may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee !

‘ Farewell, Pembroke Hall, of late mine own College, my cure,
‘ and my charge ! what case thou art in now God knoweth, I know
‘ not well. Thou wast ever named since I knew thee (which is
‘ now a thirty years ago) to be studious, well learned, and a great
‘ setter forth of Christ’s Gospel, and of God’s true word : so I found
‘ thee, and, blessed be God, so I left thee in deed. Wo is me for
‘ thee, mine own dear College, if ever thou suffer thyself by any
‘ means to be brought from that trade. In thy Orchard (the walls,
‘ butts and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learn-
‘ ed without book almost all Paul’s Epistles, yea and I ween all the
‘ Canonical Epistles, save only the Apocalypse. Of which study,
‘ although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet
‘ smell thereof I trust I shall carry with me into Heaven : for the
‘ profit

‘ profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life time ever after ;
‘ and I ween of late (whether they abide there now or no I cannot
‘ tell) there were who did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal
‘ and love toward that part of God’s word, which is a key and a
‘ true commentary to all holy scripture, may ever abide in that
‘ college so long as the world shall endure.

‘ From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the Archbishop of
‘ Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend Father and
‘ Man of God, and of him by and by sent to be Vicar of Herne in
‘ East Kent. Wherefore farewell, Herne, thou worshipful and
‘ wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to minister
‘ God’s word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oftentimes the word
‘ of God preached not after the Popish trade, but after Christ’s
‘ gospel : oh that the fruit had answered to the seed ! And yet I
‘ must acknowledge me to be thy Debtor for the doctrine of the
‘ Lord’s Supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not
‘ reveled unto me : but I bless God in all that godly virtue and zeal
‘ of God’s word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did
‘ kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the life of that godly
‘ woman there my Lady Fiennes : the Lord grant that his word
‘ took like effect there in many other more.

‘ Farewell thou Cathedral Church of Canterbury, the metropo-
‘ litick See, whereof once I was a member. To speak things plea-
‘ sant unto thee I dare not for danger of conscience and displeasure
‘ of my Lord God : and to say what lieth in my heart were now
‘ too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good.
‘ Nevertheless for the friendship I have found in some there, and
‘ for charity sake I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness
‘ and ungodliness, that thou mayest be found of God, after thy
‘ name, CHRIST’S CHURCH in deed and in truth.

‘ Farewell, Rochester, sometime my Cathedral See, in whom (to
‘ say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obedience ; and I
‘ trust

‘ trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to God’s glory
‘ and thine own profit in God. Oh that thou hadst and mightest
‘ have continued and gone forward in the trade of God’s law where-
‘ in I did leave thee ! Then thy charge and burthen should not
‘ have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like
‘ to be, alas ! on the latter day.

‘ To Westminster other advertisement in God I have not now to
‘ say, than I have said before to the Cathedral Church of Canter-
‘ bury : and so God give thee of his grace that thou mayest learn
‘ indeed and in his truth to please him after his own laws. And
‘ thus fare you well.

‘ Oh London, London ! to whom now may I speak in thee, or
‘ whom shall I bid farewell ? Shall I speak to the Prebendaries of
‘ Paul’s ? Alas ! all that loved God’s word, and were true setters
‘ forth thereof, are now (as I hear say) some burnt and slain, some
‘ exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prison and appoint-
‘ ed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christ’s Gospel’s sake.
‘ As for the rest of them, I know they could never broke me well,
‘ nor could I ever delight in them. Shall I speak to the See there-
‘ of, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully, by the
‘ space of three years * ? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear
‘ say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment, as an unjust usurper
‘ of that room ? O judgment, judgment ! Can this be just judg-
‘ ment to condemn the chief Minister of God’s word, the Pastor
‘ and Bishop of the Diocese, and never bring him into judgment,
‘ that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor
‘ ever suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself ?
‘ Thinkest thou that hereafter, when true justice shall have place,
‘ that this justice can ever be allowed, either of God or of man ?

‘ Well,

* From the dates of his inthroning, and exchanges with the King, he appears to have been Bishop of London from about the third of April 1550, to the death of the King, the sixth of July 1553. A little more than three years.

‘ Well, as for the cause and whole matter of my deposition, and
‘ the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto
‘ God, who is a most just Judge ; and I beseech God, if it be
‘ his pleasure, that That, which is but my personal wrong, be not
‘ laid to thy charge in the latter day : this only can I pray for.’

But for the wrongs Boner had done to the Church of God in restoring Popish Superstition and Idolatry contrary to God’s word, and for his cruel treatment of the Reformers, and putting them to death, he denounces God’s vengeance, and tells him, that ‘ his
‘ deaf and dumb God, whom he is not ashamed to call his Maker,
‘ will not be able to deliver him from the revenging hand of the
‘ High and Almighty God.’

However, not doubting but that there were many privy mourners in the city, who consented not to the late changes, but lamented them, he purposes to take leave of them particularly in another Letter hereafter, which he did.

Then gratefully remembering the humanity and gentleness which he had experienced from those in office in the Corporation during his ministry in that See, particularly for their Christian kindness shewed in God’s cause, he turns his address especially to Sir Richard Dobbes in this manner, ‘ Thou in thy year didst win my
‘ heart for evermore, for that honorable act, that most blessed
‘ work of God of the erection and setting up of Christ’s holy Hospitals and truly religious Houses, which by thee and through
‘ thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ’s poor members to be holpen
‘ from extreme misery, hunger and famine, thy heart (I say) was
‘ moved with pity, and as Christ’s high honorable officer in that
‘ cause thou calledst together thy Brethren the Aldermen of the city, before whom thou brakest the matter for the Poor, thou didst
‘ plead their cause ; yea and not only in thine own person thou
‘ didst set forth Christ’s cause, but to further the matter, thou
‘ broughtest

‘ broughtest me into the Council Chamber of the city before the
‘ Aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to
‘ hear me speak what I could say, as an advocate by office and duty
‘ in the poor men’s cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave
‘ thee the consent of thy Brethren, whereby the matter was brought
‘ to the Common Council, and so to the whole body of the City;
‘ by whom with an uniform consent it was committed to be drawn,
‘ ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citi-
‘ zens and politick as could be chosen in the whole City, endued
‘ also with godliness and with ready hearts to set forward such a no-
‘ ble act: and they like true and faithful ministers both to their Ci-
‘ ty and to their Master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought
‘ forth the matter, that thousands of poor members of Christ, which
‘ else for extreme hunger and misery should have famished and pe-
‘ rished, shall be relieved, holpen and brought up, and shall have
‘ cause to bless the Aldermen of that time, the Common Council,
‘ and the whole Body of the City; but specially thee, O Dobbes,
‘ and those chosen men, by whom this honorable work of God
‘ was begun and wrought; and that so long throughout all ages, as
‘ that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may
‘ be ever unto the world’s end, Amen.

‘ And thou, Sir George Barnes, (the truth is to be confessed to
‘ God’s glory, and to the good example of other) thou wast in
‘ thine year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which be-
‘ fore thee by thy Predecessor was well begun; but also didst labor
‘ so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an abso-
‘ lute thing and a perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness un-
‘ to all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up an house
‘ of occupations, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work,
‘ should not have lacked whereupon profitably they might have
‘ been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commo-
‘ dity of the commonwealth of the City; and also to have retired

‘ thither the poor babes brought up in the Hospitals, when they
‘ had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which
‘ in the Hospitals aforefaid have been cured of their diseases. And
‘ to have brought this to pass, thou obtainest (not without great
‘ diligence and labor both of thee and thy Brethren) of that godly
‘ King Edward, that Christian and peerless Prince’s hand, his
‘ princely Place of Bridewell, and what other things to the per-
‘ formance of the same, and under what condition it is not un-
‘ known. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success,
‘ the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the
‘ time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend,
‘ when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.’

Then he bids farewell to all the Citizens there that be of God,
praying to God for them that they may never swerve, neither
for loss of life nor worldly goods, from God’s Holy Word, and
yield unto Antichrist. And then procedes,

‘ Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt
‘ any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remem-
‘ bering, that for the space of King Edward’s reign, which was for
‘ the time of mine office in the sees of London and Rochester, I
‘ was a Member of the Higher House of the Parliament; therefore
‘ (seeing my God hath given me leisure and the remembrance there-
‘ of) I will bid my Lords of the Temporalty farewell. They shall
‘ have no just cause (by God’s grace) to take what I intend to say
‘ in ill part. As for the spiritual Prelacy that now is, I have no-
‘ thing to say to them, except I should repete again a great part of
‘ that I have said before to the See of London. To you therefore,
‘ my Lords of the Temporalty, will I speak; and this would I
‘ first have you to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked
‘ daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and
‘ thought that this my writing should not come to your knowledge,
‘ before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul should be
‘ expired;

' expired ; and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes
 ' only the fear of God, and Christian charity toward you, which
 ' moved me to write : for of you hereafter I look not in this world
 ' either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall do you never
 ' so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me ; or if I dis-
 ' please you, you cannot hurt me or harm me, for I shall be out
 ' of your reach. Now therefore if you fear God, and can be con-
 ' tent to hear the talk of him who seeketh nothing at your hands,
 ' but to serve God, and to do you good : hearken to what I say.
 ' I say unto you, as St. Paul saith to the Galatians ; I wonder, my
 ' Lords, what hath bewitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen
 ' from Christ unto Antichrist, from Christ's Gospel unto men's
 ' traditions, from the Lord that bought you unto the Bishop now
 ' of Rome. I warn you of your peril, be not deceived, except
 ' you would be found willingly consenters unto your own death.
 ' For if you think thus, We are Laymen, this is a matter of re-
 ' ligion, we follow as we are taught and led ; if our Teachers and
 ' Governours teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they
 ' shall bear the blame : my Lords, this is true (I grant you) that
 ' both the false Teacher, and the corrupt Governour shall be pu-
 ' nished for their subject, whom they have falsely taught and cor-
 ' ruptly led, yea and his blood shall be required at their hands :
 ' but yet nevertheless shall that subject die the death himself also,
 ' that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin ; for if the blind
 ' lead the blind, Christ saith, not the leader only, but he saith
 ' Both shall fall into the ditch. Shall the Synagogue and Senate
 ' of the Jews, (trow ye) which forsook Christ, and consented to his
 ' death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Caiphas with the
 ' Scribes and Pharisees and their Clergy did teach them amiss ? Yea
 ' and also Pilate their Governour and the Emperour's Lieutenant
 ' by his tyranny did without cause put him to death ? Forsooth no,
 ' My Lords, no. For, notwithstanding their corrupt doctrine, or Pi-
 ' late's

* Whip in
Fox and
Cover-
dale.

' late's washing of his hands, neither of both shall excuse that Synagogue and Seigniory, or Pilate : but at the Lord's hand, for the effusion of that Innocent's blood, on the latter day all shall drink of the deadly * cup : ye are witty and understand what I mean. Therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how you are fallen from Christ to his adversary the Bishop of Rome.

' And lest, my Lords, you may peradventure think, thus barely to call the Bishop of Rome Christ's adversary, or (to speak it in plane terms) to call him Antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish, and that I do but rage, and as a desperate man do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail ; therefore that your Lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and soberness (as St. Paul said unto Festus) be it known unto your Lordships all, that as concerning the Bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person, nor the place. For I assure your Lordships (the living Lord beareth me witness, before whom I speak) I do think many a good holy man, many Martyrs and Saints of God, have sit and taught in that place Christ's Gospel truly ; who therefore justly may be called *Apostolici*, that is, true disciples of the Apostles, and also that Church and Congregation of Christians, to be a right Apostolick Church : yea and that certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ, by the true apostolical doctrine taught by the mouths of the Apostles themselves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of years, I will not be too bold : but thus I say, so long and so many hundred years as that See did truly teach and preach that Gospel, that religion, exercised that power, and ordered every thing by those laws and rules, which that See received of the Apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the Apostles of Christ, and Christ of God : so long (I say) that See might well have

‘ have been called Peter and Paul’s Chair and See, or rather Christ’s
‘ Chair, and the Bishop thereof *Apostolicus*, or a true disciple and
‘ successor of the Apostles, and a minister of Christ. But since the
‘ time that That See hath degenerated from the trade of truth and
‘ true religion, the which it received of the Apostles at the begin-
‘ ning, and hath preached another Gospel, hath set up another
‘ religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to
‘ order and rule the Church of Christ by other strange laws, canons
‘ and rules, than ever it received of the Apostles, or the Apostles
‘ of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued
‘ so doing, alas ! alas ! of too, too long a time : since the time (I
‘ say) that the state and condition of that See hath thus been changed,
‘ in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed
‘ both of the See and of the Sitter therein. For understand, my
‘ Lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person there-
‘ of, that the See and Bishop thereof were called Apostolick : but
‘ for the true trade of Christ’s religion, which was taught and main-
‘ tained in that See at the first, and of those godly men. And
‘ therefore as truly and justly as that See then, for that true trade of
‘ religion and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doc-
‘ trine of Christ’s Apostles, was called Apostolick : so as truly and
‘ as justly, for the contrariety of religion and diversity of doctrine
‘ from Christ and his Apostles, that See and the Bishop thereof at
‘ this day both ought to be called, and are indeed Antichristian.
‘ The See is the seat of Satan, and the Bishop of the same that main-
‘ taineth the abominations thereof is Antichrist himself indeed.
‘ And for the same causes this See at this day is the same which
‘ St. John calleth in his revelation, Babilon, or the whore of Babi-
‘ lon, and spiritual Sodom and Ægypt, the mother of fornica-
‘ tions, and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this
‘ whore do spiritually lie and commit most stinking and abomina-
‘ ble adultery before God, all those Kings and Princes, yea and all
‘ nations

‘ nations of the earth, which do consent to her abominations, and
‘ use or practise the same ; that is, (of the innumerable multitude
‘ of them to rehearse some for example sake) her dispensations, her
‘ pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worship-
‘ ping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and
‘ frierage, and her traditions, whereby God’s laws are defiled ; as
‘ her massing and false ministering of God’s word and the sacra-
‘ ments of Christ, clean contrary to Christ’s word and the Apostles
‘ doctrine, whereof particularly I have touched in other treatises
‘ more at large : wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same
‘ to light) it shall appear, I trust, by God’s grace, planely to the
‘ man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is
‘ God’s word, that That religion, that rule and order, that doc-
‘ trine and faith, which this whore of Babilon and the beast where-
‘ upon she doth sit, maintaineth at this day with all violence of
‘ fire and sword, with spoil and banishment (according to Daniel’s
‘ Prophecy) and finally with all falshood, deceit, hypocrisy, and all
‘ kind of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God’s word, as dark-
‘ ness is to light, or light to darkness, white to black, or black to
‘ white, or as Belial unto Christ, or Christ unto Antichrist him-
‘ self.

‘ I know, my Lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so
‘ many of you as should see this my writing, not being before en-
‘ dued with the spirit of grace and the light of God’s word, so ma-
‘ ny, I say, would at these my words Lordlike stamp and spurn and
‘ spit thereat. But sober yourselves with patience and be still, and
‘ know ye that in my writing of this my mind was none other but
‘ in God (as the living God doth bear me witness) both to do you
‘ profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by
‘ that time this shall come to your knowledge, I trust by God’s
‘ grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my hea-
‘ venly Father and the Living Lord ; who is (as St. John saith) the
‘ greatest

‘greatest of all, and then I shall not need (I trow) to fear what
‘any Lord, no nor what King or Prince can do unto me.

‘My Lords, if in times past ye have been contented to hear me
‘sometimes in matters of religion before the Prince in the Pulpit,
‘and in the Parliament House, and have not seemed to have despised
‘what I have said (when as else if ye had perceived just occasion,
‘ye might then have suspected in my talk, though it had been rea-
‘sonable, either desire of worldly gain or fear of displeasure) how
‘have then your Lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and
‘hear me patiently, seeing now you cannot justly think of my be-
‘ing in this case, appointed to die, and looking daily when I shall
‘be called to come before the eternal Judge, otherwise but that I
‘only study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which I
‘am persuaded assuredly by God’s word shall and doth please him,
‘and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear and be-
‘lieve what I do say? And I do say even that I have said heretofore
‘both of the See of Rome and of the Bishop thereof, I mean after
‘this their present state at this day. Wherein if you will not be-
‘lieve the Ministers of God and true Preachers of his word, verily
‘I denounce unto you *in verbo Domini*, except ye do repent in time,
‘it shall turn to your confusion and to your smart on the latter day.
‘Forget not what I say, my Lords, for God’s sake forget it not,
‘but remember it upon your beds. For I tell you moreover, as I
‘know I must be countable of this my talk and of my speaking
‘thus to the eternal Judge (who will judge nothing amiss) so shall
‘you be countable of your duty in hearing, and you shall be char-
‘ged (if you will hearken to God’s word) for not obeying the
‘truth. Alas! my Lords, how chanceth this, that this matter
‘is now anew again to be persuaded unto you? Who would have
‘thought of late but your Lordships had been persuaded indeed suf-
‘ficiently, or else that you could ever have agreed so uniformly
‘with one consent to the abolishment of the usurpation of the
‘Bishop

‘ Bishop of Rome ? If that matter were then but a matter of po-
‘ licy, wherein the Prince must be obeyed, how is it now made a
‘ matter wherein (as your Clergy saith now, and so say the Pope’s
‘ laws indeed) standeth the unity of the Catholick Church, and a
‘ matter of necessity to our salvation ? Hath the time, being so
‘ short since the death of the two last Kings, Henry the viiiith
‘ and Edward his Son, altered the nature of the matter ? If it have
‘ not, but it was of the same nature and danger before God then
‘ as it is now, and be now (as it is said by the Pope’s laws, and the
‘ instructions set forth in English to the Curates of the Diocese of
‘ York) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation : how then chanced
‘ it that ye were all, O my Lords, so light and so little passed upon
‘ the Catholick Faith and the unity thereof (without which no man
‘ can be saved) as for your Princes’ displeasures, which were but
‘ mortal men, to forsake the unity of your Catholick Faith, that
‘ is, to forsake Christ and his Holy Gospel ? And furthermore if it
‘ were both then and now so necessary to salvation, how chanced it
‘ also, that ye, all the whole body of the Parliament agreeing
‘ with you, did not only abolish and expel the Bishop of Rome,
‘ but also did abjure him in your own person, and did decree in
‘ your acts great oaths to be taken of both the Spirituality and Tem-
‘ poralty, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargea-
‘ ble office in the Commonwealth ? But on the other side, if that
‘ law and decree, which maketh the supremacy of the See and
‘ Bishop of Rome over the Universal Church of Christ a thing of
‘ necessity required unto salvation, be an antichristian law (as it is
‘ indeed) and such instructions as are given to the Diocese of York
‘ be indeed a setting forth of the power of the beast of Babilon by
‘ the craft and falshood of his false prophets (as of truth compared
‘ unto God’s word, and truly judged by the same it shall planely ap-
‘ pear that they be) then, my Lords, never think other, but that the
‘ day shall come, when ye shall be charged with this your undoing
‘ of

‘ of that, that once ye had well done ; and with this your perjury
‘ and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgment,
‘ justice and truth, agreeable to God’s law. The whore of Babi-
‘ lon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drun-
‘ ken with the wine of her filthy stews and whoredom (as with her
‘ dispensations and promises of pardon *a pœnâ et culpâ*) that for
‘ drunkenness and blindness ye may think yourselves safe. But be
‘ ye assured, when the living Lord shall try the matter by the fire,
‘ and judge it according to his word, when all her abominations
‘ shall appear what they be, then, my Lords (I give your Lord-
‘ ships warning in time, repent if ye would be happy and love your
‘ own soul’s health, repent I say, or else) without all doubt ye
‘ shall never escape the hands of the living Lord for the guilt of
‘ your perjury and the breach of your oath. As ye have banqueted
‘ and lain by the whore in the fornication of her whorish dispensa-
‘ tions, pardons, idolatry, and such like abominations : so shall ye
‘ drink with her (except ye repent betime) of the cup of the Lord’s
‘ indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the
‘ beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is
‘ partner with them in their whoredom and abominations must al-
‘ so be partner with them in their plagues ; and on the latter day
‘ shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone
‘ and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well, my Lords all ! I pray
‘ God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and
‘ make you to believe and embrace the truth. Amen.’

He likewise wrote a Farewell to the Prisoners and Exiles in
Christ’s cause, encouraging them to patience and perseverance,
from the examples of Christ, the Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists,
Martyrs and Confessors in the Church ; the commands of God
and of Christ ; and the Joy that was set before them, to which
their momentary afflictions bore no proportion.

Also a long Exhortation to those, who professed the pure reformed Religion, but were not yet either in bonds for it, or safe abroad from the persecution of it. This only remained for him to do for the full discharge of his Pastoral Office and Duty to all his Countrymen.

To these he first states the difference betwixt the Religion taught in King Edward's time, and that of the Church of Rome ; which he does by comparing their Principles and Discipline in several instances : and then opens their respective foundations, assigning *Venality* for that of the Popish System, as all Pardons, Indulgences, Graces, Functions and Sacraments were saleable by the Pope and his officers, according to the prophecy of St. Peter, that *there should be false prophets, who through covetousness should with feigned words make merchandise of them*, 2 Pet. II. And another of St. John, who describes this merchandise to be not only *of gold and silver, precious stones and pearls, fine linen, purple, silk, and scarlet*, but sums up all with this, *and souls of men*. Apoc. XVIII. The foundation of the Reformed Religion he makes to be *the Word of God* ; by which, received in the heart, we are born again, and made Sons of God ; who, so long as that seed remaineth in them, cannot sin ; begetting in us that Faith which justifies us here ; that charity and obedience by which we shall be judged hereafter.

He then proceeds to counsel those, who profess this undefiled Religion, how to behave in the present fiery trial ; which is, by the permission and example of Christ and his Apostles, to fly.

To those, who, ignorant of Satan's strength, or their own frailty, imagine it more adviseable boldly to offer their lives in Christ's cause, than thus cowardly to avoid the combat, he says, he dares not counsel any one to start up rashly on the stage, and cast himself into danger further than time and need shall require ; for that undoubtedly when God seeth his time, and his pleasure is that his glory shall be set forth, and his Church edified by thy death and
 confession

confession, means shall be found by his fatherly universal providence, that thou, without thine own presumptuous provocation, shalt be lawfully called.

To those who thought they might stay here, and yet escape the danger, he observes, that since the restoration of the Pope's Laws, it would be impossible to continue in England without conforming to the Roman Religion: so that they must either suffer, or deny their Master, by a compliance with many things which he has expressly forbidden.

Those who replied, that they might conform outwardly, but that their hearts should be God's, he intreats for God's sake to beware of Satan's subtleties; for that God requires, not only the belief of the heart, but also the confession of the mouth: and that he who gives God his heart, loves him, fears him, and trusts in him. If we love him, we must keep his commandments; if we fear him, we must risk all dangers rather than his displeasure; and if we trust in him, we must value his promises more than all the promises or threatnings of the world.

If they object the great inconvenience and difficulty of parting with lands and possessions, and all the dearest relations of life, he admits the difficulty to be great, but not sufficient to discharge the obligation of doing it; Christ declaring expressly, *If any come to me, and do not hate his Father and Mother* (he meaneth and will not in his cause forsake them) *his wife, children, and brethren, yea and his life too he cannot be my disciple: and whosoever does not bear my cross, and come after me, he cannot be my disciple*, Matth. x.

But some through great age, or sickness, or impotence, or charge of an infirm family cannot fly: these he heartily laments as their case is truly pitiable, neither able to depart, nor can abide here without extreme peril; to whom he can give no other counsel but this, that always, as they look for everlasting life, they continue still in the confession of the faith, whatever shall befall,

fall, and for the rest to put their trust wholly in God, who is able to save them against all appearance. These real impediments against saving themselves by a voluntary exile must be construed as God's call to fight in their Master's cause: and such may be assured, either that he will deliver them unexpectedly, or strengthen them to bear the temptation; and that he will reward their trial with the unspeakable joy and fruition of his glorious Majesty.

While these affectionate admonitions were preparing, the Queen and her Prelates finding that this resolute and able champion of the reformation could not be prevailed on to renounce his reason and his senses, nor yield up the honor of his Master Christ, they determined to remove out of the way so judicious an animadverter on their corruptions.

Therefore on the 15th of the same month, October, in the morning, came the Bishop of Gloucester, with Dr. Marshal Vice-chancellor of Oxford, several of the Heads of Houses, Doctors, and others to the Mayor's house, Mr. Irish's, and entering the chamber where Dr. Ridley was confined, the Bishop of Gloucester told him the purpose of their coming; saying, that yet once again the Queen's Majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the same, and come home again to the faith into which he had been baptized, and revoke his erroneous doctrine, that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many: but that if he would not recant, and become one of the Catholick Church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) procede according to the Law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might do otherwise. We have been, said he, oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and divillish opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing *win many, and do much good*. Therefore, good Master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that

that shall ensue both of body and soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast yourself away, in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time.

My Lord, said Dr. Ridley, you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assures me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to his glory be it spoken) the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is in my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood.

Brookes. Well, you were best, Master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the Church with us. For you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the Catholick Church cannot be saved: therefore I say once again, that whilst you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the Pope's Holiness to be the chief head of the same Church.

Ridley. I marvel that you will trouble me with such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Romish Antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience to the Bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority; and that for divers good and godly reasons.

Which reasons he would have produced, but the Bishop of Gloucester would not suffer him. Yet he bore his testimony so far, that the Bishop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled against his will. And seeing, said he, that you will not receive the Queen's mercy now offered unto you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, procede according to our Commission to degrade you, taking from you the dignity of Priesthood. For we take you for no Bishop, and therefore we shall the sooner have done with you: so committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow.

Ridley.

Ridley. Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you. I am well content to abide the same with all my heart.

Brookes. Put off your cap, Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice.

Ridley. Not I truly.

Brookes. But you must.

Ridley. I will not.

Brookes. You must : therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you.

Ridley. Truly if it come upon me, it shall be against my will.

Brookes. Will you not do it upon you ?

Ridley. No, that I will not.

Brookes. It shall be put upon you by one or other.

Ridley. Do therein as it shall please you, I am well contented with that, and more than that : the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruelly by our Saviour Christ, as the Scriptures mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants ?

They then put the surplice upon him with all the trinkets belonging to the Mass. While they were so arraying him, he inveighed against the Pope, and their scenical habit, calling him Antichrist, and their dress too ridiculous for a vice in a play. Brookes was enraged, and bad him hold his peace ; but Ridley told him so long as his tongue would suffer him, he would (whatever might happen to him for it) bear his publick testimony against their abominable doings. The Bishop of Gloucester then threatened him that his mouth should be stopped. Upon which Edridge the Greek Lecturer said to Dr. Brookes, Sir, the law is that he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged. Upon which Dr. Ridley looking earnestly at Edridge, nodded his head at him, and with a sigh said no more than, *Oh, well, well, well.* They then proceeded in his degrading ; in the course of which he should have held the

the chalice and wafer cake in his hand : but he absolutely refused, and said if they should come in his hands they should fall to the ground for him : then one was appointed to hold them in Ridley's hands, while Brookes read a Latin Instrument for the degradation of spiritual persons, according to the Pope's Laws. Then they put a book into his hands, saying, We take from thee the office of preaching the Gospel : at which he gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, and said, O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness. Then divesting him piecemeal, and stripping him of his several functions, at last they pulled off the surplice, and with it took from him the power of singing. Lord God, said he, what power be you of, that you can take from a man, that which he never had ? I was never singer in all my life. And yet you will take from me that which I never had.

When this solemn farce was played through, Ridley asked the Bishop, Have you done ? If you have, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters. But Brookes knew his edge too well to venture upon a conference, and therefore said, Master Ridley, we may not talk with you, you are out of the Church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any who are out of the Church. Then said Ridley, seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience ? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him. And seeing the Bishop then preparing to go away, he said, My Lord, I would wish that your Lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment. The Bishop turned a deaf ear, would give no answer, but was hastening away. Oh, said Ridley, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well, it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak
of

of worldly affairs: I pray you therefore, my Lord, hear me, and and be a mean to the Queen's Majesty in the behalf of a great many poor men, and especially for my poor Sister and her Husband, which standeth there. They had a poor living granted to them by me, whilst I was in the See of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him who occupieth the same room, without law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the Queen's Majesty in their behalfs. You shall hear it read, so shall you perceive the matter the better. Then he read his Supplication.

‘ To the Queen's Majesty.

It may please your Majesty for Christ our Saviour's sake, in a matter of conscience (and now not for myself, but for other poor men) to vouchsafe to hear and understand this humble Supplication. It is so, Honorable Princess, that in the time whiles I was in the ministry of the See of London divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenancies and holdings, and some have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have paid fines, and sums of money, both to me, and also to the Chapter of Paul's, for the confirmation of the same.

Now I hear say, that the Bishop which occupieth the same now will not allow the foresaid leases, which must redound to many poor men's utter ruin and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honorable Grace, that it may please the same for Christ's sake to be unto the foresaid poor men their gracious patroness and defender, either that they may enjoy their foresaid leases and years renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with conscience, that justice, conscience, and equity shall so require; for that their leases shall be found (I trust) made without fraud or covin, either on their part, or on mine, and also always the old rents reserved to the See, without any kind of damage thereof. Or if this will not be granted, then that it may please
your

your gracious Highness to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and years, and to have rendered to them again such sums of money as they paid to me, and to the Chapter-house for their leases and years, so now taken from them. Which thing, concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your Majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fled in hope of pardon for my trespass toward your Grace; which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that half of the value of my plate which I left in mine offices, and especially in an iron chest in my bedchamber, will go nigh to restore all such fines received: the true sums and parcels whereof are not set in their leases; and therefore if that way shall please your Highness, they must be known by such ways and means as your Majesty by the advice of men of wisdom and conscience shall appoint: but yet for Christ's sake I crave, and most humbly beseech your Majesty of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

I have also a poor Sister, who came to me out of the North, with three fatherless children, for her relief, whom I married after to a servant of mine own house: she is put out of that I did provide for them. I beseech your honorable Grace, that her case may be mercifully considered——

Here his tender affection brought tears into his eyes, so much, that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. When he had something recovered himself he said, 'This is nature that moveth me: but I have now done.' And then proceeded to read the rest.

—— And that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, who suffered indurance at my entrance to the See of London, one penny of his moveable goods, for it was almost half a year after his deposition afore I did enter into that place: yea, and also if

any were left, known to be his, he had a licence to carry it away, or there for his use it did lye safe, as his officers do know. I paid for the Lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church or of the house. And moreover, I not only had no part of his moveable goods, but also (as his old Receiver, and then mine, Mr. Stanton can testify) I paid for him toward his Servants common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty three, or fifty five pounds, I cannot tell whether. In all these matters I beseech your honorable Grace to hear the advice of men of conscience, and especially the Archbishop of York, who, for that he was continually in my house a year and more, before mine imprisonment, I suppose is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things; and also his Grace doth know my Sister, for whose succour and some relief, now unto your Highness I make most humble suit.

N. R.'

This paper he delivered to his Brother Shipside to be presented to her Majesty, and dated the day of his death, which was the next day, October 16. Bishop Brookes on hearing it read, said, Indeed, Master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the Queen's Majesty for them.

Ridley. I pray you for God's sake do so.

Brookes. I think your request will be granted, except one thing lett it, and that is (I fear) because you do not allow the Queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted.

Ridley. What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write; I trust I have discharged my conscience therein, and God's will be done.

Brookes.

Brookes. I will do what lieth in me. Then the Bishop called the Bailiffs, and delivered Dr. Ridley to them in charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then the good man, seeing the conclusion of his life so near, burst out into this thankful and joyful commemoration of God's Grace, which had conducted him so irreproachably through it, 'God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime; for if you could, I see very well it should surely be laid in my lap.' Upon which the nettled Bishop told him, that he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself. No, no, no, (replied He) as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore I pray you have no such opinion of me.—As the company were leaving him, a Warden of one of the Colleges desired him to repent, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Sir, said Ridley, repent you, for you are out of the truth: and I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word. Which charitable with the angry Doctor resenting, said, 'I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and divillish opinion; neither yet to be in that place whither you shall go. He is the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born.'

The behaviour of Dr. Brookes on this occasion is unaccountable, in not allowing Ridley to have been a Bishop, and therefore degrading him only from Priest's Orders. For He had been consecrated some years before the New Ordinal had been appointed, and held his Bishoprick, not as most others did after him, *quandiu se bene gesserint*, but *durante vita*. Therefore the Legate himself admits him to be a Bishop in his Commission to the Delegates,

Ecclef.
Hist. B.v.
p. 385.

Ch. Hist.
of En-
gland,
p. 378.

p. 498,
499.

and directs, in case he persevered in his opinion, to degrade him from that character; and the first Delegate, Bishop White, acknowledges, that he was made Bishop according to their laws. Indeed Mr. Collier seems willing to excuse Brookes, with whom Ridley passed for no more than a Priest, because 'this Prelate being consecrated to his first See of Rochester several years after the Pope's Supremacy was discarded, the kingdom was then supposed to be in a state of schism, and by consequence the Bishops had no authority to consecrate and ordain. This was the sense, says he, of most of the governing Clergy in this reign.' This was not the sense of Cardinal Pole, or the Bishop of Lincoln, as we have already seen, neither could it be the sense of Bishop Brookes, for by that rule he would have unbishoped most of the Prelates at that time in England. Nay the Popish Writer of the Church History of England is ashamed of this Protestant's excuse of Dr. Brookes, and says, 'if it be true what Fox reports that they [Ridley and Latimer] were only degraded from Priest's Orders, Bishop Brookes only is answerable for that uncanonical proceeding, and for going against the opinion of others, who allowed them to be Bishops; and indeed if we consider the circumstance of the time of their Ordination, there appears no grounds to question the validity of it; for the new Ordinal was not made use of till 1550. Now Latimer was consecrated in 1535, and Ridley in 1547, at which times we may suppose the old Ordinal was not laid aside.' And afterward he allows 'Latimer's Consecration was indisputable; there being at that time no alteration in the Ordinal, that we know of, beside the omission of the canonical obedience to the Pope, *which was not an essential point.*' Indeed with respect to Ridley he immediately retracts what he had before granted, and says, 'Ridley's case was quite different, he and some others were consecrated the first of Edward sixth's reign, when both the doctrine and discipline of the former reign were entirely changed. And

‘ And though the new Ordinal had not a legal establishment till
 ‘ after the date of the consecration ; yet *very probably* they made
 ‘ use of such a ceremony, as was either the same, or conformable
 ‘ to it.’ Where is the difference in these two cases ? Latimer’s
 consecration was according to the Roman Ordinal without any al-
 teration, *that they know of*, except in an unessential point : and
 Ridley’s consecration was according to the same Ordinal without
 any alteration in an essential point, *that they know of*, though this
 Writer is willing to suppose one, without any proof, or so much as a
 conjecture of what it was. Perhaps Dr. Brookes was of opinion, with
 some others earnest to aggrandise the Pope, that the title of Bishop was
 a title of *Jurisdiction* only, not of *Order* ; and that if a man had
 no *diocese*, he could be no *Bishop* ; as he who has lost his wife cea-
 ses to be a Husband : therefore that Dr. Ridley, having resigned
 Rochester, and being deprived of London, was unbishoped to his
 hands, as also was Latimer for the same reason. But we need not
 trouble ourselves to find out Brookes’s reasons for this proceeding ;
 it was of very little concern either to Bishop Ridley then, or to the
 Readers now, whether the Papists would allow Him to be a Bishop,
 whom they would not permit to live. Brookes’s behaviour only
 made a little addition to the general inconsistency of the whole
 proceeding. They cast him into prison, and confined him there
 almost nine months for Treason, in obeying the orders of his then
 Governours : after which they tried him for a different crime, for
 heresy ; of which they convicted him, not by argument, but pre-
 judged opinions and subscriptions ; then condemned him, not only
 without law, but against law ; and when they had procured a law,
 his Judge proceeded contrary to his Commission ; and then put him
 to death for denying a doctrine to be scriptural, which their own
 Schoolmen acknowledge *is not found expressed in the Bible* ^a.

After

^a Gabriel Biel upon the Canon of the Mass.

§. 6. *The Martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer.*

After the company was gone he prepared himself for his approaching death, which a sound judgment and a good conscience made him look upon as a matter of joy and triumph. He called it his marriage, and in the evening washed his beard and his legs, and behaved with as much ease and chearfulness as ever; at supper he invited Mrs. Irish and the rest of the company to his marriage the next morning. And wishing his Sister to be there, he asked her Husband whether she could find in her heart to be there or no? Mr. Shipside answered, he believed she would with all her heart. At which the Bishop expressed great satisfaction. The discourse melted even the obdurate Mrs. Irish into tears, who had before made a merit and boasted of her severity toward him. On seeing her tears the good Bishop comforted her, and said, O Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough. For in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither be content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet^a.

When

^a The particulars of the supper which he had the night before he suffered, when this conversation passed, I find in a MS. Book of expences for Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer now in Bennet College Library in Cambridge. It shews at once their manner of living, and the price of provisions at that time.

	l.	s.	d.
Bread and ale	-	-	3
Shoulder of mutton	-	0	9
A pig	-	0	11
A plover	-	0	4
Wine	-	0	1 ½
Cheese and pears	-	0	2
	0	2	6 ½

When they arose from the table his Brother offered to watch all night with him. But he would not suffer him, saying, that he minded (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly that night, as ever he did in his life.

Orders had been sent by the Queen to Lord Williams and the Householders of Oxford to attend the next morning, sufficiently provided to prevent any tumult that might arise in favor of the Prisoners and obstruct their execution. Who came accordingly to the place appointed; which, unfortunately for the memory of Bishop Brookes, was in a ditch over against Baliol College, of which he was Master. An humane man, who felt for the miseries of other, had rather used his interest to have removed so shocking a spectacle out of view. But he was indulged in his savage pleasure, and every thing being in readiness, the Mayor and Bailiffs brought forth their Prisoners.

First came Bishop Ridley, dressed in a handsome black gown, furred, faced with points, such as he used to wear in his episcopal character; about his neck was a tippet of velvet, furred likewise, his head covered with a velvet night cap, and his square cap upon that, walking to the stake in a pair of slippers between the Mayor and one of the Aldermen. As he passed toward Bocardo, Mr. Irish's house being near that prison, he looked up to the chamber where the Archbishop lay, in hope of seeing him at the window, and to have spoken to him: but Cranmer was at that time busily engaged in disputation with Frier Soto and others, so that he happened not to be at the window at that time. Ridley then looked back to see if his Brother Latimer were coming; whom he spied hastening after him in a Bristol freeze frock, all worn, with his cap buttoned, an handkerchief on his head, and a new long shroud hanging down to his feet, all ready for the fire. O, be you there, said Ridley? Yes, returns Latimer, Have after as fast as I can follow. They preserved their distance in walking, and Ridley arriving

ving first at the stake, there earnestly lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, till he saw, shortly after, Latimer descending to the spot; upon which with a most chearful countenance he ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and comforted him, saying, Be of good heart, Brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it. Then moving to the stake he kneeled down, and kissing it, prayed earnestly, as did Latimer likewise. Then rising, they conferred together a little while.

Dr. Smith, who had recanted in King Edward's time, was appointed to preach before them, who chose for his Text these words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. XIII. 3. *Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.* In which short Sermon, which was scarce so long as a quarter of an hour, he gave the holy Martyrs frequent occasion to lift up their hands and eyes to heaven, as protesting against the falshood of his assertions. For, in stating the diversity of opinions concerning the sacrament of the altar, he mentioned only three among those whom he called Hereticks: 1. Luther's, and his followers, who held that the natural body and blood of Christ was present together with the elements of bread and wine: 2. The opinion of Oecolampadius, and his disciples, who held, that the natural body of Christ was not in the sacrament, but in heaven, yet by grace effectually received of the worthy Communicants. 3. That of Zuinglius and his followers, who held, that Christ's body was not present either naturally or spiritually in the sacrament, which was only a mere figure of his body. Of this last opinion, he said, were the two men who stood before them. In which representation he was twice mistaken; for neither were Ridley and Latimer, nor Zuinglius himself of the opinion with which he charges them. Ridley always believed and maintained a real presence by grace to faith, and not a mere figure only: and although there were some English fanaticks, such

such as John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Paske, who believed that the sacrament was only a bare sign of Christ's body, and nothing more than a remembrance of it: yet this was not the opinion of our Martyrs, who, induced by the same authority, the word of God, held with Oecolampadius, and the Zuinglians too, if we may believe their own confession; for they say, 'Although
' we distinguish, as we ought, betwixt the signs and the things
' thereby signified, yet we divide not the reality from the signs, but
' confess that all who by faith embrace the promises there made,
' do spiritually receive Christ with his spiritual gifts, and that they,
' who were before made partakers of Christ, do continue and renew
' that communication *.'

The other frontless assertion was, 'that the old Church of
' Christ and the Catholick faith believed far otherwise.' If he meant otherwise than what he falsely charged on Zuinglius and the Martyrs, it was nothing to the purpose: if, that the manner of the presence as defined by the Church of Rome was always held in his primitive Church, that contradicts all history, and even their own *Tonstal* admits that before Innocent III. *the manner* was not defined.

When the Sermon was finished, Ridley asked Latimer whether he would first answer it: but Latimer desiring Ridley to begin, Then both of them kneeling down, Ridley addressing himself to the Lord Williams, Dr. Marshal the Vice-Chancellor and other Commissioners appointed for that purpose, said, I beseech you, my Lord, even for Christ's sake that I may speak but two or three words. And while the Lord Williams was inclining his head to ask the Mayor and Vice-Chancellor whether he might permit him to speak, the Vice-Chancellor and Bailiffs ran up hastily to him, and

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* Vide Lavatheri Histor. de origine et progr. Controversi. Sacrament. ad annum 1549, ubi repetitur consensus Calvini cum Tigurinis in re sacrament. fol. 35. See also before, b. III. §. 5. p. 164.

and with their hands stopping his mouth, said, Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, have your life. Not otherwise, said He? No, returned Dr. Marshal; therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts. 'Well, replied the noble Martyr, so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my 'Lord Christ, and his known Truth. God's will be done in me'. And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, Well, then I commit my cause to Almighty God, who will judge all indifferently. Latimer added his wonted saying, Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened. And withal signified, that he could answer Dr. Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Immediately they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Bishop Ridley taking off his gown and his tippet gave them to his Brother Shipside. Some part of his apparel that was little worth he gave elsewhere, and some the Bailiffs took.

He likewise gave away several other small things to Gentlemen standing by, many of them greatly affected, and weeping; as to Sir Henry Lee he gave a new groat, and to my Lord Williams's Gentlemen he gave, to some napkins, to some nutmegs, and races of ginger, his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points of his hose. Happy was he who might get any rag of him.

Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off all his dress but his shroud; in which he, who before in his old freeze coat and buttoned cap seemed a withered and crooked old man, negligent of himself, now roused to play the man, stood bolt upright, and appeared a venerable comely person.

Dr. Ridley being stript to his shirt and truss, would have been burnt in them: but his Brother Shipside prevailed on him to pull
off

off the latter, as it would else encrease his pain, and might do a poor man good. Then standing at the stake upon a stone, lifting up his hands toward heaven he prayed, ‘ O heavenly Father, I give
‘ unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a
‘ professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God,
‘ take mercy upon the realm of England, and deliver the same from
‘ all her enemies’. It was not long before the realm happily experienced, as it continues to do to this day, how much the effectual fervent prayer of this righteous man availed.

Next the smith took an iron chain, and brought it round the middles of both the Martyrs, and as he was driving in the staple Dr. Ridley shook the chain, and said to the smith, Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course. And now his brother brought him some gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied it about his neck. The Bishop asked what it was; and being informed, said, I take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any for my Brother, meaning Latimer? And being answered in the affirmative, he bad him give it to him betime, lest it should be too late. Which was done accordingly.

Then Dr. Ridley said to my Lord Williams, ‘ My Lord, I must
‘ be a suitor to your Lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and
‘ specially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication
‘ to the Queen’s Majesty in their behalf. I beseech your Lordship
‘ for Christ’s sake to be a mean to her grace for them. My Brother
‘ here hath the supplication, and will resort to your Lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth
‘ my conscience (I praise God) this only excepted. Whilst I was in
‘ the See of London divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed
‘ with me for them. Now I hear say the Bishop who now occupieth
‘ the same room will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings,

‘and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my Lord, be a mean for them : you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you’.

We shall seldom meet with an instance, except in the great Exemplar, whose steps our blessed Martyr followed, of one who in the very article of death, though sensible that his breakfast would be sharp, and the flesh have its course, yet was so regardless of his own sufferings, and so recollected and solicitous for the good and happiness of others. Let the delicate, the selfish, and the uncharitable read and wonder !

Then they brought a fagot ready kindled, and laid it at Dr. Ridley’s feet : to whom Latimer said, ‘Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God’s grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out’.

The fire being given to them, when Ridley saw it flaming up towards him, he cried with an exceeding loud voice, ‘Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. O Lord, receive my spirit’. Latimer on the other side as earnestly praying, O Father of heaven, receive my soul ; who received the flame as it were embracing it. After that he had stroked his face with his hand, he soon died, to all appearance with little or no pain.

But on the other side the fire was so ill managed by piling too great a quantity of fagots over the furze, that the fire first burned beneath, being kept down by the wood. Which when Dr. Ridley felt, he desired them for Christ’s sake to let the fire come to him. His Brother, hearing his earnest request, but not understanding well the reason of it, with an ill advised kindness to rid him out of his pain, heaped more fagots upon him, quite covering him with them ; which made the fire, smouldering beneath, so intense, that it burned all his nether parts before it once touched the upper : this made him leap up and down under the fagots, and often desire them to let the fire come to him, saying, I cannot burn. Which.

Which indeed appeared too true; for after his legs were consumed, he shewed that side, toward the spectators, clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call upon God, having still in his mouth, Lord have mercy upon me; intermingling between whiles, Let the fire come to me, I cannot burn. Thus he continued crying out without relief, till one of the standers by with his bill pulled off the fagots above; and where the tortured Martyr saw the fire flame up he wrested himself to that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side; and, either from the chain losing, or by the overpoise of his body after his legs were consumed, fell over the chain down at Latimer's feet.

Thus died this worthy Martyr of God, and the glory of the English Reformation; nor did he die in vain. The fruit of his prayers for this realm we now enjoy; and his constant sufferings, as they drew tears from most eyes, so doubtless by the grace of God they wrought in the hearts of many a persuasion of the Truth to which both these Prelates bore so noble a testimony.

One of these we know, Julius Palmer, an ingenious young man, and fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford. He had been all through King Edward's reign a warm and zealous Papist, and for his taunts against the Governours of his College, and his unformable behaviour was expelled the society, and lost his fellowship. He was persuaded that either vanity, or the baits of preferment had influenced the Reformers; affirming, that should the times change, they would change too, and none of them all would stand to death for their religion. He owned indeed, in confidence to another like zealous fellow of his own College, that they did not taste such an inward sweetness in the profession of their religion as the Gospellers made a shew of; and that they had not a clear knowledge of their religion, only as the Church had decreed: yet with

with a true papistical spirit resolved, that he would sooner beg his bread than yield to the Reformers. And though he was sometimes staggered in the conferences he had with some into whose company he fell during his expulsion, yet all through King Edward's reign he continued determinedly blind. In Queen Mary's reign, he was restored to his Fellowship; and though surprized that the Reformers submitted so patiently to the loss of their preferments, he doubted not, as Gardiner also had declared, but that severities would reclame them. He therefore made their suffering death voluntarily the test of their faith. For this reason he sent at his own expence some of his pupils to Gloucester, to observe and report to him the manner of Bishop Hoper's death. He was still willing to believe either that the report was aggravated, or that some enthusiastick heat had impelled him to bear his torments with such constancy. But here he was himself the spectator and jealous observer: he had attended the Martyr's examination, and been a witness of the sobriety of his answers, and with what greatness of mind he had disdained the offers of life, honors, preferments, and the favor of the Queen, rather than sacrifice the truth, and deny his faith. He now saw him lay down his life in testimony that what he taught he believed. Not borne up with a spirit of pride or madness, but with meekness, charity and resolution: not with an enthusiastick callousness and insensibility of pain, but with a cool choice persisting to endure those severe tortures which his flesh knew not how to bear, and from which he had the liberty of escaping, if he would only sign a recantation. Perhaps for the conviction of such unbelievers God permitted his death to be so lingering and acute. Palmer rose a Convert from this blood of the martyrs, and went away publickly exclaiming against the tyranny and cruelty of his old allies. And having suffered loss of fortune for his intemperate zeal in Popery under King Edward, was now so convinced of his error

error as boldly to suffer martyrdom for Protestantism under Queen Mary.

Yet the severity of Ridley's sufferings, which wrought so powerfully on the ingenuous mind of Palmer, were not judged sufficient to satisfy the malice of another of his spectators, who seems to grudge him the benefit of his gunpowder. This was Dorman (or Pierfon) who was Fellow of another College in Oxford, who speaking of the gunpowder applied to put them the sooner out of their pain, says, 'a practice amongst Christ's martyrs never, I trow, heard of, the sooner to dispatch themselves, as with my own eyes I saw Ridley and Latimer burned.' Observing in the margin, 'that it agreed not with the martyrdom of Polycarp.' O Dorman, could you recall that dreadful fight to your memory, and speak of it with such a spirit of inhumanity? You saw his agonies, your ears were pierced with his repeated cries, your eyes were feasted with looking on his limbs consumed piecemeal before his vital parts were touched, and all was not enough to satiate your thirst for blood. Had the gunpowder, which was so long before it had any effect on Ridley, dispatched him as soon as it did Latimer, who but a Ruffian could have grudged him the relief? And Noel, in a reply to Dorman, takes notice, that Ignatius said he would provoke and anger the beasts, to whom he was cast to be devoured, that they might the more speedily tear him in pieces. And asks why may not the heat of fire be provoked as well as the fury of beasts? And Dorman might have remembered, that when Polycarp was burned, his Persecutors seeing that the fire came not near enough to destroy him, with more compassion than this Popish spectator had, put an end to his sufferings by piercing him with a sword.

Others, wedded to the world, may perhaps think the sufferings of these martyrs were a prodigality of life; and that whatever they privately thought, the subscription of their hands to doctrines contrary

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trary to that belief, and an outward profession of them, had been far more prudent : and that therefore Gardiner was the wiser man, who by returning to the Pope, whom he had abjured, kept his preferments, preserved his life, and escaped tortures. Few of us have faith enough to take our Saviour's advice, *Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do : but I will forewarn you whom you shall fear ; fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell ; yea I say unto you fear him.* Luke XII. 4, 5. But an event immediately connected with this execution may help our unbelief, and convince us of the wisdom of our Saviour's advice.

Dr. Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, in the midst of all his splendor, secure in the favor of the Pope and of his Royal Mistress, and having in view a Cardinal's Hat and Legatine power from the one, and the Throne of Canterbury from the other, triumphed over the weakness of the two martyrs at Oxford, for whose deaths he was impatient. His dignity and employment would not permit him to be a spectator and enjoy the sight, but what he could, he did ; he dispatched messengers on purpose to Oxford to be present at their execution, and to speed back to give him the earliest intelligence when the fire was set to them. And though the Duke of Norfolk was his guest that day, he would not go to dinner till the return of the messenger had given him the satisfaction he so hungered after. At four o'clock the wretch was made happy, and went to dinner : *he was not disappointed of his lust, but while the meat was yet in his mouth, the heavy wrath of God came upon him.* He was seized with a suppression of urine, and though he went five days after to the Parliament, which met October 21st, and again on the 23d, he could go out no more. A foul leprosy and dropsy encreased upon him, contracted (as was reported) by drunkenness or whoredom, both which vices he had indulged much in his life. So that his body was greatly distended, his eyes distorted, and his breath too offensive

fenfive to be endured. He felt all the bitter remorse of conscience without being able to mingle with it that salutary sorrow which alone can make it supportable. 'I have erred, says he, with Peter, but I have not wept like him.' The Bishop of Chichester visiting him, would have comforted him with the assurance of Justification through the blood of Christ: Gardiner acknowledged the Truth in private, and thereby assented to the Reformers, but desired him politically to suppress it, saying, 'He might speak of that to him, or others in his condition; but if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the people, then farewell altogether.' He suffered this protracted execution for four weeks, during which, as one wrote out of England at that time, 'he spoke little but blasphemy and filthiness, and gave up the ghost with curses in his mouth, in terrible and unexpressible torments.' He was called to his account that very day month that Ridley and Latimer suffered, at two o'clock in the morning, November 13. Compare the lives of Ridley and of Gardiner together, and compare their deaths. Whose character was most amiable, whose conduct most prudent, whose condition most eligible? Let us cultivate those Truths in our hearts and lives, which had such supernatural power as to administer comfort in the midst of burning flames. What afflictions are there in this world that a practical belief of those truths will not enable us to bear up under them? Let us not think that those errors can be even politically useful, or in this present world prudent, which can give no ease upon beds of down, amidst the pomp of power, and affluence of wealth. What a blessing then did these martyrs recover to their Country, when they restored to it the knowledge of these primitive truths! What a glorious legacy did they bequeath to it, when at their deaths *they lit up such a candle in England, as by God's grace shall never be put out!*

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 Mem. III.
 p. 281.

F I N I S.

4 R

PRÆFATIO.

PRÆFATIO ET PROTESTATIO

NICOLAI RIDLEII,

HABITÆ XX APRILIS IN SCHOLIS PUBLICIS
OXONII, ANNO M.D.LV.

ACCEPI à vobis, ornatissimi viri, domine Proloquutor, & vos viri venerabiles, domini Commissarii celsitudinis Reginae, & aliorum, superiori die treis propositiones, quibus jussistis me, ut in hunc diem pararem quid illis respondendum censerem. Ego verò cum mecum considerarem, quanta cura gregis Dominici mihi nuper commissa esset, pro cuius administratione olim (idque quam citò Deus novit) rationem Domino meo sum redditurus, quòdque Petri Apostoli præcepto paratus semper esse debeam, ad respondendum cuilibet, ut loquar de ea quæ in nobis est spe, cum mansuetudine & reverentia. Ad hæc quid debeam Ecclesiae Christi, quidque vobis, qui estis Commissarii cum authoritate publica, statui mandatis vestris obtemperare, & palàm vobis patefacere, quid de propositis propositionibus sentiam. Et quamquam, ut ingenuè vobis quod verum est fatear, aliter olim atque nunc de illis rebus, de quibus me interrogastis sensi: nihilominus Deum testem invoco in animam meam, non mentior: quòd, ut mutarem animum, inque hanc in qua nunc sum, devenirem sententiam, nullus me coegit aut legum humanarum, aut periculorum hujus mundi metus, aut ulla spes vel expectatio mundanæ commoditatis; sed amor duntaxat veritatis revelatæ mihi per Dei gratiam (uti mihi persuasum habeo) in verbo Dei & in antiquorum patrum orthodoxorum lectione.

Hæc ego nunc propterea magis commemoro: quoniam quis scit, si quod mihi olim contigit, alicui vestrùm in posterum contingere

poterit? hoc est, ut siquid aliter atque ego nunc de rebus propositis sentitis, & hoc vobis Deus aliquando sit revelaturus. Sed utcunque fuerit, quod vos omnes nunc me facere velle opinor, hoc ego jam breviter sum factururus, hoc est, sententiam animi mei quàm planissimè potero explicabo. In qua tamen sententia dicenda, id vobis testatum esse velim, me ex animo nihil esse dicturum scienter & prudenter, quod ulla in re crediderim posse vel tantillum repugnare aut dissentire a verbo Dei, aut a regulis fidei, & Christianæ religionis, quas illud sacrosanctum Dei verbum Ecclesiæ Christi præscribit. Quibus me meaque omnia volo nunc & imperpetuum esse & fore obnoxia.

Et quoniam gravis causa est quam agimus, & ad eam peragendam quàm simus nunc inexpediti, temporis nimirum angustia & librorum inopia oppressi, vobis omnibus ignotum esse non potest. Propterea protestor me hoc à vobis hodierno die publicè postulaturum, nimirum ut in posterum mihi liceat omnibus meis hodiernis responsionibus, explicationibus & confirmationibus, addere vel demere quicquid posthac saniore iudicio, maturiore consultatione, aut exactiore singularum rerum expensione magis commodum magisque opportunum esse videbitur. Hæc jam pauca præfatus ac protestatus, conferam me ad propositarum propositionum responsiones, & responsionum mearum explicationes et confirmationes brevissimas.

PRIMA PROPOSITIO A PAPISTIS PROPOSITA.

In sacramento altaris virtute verbi divini à sacerdote prolati, præfens est realiter sub speciebus panis & vini, naturale corpus Christi, conceptum de virgine Maria. Item naturalis ejusdem sanguis.

RESPONSIO RIDLEII.

In rebus Dei non est humano aut sæculi sensu loquendum. Prima igitur propositio vel conclusio formata est phrase à sacra Scriptura

ra aliena, & multis ambiguis obscuritatibus involuta & implicata. In sensu autem quem docent scholastici & hodie Romanensis defendit ecclesia, falsa est & erronea, atque doctrinæ, quæ secundum pietatem est, planè contraria.

EXPLICATIO.

Diversitas & novitas phrasèos, & quàm sit a sacra Scriptura aliena, in tota hac prima propositione in singulis penè partibus ita patet & evidens est, vel mediocriter versato in sacris literis, ut nihil necesse sit, jam præsertim in hoc cœtu doctorum virorum in ea re demonstranda aliquid temporis (nisi id à me postea fuerit postulatum) collocare.

Phrasis
à sacra
Scriptura
aliena.

Ambiguitas est etiam in verbis, (virtute verbi Domini) ambiguum est enim quodnam est istud Verbum Divinum: illud nè, quod legitur in Evangelistis, aut in Paulo, aut aliquid aliud? Si quod in Evangeliiis, aut Paulo, quodnam illud sit? si non est ex illis, quomodo cognosci potest esse verbum Divinum, & tantæ virtutis, ut hanc tantam rem efficere valeat?

Verbo-
rum Ob-
scuritas.

Item, ambigitur de verbo (à sacerdote) an nullus dicendus sit sacerdos, nisi qui habet auctoritatem sacrificandi expiatoriè pro vivis et mortuis, & unde patet hanc auctoritatem esse à Deo commissam ulli mortalium, præterquam uni Christo?

Dubitatur etiam, secundum quem ordinem futurus sit sacrificans sacerdos, secundumne ordinem Aaron, an secundum ordinem Melchisedec? Nam plures ordines non probat (quòd sciam) sacra Scriptura.

Præterea in verbo (realiter) ambiguum est, an sumatur transcendenter, & sic potest significare quancumque rem, quæ ad corpus Christi quovis modo spectat: quomodo etiam concedimus corpus Christi realiter esse in sacramento Cœnæ Dominicæ: sicut inter disputandum, si detur occasio, à nobis declarabitur: vel rem ipsam corpoream.

corpoream, vivam & animatam, quæ assumpta est in unitatem personæ à verbo Dei : secundum quam significationem corpus Christi, cum sit in cœlis realiter propter verum corporis modum, hîc in terris esse dicendum non est.

Porro in verbis (sub speciebus panis & vini) ambiguum est, utrùm species ibi significare intelliguntur formas tantum accidentales & exteriores panis & vini, an naturas etiam eorundem substantiales suis qualitatibus visibiles, & externis sensibus perceptibiles.

Abfurdi-
tas.

Falsitas autem propositionis in sensu Romanensis ecclesiæ & scholasticorum hinc patere potest. Illi enim ponunt panem transubstantiari in carnem assumptam à verbo Dei, idque (ut aiunt) per virtutem verbi, quod illi conceptis vocibus formaverunt, quod quidem in nullo reperiri possit Evangelistarum, nec in Paulo : atque inde colligunt corpus Christi realiter contineri in sacramento altaris : quæ positio nititur & fundatur super fundamentum transubstantiationis, quod est fundamentum monstrosum, absurdum & analogiæ sacramentorum interemptivum. Idcirco & hæc propositio, quæ super hoc putre fundamentum superstruitur, falsa est & erronea, ac infami sacramentariorum errori meritò deputanda.

RESPONSIONIS JAM DATÆ CONFIRMATIO.

Non est statuendum dogma aliquod in Ecclesia Christi, quod dissentit à verbo Dei, & analogia fidei, quodque secum necessariò trahit multas absurditates : sed dogma hoc primæ propositionis tale est, ergo non est statuendum in Ecclesia Dei. Major patet, & minor probatur sic, Hoc dogma ponit realem, corporalem, & carnalem carnis Christi a verbo assumptæ in sacramento Cœnæ Dominicæ præsentiam, idque non per virtutem & gratiam tantum : sed per integram essentiam & substantiam corporis & carnis Christi; sed talis præsentia dissentit à verbo Dei, ab analogia fidei, & multas absurditates secum necessariò trahit : ergo major est manifesta.

Et

Et minor adhuc probatur : primò, Talis præsentia contraria est locis aliquot sacræ Scripturæ. Secundò, dissentit ab articulis fidei. Tertiò, evacuat & tollit institutionem Domini de Cœna. Quartò, prostituit pretiosa prophanis : projicit enim quod sanctum est canibus, margaritas scilicet porcis. Quintò, multa cogit monstrosa miracula præter necessitatem, & auctoritatem verbi Divini ponere. Sextò, Ansam præbet hæreticis, qua suos errores tueantur, qui de duabus naturis in Christo non rectè sentiebant. Septimò, Fidem veritatis humanæ naturæ in Christo imminuit. Octavò, Falsificat dicta patrum orthodoxorum, falsificat & fidem Ecclesiæ catholicam, quam Apostoli tradiderunt, Martyres roboraverunt, & fideles (ut quidam ex patribus inquit) usque nunc custodiunt : ergo minor est vera.

PROBATIO ANTECEDENTIS HUIUS ARGUMENTI PER PARTES.

I. Contraria est verbo Dei, Joa. xvi. Veritatem dico vobis, expedit vobis ut ego vadam : si enim non abiero, Paracletus ad vos non veniet. Act. iii. Quem oportet cœlum accipere, usque in tempora restitutionis omnium quæ loquutus est Deus. Mat. ix. Non possunt filii Sponsi lugere, quandiu cum illis est Sponsus : sed nunc est tempus luctus, Joa. xvi. Sed iterum videbo vos, & gaudebit cor vestrum. Joan. xiii. Iterum veniam, & assumam vos ad me ipsum. Mat. xxiv. Si dixerint vobis, ecce hîc Christus, aut illic, nolite credere : ubicunque fuerit cadaver, ibi congregabuntur & aquilæ.

II. Dissentit ab articulis fidei, Ascendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris : unde, & non aliunde (inquit Aug.) venturus est ad judicandum vivos & mortuos.

III. Evacuat & tollit institutionem Cœnæ Dominicæ, utpote quæ tantum jussa est tantisper continuari, donec Dominus ipse venerit ; si igitur nunc præsens est realiter in corpore carnis suæ, debet hæc Cœna cessare. Commemoratio siquidem non est rei presentis, sed præteritæ & absentis. Memoria autem & præsentia differunt. Atque frustra ibi
ponitur

ponitur figura (inquit ex patribus quidam) ubi res figurata præsens est.

IV. Prostituit pretiosa prophanis, & multa cogit absurda fateri : afferit enim adulteros & homicidas : imò (ut est quorundam apud illos opinio) impios & infideles, mures & canes posse recipere corpus Domini verum, reale & corporale, in quo inhabitat plenitudo Spiritus, lucis, gratiæ, contra manifesta verba, Joan. vi. in sex ibidem locis & sententiis. Statuit ἀνθρωποφαγίαν, & bestialem quandam crudelitatem : crudelius est enim devorare hominem vivum, quàm interimere.

V. Cogit multa monstrosa miracula præter necessitatem & auctoritatem verbi Dei ponere. Siquidem in adventu hujus præsentiae corporis carnis Christi, substantiam panis extrudunt : ponunt autem accidentia sine subiecto, corpus Christi substituunt sine suis qualitatibus, & vero corporis modo. Si verò sacramentum tandiu feruetur ut mucedescat, & vermes inde generentur, quidam dicunt substantiam panis miraculosè redire : alii negant. Nonnulli afferunt corpus Christi reale in stomachum recipientis descendere, ibique tandiu manere tantùm, quandiu ipsi permanent esse boni : quidam verò tam citò corpus Christi in cælum rapi confirmant, quàm species ipsæ dentibus teruntur. O mirabiliarios ! verè, verè, in istis impletum esse video, quod prophetavit Paulus, pro eo quòd dilectionem veritatis non receperunt, in hoc ut salvi fierent : mittet illis Deus efficaciam illusionis, ut credant mendacio, & judicentur omnes qui non crediderint veritati, 2 Thess. III. Hæc præsentia commentum concomitantiae peperit, quæ sustulit hodie & abrogavit præceptum Domini de communicando poculo Domini laicis.

VI. Ansam præbet hæreticis errandi & suos errores defendendi, ut Marcioni, qui dixit Christum habere corpus phantasticum : & Eutichi, qui confudit impiè duas in Christo naturas.

VII. Postremò falsificat dicta patrum orthodoxorum, & fidem catholicam, quam Vigilii Martyr & author gravis dicit esse tradi-
tam

tam ab Apostolis, sanguine Martyrum roboratam, & à fidelibus ad suam usque ætatem custoditam. Dicta autem patrum intelligo, Justini, Irenæi, Tertulliani, Origenis, Eusebii, Emisseni, Athanasii, Cyrilli, Epiphani, Hieronymi, Chrysostomi, Augustini, Vigili, Bertrami, atque aliorum vetustissimorum patrum, quorum omnia loca in hanc sententiam scio me legisse, & librorum meorum concessa copia posse commonstrare, idque sub periculo capitis mei, & amissionis omnium quæ in hoc mundo amittere possum.

Nolite putare fratres mei, quia nos hanc præsentiam corporis, quam hæc prima propositio ponit, improbavimus, utpote quam censemus esse commenticiam, phantasticam & præter auctoritatem Verbi in ecclesiam à Romanensibus perniciosè introductam, propterea velle tollere veram illam præsentiam corporis Christi in Cæna sua ritè & legitimè administrata, quæ est fundata in verbo Dei, & patrum orthodoxorum commentariis illustratur. Qui de me ita sentiunt, Deus novit quàm multum illi hallucinentur: idque ut vobis planum faciam declarabo paucissimis, quam ego veram cum verbo Dei & priscis patribus statuo in sacramento Cænæ Dominicæ corporis Christi præsentiam. Cum Luca Evangelista & Apostolo Paulo dico panem in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, esse corpus Christi, ad memoriam ipsius & mortis ejus, usque ad adventum ejus perpetuò à fidelibus celebrandam. Dico panem quem frangimus, esse communicationem corporis Christi.

Cum orthodoxis patribus sic loquor & sentio, non solùm significationem corporis Domini fieri per sacramentum: sed unà cum illo exhiberi fateor piis & fidelibus gratiam corporis Christi, vitæ scilicet atque immortalitatis alimoniam, idque cum Cypriano. Manducamus vitam, bibimus vitam cum Augustino, sentimus Dominum præsentem in gratia, cum Emisseno. Recipimus cibum cælestem & supernè venientem cum Athanasio. Proprietatem naturalis communionis cum Hilario. Naturam carnis, & benedictionem vivificativam in pane & vino cum Cyrillo: & cum eodem vir-

tutem propriæ carnis Christi, vitam & gratiam corporis, unigeniti proprietatem, id est, ut ipse Cyrillus disertissimis verbis exponit, vitam. Fatemur nos recipere cum Basilio mysticum Christi adventum, gratiam, & veræ naturæ virtutem. Atque veræ carnis sacramentum cum Ambrosio. Corpus per gratiam cum Epiphanio. Carnem spirituales, sed aliam ab ea quæ crucifixa est, cum Hieronymo. Gratiam influentem in sacrificium, & Spiritus gratiam cum Chrysostomo. Gratiam & veritatem invisibilem : gratiam & societatem membrorum corporis Christi cum Augustino. Postremum cum Bertramo, qui horum omnium fuit postremus, fatemur secundum id haberi in sacramento Cœnæ Dominicæ corpus Christi, videlicet (ut ille ait) quod sit in eo Spiritus Christi, id est, Divini potentia verbi, quæ non solum animam pascit, verumetiam purgat. Ex his opinor omnibus dilucide patere potest, quàm sumus ab ea sententia alieni, qua nos falsò quidam orbi traducere conantur, dicentes nos nihil aliud docere, quàm figuram corporis Christi in mensa Dominica a piis & fidelibus recipi debere.

SECUNDA PROPOSITIO.

Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis & vini, neque ulla alia substantia, nisi substantia Dei & hominis.

RESPONSIO.

Secunda conclusio est simpliciter falsa : verbo Dei : naturæ sacramentorum : & patrum orthodoxorum clarissimis dictis ex diametro contraria, estque putre fundamentum reliquarum duarum, quæ à vobis propositæ sunt, videlicet primæ & tertiæ conclusionum. Ad hanc igitur responsionem non morabor vos nunc ulla explicatione, contentus scilicet ea quæ jam apposita est prius ad responsionem primæ propositionis.

RESPENSIONIS

RESPENSIONIS AD SECUNDAM PROPOSITIONEM CONFIRMATIO.

Constat ex verbo Dei, Christum panem dedisse discipulis, illumque suum corpus appellasse : sed substantia panis alia est a substantia Christi Dei & hominis : ergo conclusio falsa. Minor patet, & Major probatur : hoc dedit discipulis, appellavitque corpus suum, quod accepit, in quo gratias egit, et quod fregit : sed accepit panem, super panem gratias egit : et fregit panem, ergo major vera. Et confirmatur autoritatibus patrum, Irenæi, Tertulliani, Orig. Cyp. Epiph. Hierony. Aug. Theodoret, Cyril. Rabani, Bedæ : horum loca recipio me ostensurum clarissima, si modò concedatur (quod quidem peto) librorum copia.

II. Panis est corpus Christi, ergo est panis : a tertio adjacente ad secundum adjacens, cum verbi substantivi pura copula.

III. Sicut panis mensæ Dominicæ est corpus Christi naturale, ita est & corpus ejus mysticum : sed non est corpus Christi mysticum per transsubstantiationem : ergo neque sic est corpus Christi naturale. Minor patet, & Major probatur. Sicut Christus, qui est veritas, dixit de pane, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur, loquens ibi de corpore naturali : ita Paulus ab eodem spiritu veritatis impulsus, dixit, Unus panis, & unum corpus multi sumus omnes, qui de uno pane participamus.

IV. Non magis credendus est panis transsubstantiari in corpus Christi, quam vinum in sanguinem, sed vinum non transsubstantiatur in sanguinem, ergo neque panis in corpus. Major est manifesta. Probatur minor ex autoritate verbi Dei in Matth. et Mar. Non bibam ex hoc fructu vitis, &c. Fructus autem vinum erat, quod Christus bibebat, & discipulis bibendum dedit. Huic sententiæ clarissimè suffragatur Chrysostomi locus in Mat. xxvi. suf-

fragatur & Cyp. affirmans sanguinem deesse, si desit vinum in calice.

V. Verba Christi dicta super poculum apud Lucam & Paulum, sunt tam efficacia, quàm ea quæ dicuntur super panem : sed dicta super poculum non habent vim transsubstantiandi, ergo, &c. minor probatur : quia tunc transsubstantiarent calicem, vel quod est in calice in novum Testamentum : sed neutrum horum fieri potest, & absurdum est confiteri.

Circun-
stantiæ
Script.

VI. Ille sensus sacrae Scripturae (de sacramentis loquor) maximè deligendus est, quem maximè circumstantiæ Scripturae, analogia sacramentorum, & testimonia patrum orthodoxorum probant : sed in verbis Cœnæ Dominicæ circumstantiæ Scripturae, analogia sacramentorum & patrum dicta maximè probant tropicam locutionem in verbis Cœnæ Dominicæ, ergo sensus tropicus in eisdem maximè est recipiendus. Circumstantiæ Scripturae, Hoc facite in mei commemorationem. Quotiescunque comederitis hunc panem, & biberitis de poculo hoc, mortem Domini annuntiabitis. Probet se ipsum homo, & sic de pane illo edat, & de poculo bibat. Conveniunt ad frangendum panem. Et perseveraverunt in fractione panis. Panis quem frangimus. Quoniam unus panis & unum corpus multi sumus omnes. Analogia sacramentorum necessaria est : nam si sacramenta aliquam similitudinem non haberent earum rerum quarum sunt sacramenta, omnino sacramenta non essent. Similitudo autem hæc Cœnæ Dominicæ triplex est. Prima consistit in alitione, vide Rabanum, Cyp. Aug. Irenæum, & planissimè Isidorum ex Bertramo. II. In compositione multorum in unum ex Cyp. III. Est dissimilis similitudo, ubi sicut panis transit in corpus nostrum, ita nos per legitimum usum hujus sacramenti, per fidem transimus in corpus Christi. Dicta patrum, quòd sit tropica & figurativa locutio, Origenes, Tertull. Chrysost. in opere imperfecto, Aug. Ambr. Basil. Greg. Naz. Hilar. & omnium clarissimè

Analogia
sacramen.

Dicta
patrum.

Bertramus

Bertramus contra transsubstantiationem militat. Insuper omnium patrum dicta & loca, quorum nomina suprà recensuimus, contra assertionem primæ propositionis : sed omnium clarissimè & evidentissimè Irenæus, Orig. Cyp. Chrysof. ad Cæsarium monachum, Aug. contra Adimantum, Gelasius, Cyrill. Epiph. iterum Chrysof. in Matth. xx. Rabanus, Damascenus, Bertramus scripserunt.

Hic vos viri venerabiles, domine Proloquutor, & vos reliqui Commissarii, rogatos velim, uti cognoscere dignemini, me non solum niti eis solis quæ hætenus scripsi in meis superioribus responsionibus et confirmationibus : sed habere quoque per meam sententiam confirmanda, quæcunque scripsit Bertramus, vir doctus & orthodoxus, quique in hanc usque ætatem nostram jam septingentis annis semper est habitus catholicus, cujus tractatum quicumque legerit ac perpenderit, considerans ætatem scriptoris, eruditionem, sanctimoniam, veterum allegationes, & rationes illius multiplices & solidas, nihil aliud profectò quàm mirari possum, si quisquam timentium Deum, possit ei in negotio Eucharistiæ salva conscientia contradicere. Hic mihi primus aurem vulsit, et à pervulgato ecclesiæ Romanensis errore, ad diligentiorum Scripturæ et veterum ecclesiasticorum scriptorum hac in re investigationem primus ire coegit, et hæc loquor coram Deo, qui scit me in his quæ jam dico non mentiri.

TERTIA PROPOSITIO.

In missa est vivificum ecclesiæ sacrificium pro peccatis tam vivorum quàm mortuorum propitiabile.

RESPONSIO.

Ad III. similiter, ut ad primam respondeo, atque insuper dico, eam in sensu quæ verba videntur præ se ferre, non solum esse erroneam, sed adeò quoque esse mortis et passionis Christi derogativam,

vam, ut non immeritò (mea quidem sententia) in preciosissimum sanguinem Christi Servatoris blasphema cenferi et possit et debeat.

EXPLICATIO.

De Missa Romanensi, quæ hodie extat, aut ejus vivifico sacrificio propitiabili pro peccatis vivorum et mortuorum, universa sacra Scriptura ne gry quidem habet. Ambigitur etiam de Missæ nomine, quid significet, et an hodie ulla, qualis fuit veterum verè habeatur, cùm nulli aut catechumeni aut pœnitentes emittantur. Item, de illis verbis (vivifico ecclesiæ sacrificio) ambigitur an intelligentur tropicè et sacramentaliter pro vivifici sacrificii sacramento, quomodo in Cœna Dominica non negatur adesse, an propriè et citra omnem tropum, quomodo unicum tantùm fuit, idque semel oblatum, videlicet in ara crucis. Præterea in illis verbis (tam, quàm) ambiguum esse potest, utrùm in sensu dicantur ludicro, quo dici solet per jocum de prorsus inepto : qui sit aptus tam moribus quàm scientia. Et in verbo propitiabili dubitatur, an idem sit hîc quod propitiatorium & expiatorium, an quod potest reddi propitium, hoc est, utrùm activè an passivè capiatur. Falsitas autem in sensu quem verba præ se ferre videntur, hæc est, quoniam illi suo innixi transsubstantiationis fundamento ponunt vinum et animatum corpus carnis Christi unitum divinitati delitescere sub accidentibus panis & vini, quod est falsum, uti suprà dictum est. Et superstruentes super hoc fundamentum, dicunt etiam illud corpus offerri Deo à sacerdote in suis quotidianis Missis, ad expiandum peccata vivorum & mortuorum. Cùm ex Epist. ad Hæbr. patet unicam esse oblationem, & unicum verè vivificum sacrificium Ecclesiæ oblatum in ara crucis, quod fuit, est & erit imperpetuum propitiatio pro peccatis totius mundi : & ubi est horum remissio, ibi non est amplius (inquit ille) pro peccatis oblatio.

Cap. 7.

RESPONSIONIS

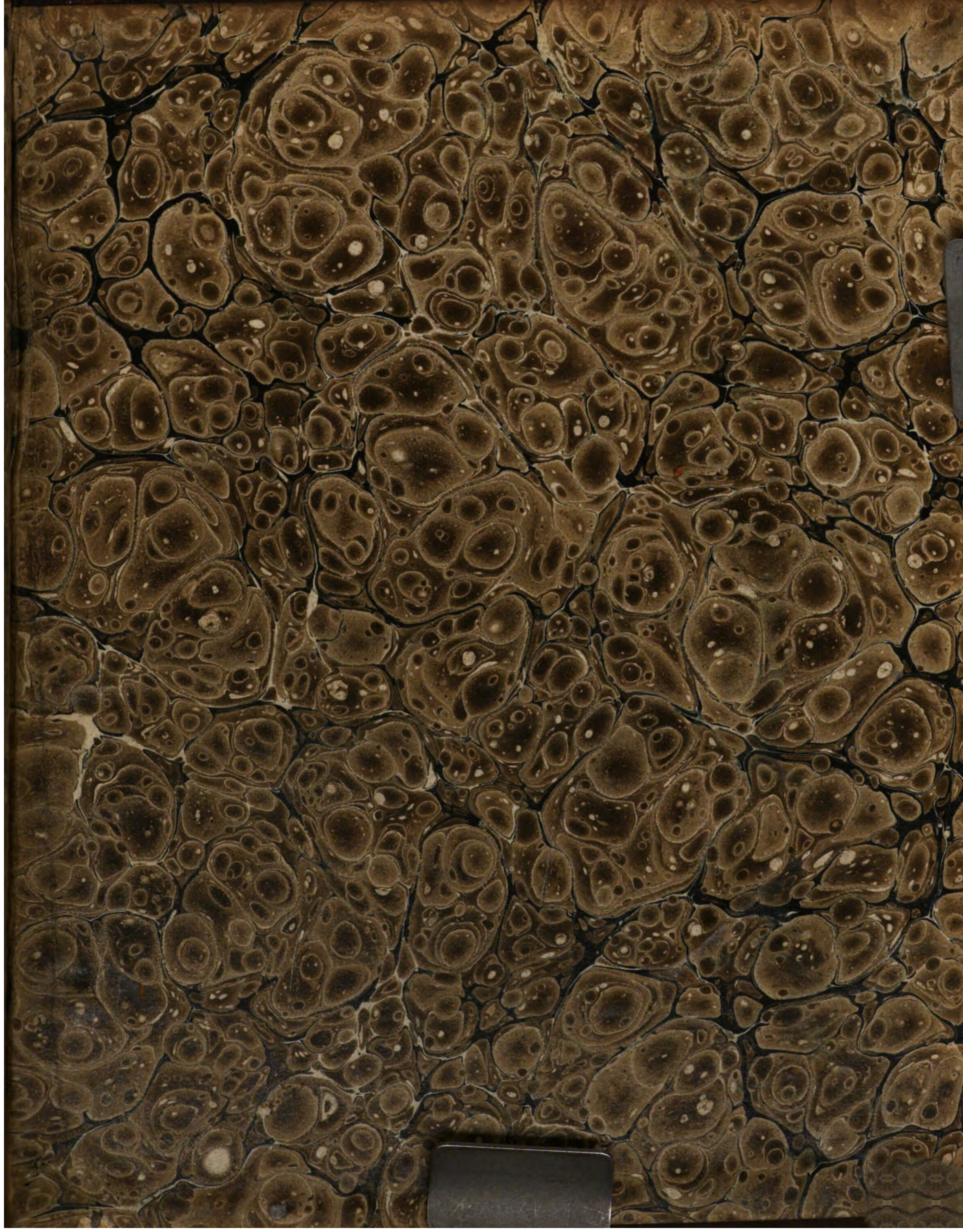
RESPENSIONIS DATÆ CONFIRMATIO.

1. Ubi non est sacerdos idoneus ad offerendum sacrificium propitiabile, ibi tale sacrificium offerri non potest, sed nullus est idoneus sacerdos præter unicum Christum, ergo tale sacrificium in quotidianis missis à sacerdotibus offerri non potest: probatur minor. Heb. 5. Officium offerendi grandis est honos, sed nemo debet sumere sibi honorem, nisi qui vocatur à Deo: nemo autem huc vocatus est, præter unum Christum servatorem: ergo nemo illud præter unum Christum offerre potest, quod nemo præter unum Christum ad hunc honoris gradum vocatus sit, hinc patet: duplex est tantum ordo sacerdotii probatus in verbo Dei, secundum Aaron videlicet, & secundum ordinem Melchisedec. Unicus est tantum sacerdos Christus Dominus, sacerdotium habens *ἀπαράλειπον*. 2. Cujus nulla Heb. 7. est necessitas ut fiat, frustra fit: sed nulla est necessitas offerendi Heb. 9. amplius sacrificium propitiatorium pro vivis & mortuis: nam id Christus Servator noster semel abundè perfecit & explevit: ergo si in Missa id fiat, frustra fit. 3. Postquam inventa est æterna redemptio, non opus est amplius quotidiana oblatione: at Christus accedens Heb. 9. Pontifex, &c. æternam nobis invenit redemptionem, ergo non opus est amplius quotidiana oblatione pro peccatis vivorum & mor- Heb. 9. tuorum expiandis. 4. Absque sanguinis effusione non fit remissio: sed in Missa non est sanguinis effusio, ergo in Missa non fit remissio: & per consequens neque sacrificium propitiabile. 5. In Missa non est Christi passio in veritate, sed in significante mysterio, etiam ubi Cæna Dominica legitimè peragitur: sed ubi Christus non est passus, ibi neque in veritate est oblatus. Ait enim Apostolus: Non ut sæpius semetipsum offerat, alioqui oportuisset ipsum sæpius passum fuisse a condito mundo. Ubi autem Christus non offertur, ibi non est sacrificium propitiabile, ergo in Missa non est sacrificium propitiabile: nam Christus semel sub consummationem sæculorum ad profligationem peccatorum per immolationem suiipsum apparuit. Et quatenus

quatenus illud manet omnes homines, ut semel moriantur, post hoc autem indicium : ita & Christus semel oblatus est, ut multorum peccata tolleretur, rursusque absque peccato conspicietur iis, qui illum expectant in salutem. 6. Ubi est hostia quæ potest accedentes perfectos reddere, ibi desinere debent homines amplius offerre hostias expiatorias & propitiatorias : sed sub novo Testamento est unica hostia jampridem oblata, quæ potest perfectos in-æternum reddere accedentes, ergo in novo Testamento desinendum est ab hostiis expiatoriis offerendis. In eundem sensum & sententiam tendunt manifestissimè loca Scripturarum quæ sequuntur : unde & manifestissima argumenta formari possunt, videlicet per quam voluntatem (inquit Apost.) sanctificati sumus, per oblationem corporis Jesu Christi semel peractam. Et ibidem. Hæc verò una pro peccatis oblata victima, perpetuò sedet ad dexteram Dei, &c. Unica enim oblatione perfectos imperpetuum fecit eos qui sanctificantur, per semetipsum facta purgatione peccatorum. Obsecro vos notate verbum (semetipsum) quod bene notatum dirimit proculdubio universam controversiam. Negat ille planè ei qui sanguinem Testamenti, per quem fuit ipse sanctificatus, conculcaverit, reliquam esse hostiam. Non vult iterum Christus crucifigi, non vult mortem suam ludibrio exponi. Et ad Colo. i. Reconciliavit nos in corpore carnis suæ (observate obsecro) non dicit in mysterio corporis, sed in corpore carnis suæ. Et i Joa. ii. Siquis peccaverit, advocatum habemus, &c. Scio hæc omnia Scripturarum loca deludi à quibusdam duplici commento : alterum est per distinctionem de sacrificio cruento & incruento, quasi verò nostrum sacrificium incruentum Ecclesiæ aliud esset, quàm gratiarum actio, quàm illius unici cruenti semel peracti commemoratio, annuntiatio, & sacramentalis representatio. Alterum commentum est, depravant orthodoxorum patrum dicta ad intellectum alienum, quem ipsi patres nunquam senserunt. Quid autem patres senserint, manifestè patet ex Augustino

gustino in epistola ad Bonifacium, & ca. LXXXIII. lib. IX. contra Faustum Manichæum, & in aliis locis quamplurimis. Ex Eusebio, Emisso, Cypriano, Chrysostomo, Fulgentio, Bertramo, & aliis, quorum omnium proculdubio hæc est unanimes concordque in Domino sententia, videlicet quòd indefessa currit pro salute hominis redemptio perpetua, quæ semel facta est in veritate, quòd hostia semel oblata consumi non potest, quòd tam potens est illa Christi passio, tam recens virtus & vigor illius semel effusi cruoris hodie ad ablutionem peccatorum, quàm fuit illo eodem die, cùm ex benedicto Christi Servatoris latere effluxit : quòdque omnis sacrificii nostri ratio, quæ in Cæna Dominica in Ecclesia frequentatur, consistit in orationibus, laude, & gratiarum actione, in recordatione & annunciatione illius semel in ara crucis oblatis sacrificii, ut jugiter coleretur per mysterium, quod semel duntaxat & non amplius offerebatur in pretium. Hæc sunt viri venerabiles, domine Proloquutor, & reliqui domini Commissarii, quæ ad vestras tres propositas propositiones respondere nunc potui in hac consiliorum inopia, & præsidio librorum destitutus, quamobrem provoco ad meam primam protestationem, cujus auxilium quantum licet, postulo mihi non denegari. Et quoniam nuper à vobis sententia est lata in me multis nominibus injusta & iniqua : equidem (quatenus mihi licet) ab eadem appello æquiores, justioresque justis alicujus judicis superioris competentis & legitimi censuram & judicium, idque juxta statum approbatum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, licet quis jam is sit propter mutationem status reipublicæ, fateor me ignorare. Cujusmodi judicium si mihi in terris non detur habere, tunc tanquam ad sacram ancoram & unicum salutis meæ portum, confugio ad sententiam æterni judicis, hoc est, omnipotentis Dei, cujus in suos misericordissimæ justitiæ & justissimæ misericordiæ totaliter me meamque universam causam judicandam committo, nihil desperans de patrocínio advocati & unici Servatoris mei Jesu Christi, cui cum Patre sempiterno, & Spiritu sancto omnium sanctificatore, sit nunc & in æternum, omnis honor & gloria. Amen.





Ridley, Glocester,

The Life of Dr. Nicholas Ridley sometime Bishop of London

London 1763

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